

MINDE OF THE FRONT.

Rom Death and darke Oblivion (neere the same)
The Mistresse of Manslife, grave HISTORIE,
Raising the VVorld to good, or evill FAME,
Doth vindicate it to ETERNITIE.

High PROVIDENCE would so: that nor the Good Might be defrauded, nor the Great securid, But both might know their waies are understood, And the reward and punishment assured.

This makes, that lighted by the beamie hand
Of TRUTH, which searcheth the most hidden springs,
And guided by EXPERIENCE, whose straight VV and,
Doth mete, whose Line doth sound the depth of things;

Shee cheerefully supporteth what she reares:
A sisted by no strengths, but are her owne.
Some note of which each varied Pillar beares,
By which, as proper Titles, she u knowne,

Times Witnesse, Herald of Antiquity, The Light of Truth, & Life of Memory!



THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

Ntreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same, from the Creation unto Abraham. tion unto Abraham.

Of the Times from the Birth of Abraham, to the destruction of the Temple of Salomon.

From the destruction of Jerusalem, to the time of Philip of Macedon. From the Reigne of Philip of Macedon, to the establishing of that Kingdome, in the Race of Antigonus.

From the settled rule of Alexanders Successors in the East, untill the Romans (prevailing over all) made Conquest of Asia and Macedon.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight.





THE PREFACE.

undertake a worke of this mixture; mine owne reason though undertake a worke of this mixture; mine owne reason though exceeding weake, hath sufficiently resolved mee. For had it beene begotten then with my first dawne of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open it selfe to my younger yeares, and before any wound received, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well have doubted that the darkness of Age 29

Death would have covered over both It and Mee, long before the performance. For beginning with the Creation, I have proceeded with the History of the World; and lastly purposed (some sew sallies excepted) to confine my Discourse, with this our renowned lland of Great Brittaine. I confesse that it had better sorted with my disability, the better part of whose times are run out in other travailes, to have set together (as I could) the unjoynted and scattered frame of our English affaires, than of the universall: in whom, had there beene no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempestuous life, drawn on to the very evening ere I began. But those inmost, and soule-piercing wounds, which are ever aking while uncoved: with the desire to satisfie those sew friends, which I have tryed by the fire of Adversity, the former enforcing, the later perswading, have caused me to make my thoughts legible, and my selfe the subject of every origin, wise or weake.

To the Forld I prefent them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither have of shere were, (Fortune changing), fled much better in any age. For Prosperity and Adversity baye evermore tyed and untyed oulgar affections. And as we fee transcriperience, That dogs doe alwayes barke at those they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in those clamours: so it is with the inconsiderate multitude, who wanting that vertue which we call Plonesty in all men, and that effection if of O D which we call Charity in Christian men; condemn without bearing , wound without offence given; led thereunto by uncertaine report onely; which is Manifey truely acknowledgeth for the Author of all thes Demonolog. Blame no man (laith Siracides) before thou have enquired the matter: un Eccles 11. 17. derstand first, and then reforme righteously. Rumor, res sine teste, sine judice, maligna, fallax, Rumor is without witnesse, without judge, malicious and deceiveable. This vanity of vulgar opinion it was that gave Saint Augustine Argument to affirme, That he feared the praise of good men, and detefted that of the evill. And berein no man hath given a better rule, than this of Landonia bond Seucca Conscientia farsfaciamus nihil in famam laboremus, sequatur time, e amais vel mala, dum bene metearis. Lieus latisfic our owneconsciences, and sende ina.

we deserve well

For my selfe, if I have in any thing served my Country, and prized it before my private: the generall acceptation can yeeld me no other profit at this time, than doth a faire sunshine day to a Sea-man after shipwrack; & the contrary no other harm than an outragious tempest after the Port attained. I know that I lost the love of many, for my fidelity towards Her, whom I must still honour in the dust: though further than the defence of her excellent person, Inever persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what device they did it, He that is the Supreme Judge of all the world, hath taken the accompt: fo as for this kinde of Suffering, I must far with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.

As for other men; if there be any that have made themselves Fathers of that fame, which hath been begotten for them: I can neither envy at such their purchased glory nor much lament mine owne mishap in that kind : but content my selfe to lay with Virgil, Sicvos non vobis, in many particulars. To labour other latisfaction, were an effect of phrenzie, not of hope, feeing it is not Truth, but Opinion that can travaile the World without a paß-port. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many internall formes of the minde, as there are externall figures of men; there were then some possibility to persuade by the mouth of one Advocate.

even Equity alone.

But fuch is the multiplying of extensive vertue of dead Earth of that breath viving life which God hath cast upon slime & dust, as that among those that were of whom we read and heare. of among those that are whom we see or converse with. every one bath received a severall picture of face, and every one a divers picture of minde every one a forme apart, every one a fancy & cogitation differing there being nothing wherein Nature so much triumpheth as in dissimilitude. From whence it commeth that there is found so great diversity of opinions fostrong a contrariety of inclinations fo many natural & unnatural; wife foolish, manly & childish affe-Etions and passions in mortall men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the forme internall.

And though it hath pleased God to reserve the Art of reading mens thoughts to himselfe: yet, as the fruit tels the name of the Tree. so do the outward works of men (So far as their cogitatios are acted) give us wherof to ghess at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to expresse the one by the other, very neere the life, did not craft in many, feare in the most, and the worlds love in all, teach every capacity, according to the compasse it hath, to qualifie and maske over their inward desormities for a time. Though it be also true, Nemo potest diu personam serre fictam: cito in naturam suam residunt, quibus veritas non subest: No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behaviour: the things that are forced for pretences having no ground of truth, cannot long diffemble their own natures. Neither can any man (faith Plutarch) so change himselfe, but that his heart may bee sometimes seene at his tongues end.

In this great discord and dissimilitude of reasonable Creatures, if we direct our selves to the Multitude. Omnis honestæ rei malus judex est vulgus: The common people are evill Judges of honest things, and whose Wisedome (saith Ecclesiastes) is to be despised: if to the better fort: every understanding

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bath a peculiar judgement, by which it both censureth other men, & valueth it self. And therefore unto me it will not seeme strange, though I finde these my worthlesse papers torn with Rats: seeing the flothfull Censurers of all ages have not spared to taxe the Reverend Fathers of the Church, with Ambitio, the severest men to themselves, with Hypocrisie; the greatest lovers of Justice, with Popularity and those of the truest valour and fortitude, with vaine-glory. But of these natures which lie in mait to finde fault, and to turne good into evill, seeing Solomon complained long Ecclesiers fince; and that the very age of the world renders it every day after other more mali-Nihilfadius cious . I must leave the professors to their easie wayes of reprehension than which realisms there is nothing of more facility.

To me it belongs in the first part of this Preface, following the common & approved cultome of thole, who have left the memories of time past to after ages. to give. as neere as I can the same right to History which they have done. Yet Jeeing therein I should but borrow other mens words. I will not trouble the Reader with the rebetition. True it is that among many other benefits, for which it hath bin honoured. in this one it triumpheth over all bumane knowledge, That it hath given us life in our understanding, since the world it selfe had life and beginning, even to this day: yea, it hath triumphed over time, which besides it nothing but eternity hath triumphed over: for it hath carried our knowledge over the vast and devouring space of many thousands of yeares, and given so faire and piercing eyes to our mind that we plainly behold living now (as if we had lived then) that great world, Magni Dei Capiens opus, The wifework (faith Hermes) of a great GoD, as it was then when but new to it selfe. By it (I/ay) it is that we live in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was governed: how it was covered with waters, and avaine repeopled: How Kings and Kingdomes have flourished and fallen, and for what vertue and piety God made prosperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe unto History, that it bath made us acquainted with our dead Auncestors and out of the depth and darknesse of the earth, delivered us their memory and same. In aword, wee may gather out of History a policy no leffe wife than eternall; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-passed miseries with our owne like errours & ill defervings. But it is neither of Examples the most lively instruction. nor the words of the wisestmen, nor the terrour of future torments, that hath yet so Perought in our blind and stupisted mindes, as to make us remember, That the infinite eye and wisedome of God doth pierce through all our pretences; as to make us remember That the justice of God does require none other accuser, than our owne consciences: which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions nor all the formality, which (to pacifie the opinions of men) we put on: can in any, or the least kind cover from his knowledge. And so much did that heathen wisedome confesse. no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God. If any (faith Euripides) having in his life committed wickednesse, thinke hee can hide it from the everlasting gods, he thinkes not well.

To repeat GOD Sjudgements in particular, upon those of all degrees, which bave played with his mercies; would require a volume apart: for the Sca of examples hath no bottome. The markes, set on private men, are with their bodies cast into the earth; and their fortunes, written onely in the memories of those that lived with them: so as they who succeed, and have not seene the fall of others,

doe not feare their owne faults. GODS judgements upon the greater and greatest have beene left to posterity; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost bath guided, and secondly, by their vertue, who have gathered the acts and ends of men mighty and remarkable in the world. Now to point farre off, and to speake of the conversion of Angells into Divells , for Ambition : Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who have gnawne the grasse of the earth with beasts for bride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or of that wife working of Pharach, when hee Que the Infants of Israel, ere they had recovered their (radles: Or of the policy of Tezabel, incovering the murder of Naboth by a triall of the Elders, according to the Law with many thousands of the like: what were it other than to make an hopelesse proofe, that farre-off examples would not be left to the same farre-off respects, as heretofore? For who hath not observed, what labour practice, perill bloudshed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the world have undergone. exercifed, taken on them, and committed; to make themselves and their issues masters of the world? And yet hath Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage. Rome, o the rest, no fruit, no flower, grass, nor leaf, springing upon the face of the earth, of those seeds: No, their very roots and ruines doe hardly remain. Omnia quæ manu hominum facta sunt, vel manu hominum evertuntur, vel stando & durando deficiunt: All that the hand of man can make, is evther overturned by the hand of man, or at length by standing and continuing confumed. The reasons of whose ruines, are diversly given by those that ground their opinions on second causes. All Kingdoms and States have fallen (say the Politicians by outward and forrain force, or by inward negligence & diffention or by a third cause arising from both. Others observe, That the greatest have sunk downe under their owne weight; of which Livie bath a touch : co crevit, ut magnitudine laboret sua: Others, That the divine providence (which Cratippus obje-Eted to Pompey) hath set downe the date and period of every Estate. before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will give my selfe a day over to

For seeing the first bookes of the following story, have undertaken the discourse of the first Kings and Kingdomes: and that it is impossible for the short life of a Preface, to travaile after, and overtake farre-off Antiquity, and to judge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own Kings, their Neighbour Princes: who having beheld, both in divine to humane letters, the successe of insidelity, injustice, and cruelty; have (notwithstanding) planted after

resolve.

True it is, that the judgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred up a-like with examples of like nature: But every one is touched most, with that which most neerely seemeth to touch his owne private; Or otherwise best suteth with his apprehension. But the judgements of GOD are for ever unchangeable; neyther is hee wearied by the long processe of time, and won to give his blessing in one age, to that which he hath cursed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisedome if it bee not great, yet is true and well grounded; will bee able to discerne the bitter fruites of irreligious policy, as well among those examples that are sound in ages removed farre from the present, as in those of latter times. And that it may no lesse appeare

appeare by evident proofe, than by affeveration, That ill doing hash alwayes beene attended with ill successe; will here, by way of Preface, run over some examples, which the worke ensuing bath not reached.

Among our Kings of the Norman race, we have no sooner passed over the violence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of Gods Justice, upon the children of Henry the first. For that King, when both by force craft and cruelty, he had disposses, overreacht, and lastly wade blinde and destroyed his elder Brother Robert Duke of Normandy, to make his owne sonnes Lords of this Land: GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephewes and Neeces (Maud excepted) into the bottome of the Sea, with above a hundred and sifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble,

and of the King dearly beloved.

To passe over the rest, till we come to Edward the Second, it is certaine, that after the murder of that King, the issue of bloud then made, though it had some times of stay and stopping, did againe breake out, and that so often and in such aboundance, as all our Princes of the Masculine race (very sew excepted) dyed of the same disease. And although the young yeares of Edward the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more than suspicious: yet in that he afterwards caused his owne Uncle the Earle of Kent to die, for no other offence than the desire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earle as then supposed to be living; the King making that to be treason in his Uncle, which was indeed treason in himself, had his Uncles intelligence been true) this I say made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to have had it otherwise; though be caused Mortimer to die for the same.

This cruelty the secret and unsearchable judgement of GOD revenged on the Grand-child of Edward the Third: and so it fellout, even to the last of that line. that in the second or third descent they were all buried under the ruines of those buildings of which the Mortar had beene tempered with innocent bloud. For Richard the Second, who faw both his Treasurers, his Chancellor, and his Steward, with divers others of his Counfellors, some of them flaughtered by the people others in his absence executed by his enemies, yet hee alwayes tooke himselfe for over-wife, to be taught by examples. The Earles of Huntingdon and Kent, Montagu & Spencer, who thought themselves as great Politicians in those daies as others have done in these: hoping to please the King, and to secure themselves, by the murder of Gloucester. died soone after with many other their adherents. by the like violent hands; and far more shamefully than did that Duke. And as for the King himselfe (who in regard of many deedes, unworthy of his Greatnesse cannot be excused, as the disavowing himselfe by breach of Faith. Charters, Pardons and Patents): Hee was in the prime of his youth deposed, and murdered by his Cofen Germane and vaffall, Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry the Fourth.

This King, whose Title was weake, we his obtaining the Crowne traiterouse who brake faith with the Lords at his Landing, protesting to intend onely the recovery of his proper inheritance, brake faith with Richard himselse; and brake faith with all the Kingdome in Parliament, to whom he swore that the deposed King should live. After that hee had enjoyed this Realme some few yeares, and in that time had beene set upon on all sides by his Subjects, and never free from

founded and rooted in Adamant. Now for Henry the fixt, upon whom the great storm of his Grand-fathers grievous faults fell, as it formerly had done upon Richard the Grand-childe of Edward: although he was generally esteemed for a gentle & innocent Prince, yet as be refused the daughter of Armaignac, of the House of Navarre, the greatest of the Princes of France, to whom he was affianced (by which match he might have defended his inheritance in France) or married the daughter of Anjou, (by which he lost all that he had in France) foin condescending to the unworthy death of bis Uncle of Glocester, the maine and strong Pillar of the house of Lancaster. He drew on himselse of this kingdom the greatest joynt-losse of dishonour that ever it Sustained since the Norman conquest. Of whom it may truly be said which a Counfellor of his own spake of Henry the third of France, Q'uil estoit une fort gentile Prince: mais son reigne est advenu en une fort mauvois temps: That hee was avery gentle Prince; but his reigne happened in a verie unfortunate

scason.

It is true that Buckingham and Suffolk were the practifers and contrivers of the Dukes death: Buckingham and Suffolk, because the Duke gave instructions to their authority, which otherwise under the Queene had been absolute the Queene in respect of her personall wound, spretæque injuria formæ, because Gloucester dissipaded her marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed; the success to the Counsell. For after the cutting downe of Gloucester, Yorke grew up sofast, as he dared to dispute his right both by arguments and armes in which quarrell, Suffolke and Buckingham, with the greatest number of cheir adherents, were dissolved. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleased God to strike down Yorke: yet bis son the Earle of March, following the plaine path which his Father bad troden out, despoiled Henry the Father, and Edward the Son, both of their lives and Kingdome. And what was the end now of that politique Lady the Queenc, other than this. That she lived to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers: that she lived to looke on, while her Husband the King, and her only son the Prince, were hewen in sunder; while the Crowne was set on his head that did it? Shee lived to see her selfe despoiled of her Estate, and of her moveables: and lastly, her father, by rendering upt, the Crowne of France the Earledome of Provence and other places, for the payment of fifty thousand crownes for her Ransome, to be

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come aftarke Beggar. And this was the end of that subtilty, which Siracides cal-siraching. leth fine but unrighteous: for other fruit bath it never yeelded fince the world

And now it came to Edward the fourths turn (though after many difficulties) to triumbh. For all the plants of Lancaster were rooted up, one only Earle of Richmond excepted: whom also he had once bought of the Duke of Brittain, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of Edward fuch a Plantation, as could any way bromise it selfe stability. For this Edward the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the flaughter which Gloucester, Dorfer. Hastings, and others, made of Edward the Prince in his owne presence : of which travicall Actors, there was not one that escaped the judgement of GOD in the Same kinde. And He, which (besides the execution of his brother Clarence, for none other offence than he himselfe had formed in his own imagination) instructed Gloucester to kill Henry the fixt, his Predeceffour : taught him also by the same Art to kill bis own fons and successors, Edward and Richard. For those Kings which have fold the bloud of others at a low rate, have but made the mantet for their owne enemies, to buy of theirs at the same price.

To Edward the Fourth succeeded Richard the Third, the greatest Master in mischiefe of all that fore-went him: who although, for the necessity of his Tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to performe in his owne person, than all the rest; yet he so well fitted every affection that playd with him, as if each of them had but afted his owne interest. For he wrought so cunningly upon the affections of Hastings and Buckingham, enemies to the Queene and to all her kindred, as be easily allured them to condescend that Rivers and Grey, the Kings Maternall Uncle and halfe brother, should (for the first) be severed from him: secondly . hee brought their confent to have them imprisoned : and lastly (for the avoiding of future inconvenience) to have their heads severed from their bodies. And having now brought those his chiefe instruments to exercise that common pre- Scelerasceleras cept which the Devill hath written on every post, namely, To depress those whom bus wends. they had grieved, and to destroy those whom they had deprest; Hee urged that argument so far and so forcibly : as nothing but the death of the young King bim. felfe of his brother could fashion the conclusion. For he caused it to be hammered into Buckinghams head, That, when soever the King or his Brother, should have able yeares to exercise their power, they would take a most severe revenge of that curelesse wrong offered to their Uncle and Brother, Rivers and Grey.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose fidelity to his Masters Sonnes was without suspect : and yet the Divell, who never dissipades by impossibility taught him to try him. And fo be did. But when he found by Catesby who founded him, that he was not fordable; He first resolved to kill him sitting in councell: wherein having failed with his sword, He set the Hangman upon him, with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could move his appear vite. He canfed his head to be stricken off, before he eate his dinner. A greater judgement of God, than this upon Hastings, I have never observed in any storie. For the selfe same day that the Barle Rivers, Grey, and others, were (without triall of law, or offence given) by Hastings advice executed at Pomfret: Isay Hastings bimselfe in the same day, and (as I take it) in the same houre, in the same law-lesse manner had his head stricken off in the Tower of London.

But Bucking ham lived a while longer; and with an eloquent oration perswaded the Londoners to elect Richard for their king. And having received the Earledome of Hereford for reward, besides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the Kings onely some; after many grievous vexations of mind, and unfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and delivered up by his trustiest servant; Hee had his head severed from his body at Salisbury, without the trouble of any of his Peers. And what successe had Richard himself after all these mischieses on murders, policies, and counter-policies to Christian religion: and after such time as with a most mercilesse hand he had pressed out the breath of his Nephewes on Natural Lords; other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it tooke end, ere himselfe could well looke over and discerne it? the great out-cry of innocent bloud, obtained at GODS hands the effusion of his, who became a spectacle of shame and dishonour, both to his friends and enemies.

This cruell King, Henry the 7.cut off; and was therin (no doubt) the immediate instrument of Gods Justice. A politick Prince be was if ever there were any, who by the engine of his wisedome, beat downe and overturned as many strong oppositions both before and after he wore the Crown, as ever King of England did: I say by his wisdome, because as he ever left the rains of his affection in the hands of his prosit, so he alwayes weighed his undertakings by his abilities, leaving nothing more to hazzard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well observed the proceedings of Loys the 11. whom he followed in all that was royall or royall-like, but he was far more just, ever begun not their processes whom he hated

or feared by the execution, as Loys did.

He could never endure any mediation in rewarding his fervants, and therin exceeding wife; for what soever himselfe gave, he himselfe received back the thankes of the love, knowing it welthat the affections of men (purchased by nothing so readily as by benefits) were trains that better became great kings, than great subjects. On the contrary, in what soever he grieved his subjects, he wisely put it off on those, that he found fit ministers for such actions. How soever the taking off of Stanlies head, who see the Crown on his, and the death of the young Earle of Warwick, som to George D. of Clarence, shews, as the successe also did that he held somewhat of the errors of his Ancestors; for his possession in the first line ended in his grand-chil-

dren, as that of Edward the Third and Henry the Fourth had done.

Now for King Henry the eight: if all the pictures and patternes of a mercilesse Prince were lost in the World, they might all againe be painted to the life, out of the story of this King. For how many servants did he advance in hast (but for what vertue no man could suspect) and with the change of his samie ruined againe; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more desert gave he aboundant slowers from whence to gather bony, and in the end of Harvest burnt them in the Hive? How many wives did he cutoff, so cast off, as his sancy so affection chaged? How many Princes of the bloud (whereof some of them for age could hardly crawle towards the blocke) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common (bronicles have kept she accompt) did he execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when hee was at the point to have given his accompt so GOD for the aboundance of blow! already spilt: He imprisoned the Duke of Norfolke the Father; or executed the Earle of Surrey the son; whose deservings have knew not how to value, having never omitted any thing that concerned his owne has

nour & the kings fervice; the other never having comitted any thing worthy of his least displeasure: the one exceeding valiant and advised; the other no lesse valiant than learned, and of excellent hope. But besides the sorrowes which he heaped upon the Fatherleffe and Widowes at home: and besides the vaine enterprises abroad. wherein it is thought that be confumed more treasure than all our victorious Kings did in their severall Conquests: what causelesse and cruell wars did be make upon bis own Nephew King James the fift? What Lawes and Wils did he devise toestablish this Kingdome in his owne Issues? using his sharpest weapons to cut off, and cut downe thole branches, which sprang from the same root that himselfe did And in the end (notwithstanding these his so many irreligious provisions) it pleased God to take away all his owne without increase, though, for themselves in their severall kindes, all Princes of eminent vertue. For thefe words of Samuel to Agao King of the Amalekites, have beene verified upon many others: As thy sword hath made other women childlesse, so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women. And that bloud which the same King Henry affirmed, that the cold aire of Scotland had frozen up in the North, God hath diffused by the sun-Chine of his grace: from whence His Majesty now living, and long to live is descended. Of whom I may say it truly, That if al the malice of the world were infused into one everyet could it not discerne in his life, even to this day, any one of those foule hoes by which the consciences of all the forenamed Princes (in effect) have bin defiled nor any drop of that innocent bloud on the sword of his suffice, with which the most that fore-went him have stained both their hands and fame. And for this fromne of England; it may truely be avowed: That he hath received it even from the hand of God, and hath staied the time of putting it on, how soever he were propoked to hasten it: That he never tooke revenge of any man, that sought to put him beside it: That he refused the assistance of Her enemies, that wore it long. with as great glory as ever Princessedid: That his Majesty entred not by a breach, nor by bloud; but by the Ordinary gate, which his owne right fet open; and into which by a generall love and obedience, He was received. And how foever His Majeffics preceding title to this Kingdome, was preferred by many Princes (witnessethe Treaty at Cambray in the yeare 1559) yet he never pleased to dispute it, during the life of that renowned Lady his Predecessor : no notwithstanding the injury of not being declared Heire in all the time of Her long reigne.

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulnesse to GOD for the uniting of the Northen parts of Brittany to the South, to wit, of Scotland to England, which though they were severed but by small brookes and bankes, yet by reason of the long continued warre, and the cruelties exercised upon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitly severed. This I say is not the least of Gods blessings which His Majesty bath brought with him unto this Land: No, put all our petty grievances together, wheap them up to their hight, they will appeare but as a Mole-bill compared with the Mountaine of this concord. And if all the Historians since then have acknowledged the uniting of the Red-Rose, and the White, for the greatest bappinesse (Christian Religion excepted) that ever this Kingdome received from GOD, certainly the peace betweene the two Lions of gold and gules, and the making them one doth by many degrees exceed the former, for by it, besides the sparing of our british bloud, heretofore and during the difference, so ften and abundantly shed, the state of England is more assured, the Kingdome more

enabled to recover her ancient honour and rights, and by it made more invincible than by all our former alliances, practices, policies, o conquests. It is true that hereof we doe not yet finde the effect. But had the Duke of Parma in the yeare 1588. jouned the army which he commanded, with that of Spaine, and landed it on the South coast. & had his Majesty at the same time declared himselfe against us in the North: it is easie to divine what had become of the liberty of England, certainly me would then without murmur have brought this union a farre greater praise than it bath fince cost us. It is true, that there was never any Comon weale or Kingdom in the world, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings live in the world, and not above it. They are not infinit to examine every mans cause, or to relieve every mans mants. And yet in the latter, (though to his some prejudice) His Majesty hath had more compassion of other mens necessities, than of his owne (offers. Of whom it may be said, as of Solomon, Dedit Deus Solomoni latitudinem cordis: Which if other men do not understand with Pineda, to be meant by Liberality, but by Latitude of knowledge; yet may it be better spoken of His Majesty, than of any King that ever England had; who as well in divine, as humane understanding

bath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.

I could say much more of the Kings Majesty, without flatterie: did Inot feare the imputation of presumption, withall suspect, that it might befall these papers of mine (though the losse were little) as it did the Pictures of Queen Elizabeth. made by unskilfull and common Painters, which by her owne commandement were knockt in pieces and cast into the fire. For ill Artists, in setting out the beauty of the externall; and weake writers, in describing the vertues of the internall; doe often leave to posterity, of well formed faces a deformed memory; and of the most Perfect and Princely mindes, a most defective representation. It may suffice. and there needes no other discourse; if the honest Reader but compare the cruell and turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom for that purpose I have inserted this briefe discourse) with His Maicflies temperate revengeleffe and liberall disposition: I say that if the honest Reader weigh them justly and with an even hand; and withall but bestow every deformed child on his true Parent; He shall find, that there is no man that hath so just cause to complaine, as the King himselfe hath. Now as wee have told the successe of the trumperies and cruelties of our owne Kings, and other great personages: so we finde, that GOD is every where the same GOD. And as it pleased bim to punish the usurpation, or unnaturall cruelty of Henry the first, er of our third Edward, in their Children for many generations: so dealt Hee with the sons of Loys Debonaire, the son of Charles the great, or Charlemaine. For after such time as Debonaire of France, had torne out the eyes of Bernard his Nephen, the fon of Pepin the eldest son of Charlemaine, and heire of the Empire, and then caused him to die in prison, as did our Henry to Robert his eldest brother: there followed nothing but murders upon murders, poyfoning, imprisonments, and civill war; till the whole race of that famous Emperour was extinguished. And though Debonaire, after he had rid himselfe of his nephew by a violent death; and of his bastard brothers by a civil death (having inclosed them with sure gard, all the daies of their lives, within a Monastery) held himself secure from all opposition: Yet God raised up against him (which he saspected not) his own sons to vex him to invade him to take him prisoner, and to depose him bis own sons with whom (to satisfie their ambition)

be had shared his estate, and given them Crownes to weare, and Kingdomes to governe, during his owne life Yea his eldest Jon Lothaire (for he had foure, three by bis first wife, and one by his second; to wit, Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, and Charles) made it the cause of his deposition, That hee had used violence towards his brothers and kin [men; and that he had suffered his Nephew (whom he might have delivered) to be flaine. Eo quod, saith the Text, fratribus, & propinquis violentiam seen Balquiere intulerit, & nepotem suum, quem ipse liberare poterat, interfici permiserit: vecher. Ly a. 1. Because he used violence to his Brothers and Kinsmen, and suffered his Nephew to be slaine whom he might have delivered.

Yet did be that which few Kings doe; namely, repent him of his cruelty. For among many other things which hee performed in the Generall Assembly of the States, it followes: Post hac autem palam se errasse confessus, & imitatus pass, tindent, Imperatoris Theodofii exemplum, ponitentiam spontaneam suscepit, tam de his, quam quæ in Bernardum proprium nepotem gesserat: After this hee did openly confesse himselfe to have erred, and following the example of the Emperour Theodofius, hee underwent voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done against Bernard his own

Nephew.

This he did and it was praise-worthy. But the Bloud that is unjustly spile. is not againe gathered up from the ground by repentance. These Media

cines, ministred to the dead, have but dead rewards.

This King, as I have faid, had foure Sonnes. To Lothaire his eldest he gave the Kingdome of Italy: as Charlemaine, his father, had done to Pepin the father of Bernard, who was to succeed him in the Empire. To Pepin the second son hee gave the Kingdome of Aquitaine: to Loys, the Kingdome of Bavier: and to Charles. whom he had by a second wife called Judith, the remainder of the Kingdome of France. But this second wife, being a Mother-in-law to the rest, perswaded Debonaire to cast his son Pepin out of Aquitain; therby to greaten Charles. which. after the death of his sonne Pepin, he prosecuted to effect, against his Grand-child bearing the same name. In the mean while, being invaded by his son Loys of Bavi-

er, he dies for griefe.

Debonaire dead, Lovs of Bavier, and Charles afterwards called the bald, their Nephew Pepin of Aquitaine, joyne in league against the Emperour Lothaire their eldest Brother. They fight neere to Auxerre the most bloudy battaile that ever was stroken in France: in which, the marvellous losse of Nobility, on men of war, gave courage to the Saracens to invade Italy; to the Hunnes to fall upon Almaine; the Danes to enter upon Normandy. Charles the bald by treason feizethupon his Nephew Pepin, kils him in a Cloyster : Carloman rebels against his Father Charles the bald, the Father burns out the eyes of his son Car-Ioman Bavier invades the Emperour Lothaire his brother, Lothaire quits the Empire, Hee is affailed and wounded to the heart by his owne conscience, for his rebellion against his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monastery. Charles the bald, the Uncle oppresseth his Nephewes the Sonnes of Lothaire, hee usurpeth the Empire to the prejudice of Loys of Bavier his elder Brother; Baviers armies and his Sonne Carloman are beaten, hee dies of griefe, the Usurper Charles is poyloned by Zedechias a Jew his Physician, his Son Loys le Beque dies of the same drinke. Beque bad Charles the simple

5al.1.K.4.

and two Bastards, Loys and Carloman; they rebell against their Brother, but the eldest breakes his Neck, the younger is slain by a wild Bore; the son of Baviere had the same ill destiny, and brake his Neck by a fall out of a window in sporting with his companions. Charles the groffe becomes Lord of all that the sonnes of Debonaire beld in Germany ; where with not contented, he invades Charles the fimple: but being forfaken of his Nobility, of his wife, and of his understanding. he dies a distracted beggar. Charles the simple is held in Wardship by Eudes Maior of the Pallace, then by Robert the Brother of Eudes: and lastly, being taken by the Earle of Vermandois, hee is forced to dye in the prison of Peron. Loys the sonne of Charles the simple breakes his Neck in chasing a Wolfe, and of the two sonnes of this Loys, the one dies of poyson, the other dies in the prison of Orleans; after whom Hugh Capet, of another race, and a stranger to the French. makes himselfe King.

These miserable ends had the issues of Debonaire; who after he had once apparrelled injustice with authority, his Jonnes and successours tooke up the fashion and pore that Garment fo long without other provision, as when the same was torne from their shoulders, every man despised them as miserable so naked beggars. The pretched successe they had, (faith a learned French-man) shewes, que en cefte mort il y avoit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la justice: that in the death of that Prince, to wit, of Bernard the son of Pepin, the true heir of Charlemaine, men had more medling than either God, or Justice had.

But to come neerer home; it is certaine that Francis the first, One of the worthiest Kings (except for that fast) that ever the French-men had, did never enion himselfe, after he had commended the destruction of the Protestants of Mirandoler Cabrieres, to the Parliament of Provence, which poore people were therupon burnt and murdered; men, women, and children. It is true that the faid King Francis repented him elfe of the fact, and gave charge to Henry his sonne to doe instice upon the Murderers, threatning his sonne with GODS judgements if he neglected it. But this unseasonable care of his, GOD was not pleased to accept for payment. For after Henry himselfe was staine in sport by Montgomery. mee all may remember what became of his foure sonnes, Francis, Charles, Henry, and Hercules. Of which although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautifulland vertuous Ladies: yet were they, one after another, cast out of the world, without stock or seed. And notwithstanding their subtilty and breach of faith: with all their Massacres upon those of the religion, and great effusion of blond, the (rowne was set on his bead, whom they all laboured to diffolve; the Protestants remaine more in number than ever they were, and hold to this day more strong cities than ever they had.

Let us now see if God be not the same God in Spaine, as in England & France. Towards whom wee will looke no further backe than to Don Pedro of Castile: in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of Sicil, our Richard the third, and the great Evan Vasilowick of Moscovia, were but petty ones: this Castilian, of all Christian and Heathen Kings, having beene the most mercilesse. For besides those of his own Bloud and Nobility, which he caused to be slaine in his owne Court and Chamber, as Sancho Ruis, the great Master of Calatrava, Ruis Gonsales, Alphonso Tello, and Don John of Arragon, whom hee cut in pieces and cast into the streets, denying him Christian burial: I say be sides these, and the slaughter

of Gomes Mauriques, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomes, and the great Commander of Castile; He made away the two Infants of Arragon bis Cofengermans, his brother Don Frederick, Don John de la Cerde, Albuquergues, Nugnes de Guzman, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo, Guttiere his great Treasurer, and all his kindred; of a world of others. Neither did he spare his two youngest brothers, innocent Princes: whom after he had kept in close prison from their Cradles, tillone of them had lived sixteene yeares, and the other fourteene, he murdered them there. Nay he spared not his Mother, nor his Wife the Lady Blanch of Bourbon. Lastly, as he caused the Archbishop of Toledo, or the Dean to be killed of purpose to enjoy their treasures: so did he put to death Maho-Histof Spains met Aben Alhamar King of Barbary, with 37.0f his Nobility, that came unto him for succour, with a great summe of money, to levy (by his favour) some companies of souldiers to returne withall. Yea, he would needs assist the Hangman with his owne hand, in the execution of the old King; in so much as Pope Urban declareth him an enemy both to God and Man. But what was his end? Having been formerly beaten out of his Kingdome, and re-established by the valour of the English Nation, led by the famous Duke of Lancaster: He was stabled to death by bis younger Brother the Earle of Astramara, who disposseft all bis (hildren of their inheritance, which, but for the Fathers injustice and cruelty, had never beene in danger of any fuch thing.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it must be Duke John of Burgoigne. who, after his traiterous murder of the Duke of Orleans, caused the Constable of Armagnac, the Chancellor of France, the Bishops of Coffance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, and other religious and reverend Church-men, the Earle of gran Pré, Hector of Chartres, and (in effect) all the officers of justice, of the (hamber of Accompts, Treasury, and request, (with fixteene hundred others to accompany them) to be suddenly and violently slaine. Hereby, while he hoped to governe, and to have mastred France: He was soone after strucken with an axe in the face, in the presence of the Dauphin; and, without any leisure to repent his misseeds, pre- French in Anno 1418. fently flaine. These were the Lovers of other mens miseries: and misery

found them out.

Now for the Kings of Spaine, which lived both with Henry the feventh, Hen? Ty the eight, Queene Mary, and Queene Elizabeth; Ferdinand of Arragon was the first : and the first that laid the foundation of the present Austrian greatnesse. For this King did not content himselfe to hold Arragon by the usurpation of his Ancestor; so to fasten thereunto the Kingdome of Castile and Leon, which lsabel his wife held by strong hand, and his assistance, from her owne Neece the Daughter of the last Henry: but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, Hee also cast his owne Neece out of the Kingdome of Navarre, and, contrary to faith, and the promise that hee made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no means lest for any army to invade it. This King, Isay, that betrayed also Ferdinand and Frederick Kings of Naples, Princes of his owne bloud, and by double alliance tyed unto him; sold them to the French: and with the same Army, sent for their succour under Gonsalvo, cast them out; and shared their Kingdome with the French, whom afterwards he most Shamefully betrayed.

This wife and politique King, who fold Heaven and his owne Honour, to make

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his sonne, the Prince of Spaine, the greatest Monarch of the world : saw him die in the flower of his yeares; and his wife great with childe, with her untimely birth, at once & together buried. His eldest daughter married unto Don Alphoso Prince of Portugall, beheld her first husband breake his necke in her presence; and being with childe by her second, died with it. A just judgement of God upon the race of John, father to Alphonso, now wholly extinguished: who had not onely left many disconsolate Mothers in Portugall, by the slaughter of their children; but had formerly staine with his owne hand, the sonne and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Dutchesse of Visco. The second daughter of Ferdinand, married to the Arch-Duke Philip, turned foole, and died mad and deprived. His third daughter, bestowed on King Henry the eight, He saw cast off by the King the mother of many troubles in England; and the mother of a daughter, that in her unhappy zeale (hed a world of innocent bloud; lost Calice to the French; and died heart-broken without increase. To conclude, all those Kingdomes of Ferdinand have masters of a new name; and by a strange family are governed and possest.

Charles the fift, son to the Arch-Duke Philip, in whose vaine enterprises upon the French, upon the Almans, and other Princes and States, so many multitudes of Christian souldiers, and renowned Captaines were consumed: who gave the while a most perillous entrance to the Turkes, and suffered Rhodes, the Key of Christendom, to be taken; was in conclusion chaced out of France, and in a fort out of of Germany, and left to the French, Mentz, Toule, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire, stole away from Inspurg; and scaled the Alpes by torch-light, purfued by Duke Maurice, having hoped to swallow up all those dominions wherein hee concocted nothing fave his owne difgraces. And having, after the flaughter of so many Millions of men, no one foote of ground in eyther : Hee crept into a Cloyster, and made himselfe a Pensioner of an hundred thousand Duckets by the Nether-Hift.1.7. yeare, to his sonne Philip, from whom he very slowly received his meane and ordi-

nary maintenance.

His Son againe King Philip the fecond, not fatisfied to hold Holland and Zeland, (wrested by his ancestors from Jaqueline their lawfull Princesse) & to posseffe in peace many other Provinces of the Netherlands: perswaded by that mischievous Cardinall of Granvile, and other Romish Tyrants; not onely forgot the most remarkable services, done to his Father the Emperour, by the Nobilitie of those countries, not onely forgot the Present made him upon his entry, of forty millions of Florens, called the Novaile aide; nor onely forgot that hee had twice most solemnly sworne to the Generall States, to maintaine and preserve their ancient rights, priviledges, and customes, which they had enjoyed under their thirtie and five Earles before him, Conditionall Princes of those Provinces: but beginning first to constraine them, and enthrall them by the Spanish Inquisition, and then to impoverish them by many new devised and intolerable impositions; hee lastly, by strong hand and maine force, attempted to make himselfe not onely an absolute Monarch over them, like unto the Kings and Soveraignes of England and France; but Turke-like, to tread under his feet all their Naturall and fundamentall Lawes, Priviledges, and ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had eafily obtained from the Pope a Dispensation of his former Oathes (which dispensation was the true cause of the war and bloudshed since then:) & after he had tried what he could performe, by dividing of their owne Nobility, under the govern-

ment of his base sister, Margaret of Austria, or the Cardinall Granvile; He emploied that most merciles Spaniard Don Ferdinand Alvarez of Toledo, Duke of Alva, followed with a powerfull army of strange Nations: by whom hee first Saughtered that renowned Captaine the Earle of Egmont, Prince of Gavare: Philip Montmorency Earle of Horn: made away Montigue, & the Marquis of Bergues, and cut off in those six yeares (that Alva governed) of Gentlemen & others, eighteene thousand and sixe hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, besides all his other barbarous murders of massacres. By whose ministry when he could not vet bring his affaires to their wished ends, having it in his hope to worke that by Subtilty, which he had failed to performe by force: He sent for Governour his ba-Stard brother Don John of Austria; a Prince of great hope, and every gracious to those people. But he, using the same Papall advantage that his predecessors had done made no scruple to take Oath upon the Holy Evangelists, to observe the treaty made with the Generall States; and to discharge the Low Countries of all Spaniards & other strangers therin garrison'd: Towards whose Pay & Pashort. the Netherlands strained themselves to make payment of 600. thousand pounds. Which monies received, He suddenly surprised the Citadels of Antwerpe of Nemures : not doubting (being unsuspected by the States) to have possest himselfe of all the mastring places of those Provinces. For whatsoever he overtly pretended Hee held in secret a contrary counsell with the Secretary Escovedo, Rhodus. Barlemont, and others, Ministers of the Spanish tyranny, formerly practised, and now againe intended. But let us now see the effect and end of this perjury & of all other the Dukes cruelties. First, for himselfe; after he had murdered so many of the Nobility: executed (as afore faid) eighteen thou fand fix hundred in fix yeares. and most cruelly slain Man, woman, and (hild, in Mecklin, Zutphen, Naerden, and other places: and after he had confumed fix and thirty millions of treasure in fix yeares: notwithstanding his Spanish vant. That he would suffocate the Hollanders in their owne butter-barrels, and milk-tubbes: Hee departed the country no otherwise accompanied, than with the curse and detestation of the whole Nation leaving his Masters affaires in a tenfold worse estate, than hee found them at bis first arrivall. For Don John, whose haughty conceit of himselfe overcame the greatest difficulties: though his judgement were over-weake to mannage the least: what wonders did his fearefull breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his brothers jealousie and distrust, with the untimely death that seized him. even in the flower of his youth? And for Escovedo his sharpe-witte Secretarie, who in his owne imagination had conquered for his Master both England and the Netherlands ; being font into Spaine upon some new project, Hee was at the first arrivall, and before any accesse to the King, by certain Ruffians appointed by An. thony Peres (though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his own lodg. ing. Lastly, if we consider the King of Spaines carriage, his counsell and successe in this businesse, there is nothing left to the memory of man more remarkeable. For be bath paid above an hundred Millions, or the lives of above four hundred thous Sand Christians, for the losse of all those countries; which, for beauty, gave place to none, and for revenue, did equall his West Indies: for the lose of a nation which most willingly obeyed him, and who at this day, after forty yeares warre, are in dea spight of all his forces become a free Estate, and far more rich and powerfull than they were when he first began to impoverish and oppresse them.

Histofthe Notherlands.

fol.313.

Oh by what plots, by what for swearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, poyfonings, and under what reasons of State, and politique subtlety, have these forenamed Kings, both strangers, and of our owne Nation, pulled the vengeance of GOD upon themselves, upon theirs, and upon their prudent ministers! and in the end have brought those things to passe for their enemies, and seene an effect so directly contrary to all their own counsels and cruelties; as the one could never have hoped for themselves; and the other never have succeeded; if no such opposition had ever been made. GOD hath said it and performed it ever: Perdam fapientiam sapientum; I will destroy the wised ome of the wise.

But what of all this? and to what end doe we lay before the eyes of the living, the fall and fortunes of the dead : seeing the world is the same that it hath bin; and the children of the present time, will still obey their parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the world are exercised. To hold the times wee have, wee hold all things lawfull: and either we hope to hold them for ever; or at least wee bope, that there is nothing after them to bee boped for. For as wee are content to forget our owne experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our owne know. ledge, in all things that concerneour selves; or persuade our selves, that GOD bath given us letters patents to pursue all our irreligious affections, with a non obstante : so we neither looke behinde us what hath been, nor before us what shall be. It is true, that the quantity which we have, is of the body: wee are by it joyned to the earth: wee are compounded of earth; and wee inhabit it. The Heavens are high, farre off, and unsearcheable: we have sense and feeling of corporall things: and of eternall grace, but by revelation. No marvaile then that our thoughts are also earthly: and it is lesse to be wondred at, that the words of worthlesse men cannot cleanse them: seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose understanding the Holy Ghost vouchsafed to inhabite, have not performed it. For as the Prophet Esay cryed out long agone, Lord, who hath believed our reports? And out of doubt, as Esay complained then for himselfe and others: so are they lesse beleeved. every day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof be in every mans mouth yea, in the discourse of every moman, who for the greatest number are but Idols of vanity: what is it other than an universall dissimulation? Wee professethat we know GOD: but by workes wee deny him. For Beatitude doth not confift in the knowledge of divine things, but in a divine life: for the Divels know them better than men. Beatitudo non est divinorum cognitio, sed vita divina. And certainly there is nothing more to be admired, and more to bee lamented, than the private contention, the passionate dispute, the personall hatred, and the perpetuall war, massacres, and murthers, for Religion among Christians: the discourse whereof hath so occupied the World, as it bath well neere driven the pra-Flice thereof out of the World. Who would not soone resolve, that tooke knowledge but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their lives which dispute? that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of Heaven: and that the Worldit selfe were but used as it ought, and as an Inne or place, wherein to repose our selves in passing on towards our celestiall habitation? when on the contrary, besides the discourse and outward profession, the soule bath nothing bat

hypocrifie. We are all (in effect) become (omadians in religion: and while wee

act in gesture and voyce, divine vertues, in all the course of our lives wee re-

nounce our Persons, and the parts wee play. For (harity, Justice, and Truth,

Paul to Titue ch.r.ver.10.

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have but their being in termes, like the Philosophers Materia prima.

Neither is it that wisedome, which Solomon defineth to be the Schoole-Mistresse of the knowledge of God, that hath valuation in the world: it is enough that we give it our good word: but the same which is altogether exercised in the service of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which wee purchase and obtaine honour, with the many respects which attend it. These indeed bee the markes, which (when we have bent our consciences to the highest) we all shoot at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our owne; the care our owne in this life, the perill our owne in the future: and yet when we have gathered the greatest aboundance, we our selves enjoy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For the rest, He that had the greatest wisdome, and the greatest ability that ever man had, hath told us that this is the use: When goods increase ((aith Solomon) they also increase that eate them; and what good Eccles and commeth to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? As for those that devoure the rest, and follow us in faire weather: they againe for sake us in the first tempest of misfortune, and steere away before the Sea and Winde leaving us to the malice of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand examples. I will take but one out of Master Dannet, and use his owne words: Whilest the Emperour Charles the fift, after the refignation of his estates, staied at Uloshing for winde, to carry him his last journey into Spaine; He conferred on a time with Seldius, his brother Ferdinands Embassadour, till the deepe of the night. And when Seldius should depart: the Emperour calling for some of his servants, and no body answering him, (for those that attended upon him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the rest asleepe) the Emperour tooke up the candle himselse, and went before Seldius to light him downe the staires; and so did, notwithstanding all the resistance that Seldius could make. And when He was come to the staires foote, Hee faid thus unto him: Seldius, remember this of Charles the Emperour. when he shall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou hast knowne in thy time environed with so many mighty Armies and Guards of souldiers, thou hast also seene alone, abandoned, and forsaken, yea even of his owne domesticall servants, &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD, which I will by no meanes goe about to withstand.

But you will fay, that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first, is the reverend respect that is held of great men, and the Honour done unto them by all forts of people. And it is true indeed: provided, that an inward love for their justice and piety, accompany the outward worship given to their places and power; without which what is the applause of the Multitude, but as the out-cry of an Heard of Animals, who without the knowledge of any true cause please themselves with the noyse they make? For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare to distinguish Vertue and Fortune: the most impious (if prosperous) have ever been applauded; the most vertuous (if unprosperous) have ever beene despised. For as Fortunes man rides the Horfe, fo Fortune her felfe rides the Man. Who when he is descended and on foote: the Mantaken from his Beast, and Fortune from the Man; a base groome beates the one, and a bitter contempt spurnes at the other with equall liberty. The

Latt.de falla gap.3.6.29.

S. Aug. de cura pro mart.

Job 14.21.

P[al.39]

Elay 63:16-

The second is the greatning of our posterity, and the contemplation of their glore whom we leave behinde us. Certainely, of those which conceive that their soules departed take any comfort therein, it may be truly faid of them, which Lactantius Bake of certaine Heathen Philosophers, quod sapientes sunt in re stulta. For when our spirits immortall shall be once separate from our mortall bodies, and disholed by GOD: there remaineth in them no other joy of their posterity which succeed, than their doth of pride in that stone, which sleepeth in the Wall of a Kings Palace; nor any other sorrow for their poverty, than there doth of shame in that, which beareth up a Beggars cottage. Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt vivi, etiam eorum filii, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viventium non intersunt: The dead, though holy, know nothing of the living, no, not of their owne children: for the soules of those departed, are not conversant with their affaires that remaine. And if wee doubt of Saint Augustine, wee cannot of Job; who tels us, That wee know not if our sonnes shall bee honourable: neither shall wee understand concerning them, whether they shall bee of low degree. Which Ecclesiastes also confirmeth: Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth himselse in vaine: hee heapeth up riches, and cannot tell Ecclos. & i. who shall gather them. The living (faith hee) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all: for who can shew unto man, what shall be after him under the Sun? Hee therefore accounteth it among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and travaile in the world; not knowing after death. whether a foole or a wife man should enjoy the fruits thereof: which made mee (faith he) endeavour even to abhorre mine own labour. And what can other men hope, whose bleffed or sorowfull estates after death Godhath reserved? mans knowledge lying but in his hope, feeing the Prophet Esay confesseth of the elect. That Abrahamis ignorant of us, and Israel knowes us not. But hereof we are affured that the long and darke night of death, (of whose following day wee Thall never behold the dawne till his returne that hath triumphed over it) shall cover us over till the world be no more. After which, and when we shall againe receive Organs glorified and incorruptible, the seats of Angelicall affections: in so great admiration shall the soules of the blessed be exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or lesse joy: nor any returne of forgone and mortall affection towards friends, kindred, or children. Of whom whether we shall retaine any particular knowledge, or in any fort distinguish them, no man can assure us the wifest men doubt. But on the contrary . If a divine life retaine any of those faculties, which the foule exercised in a mortall body; wee shall not at that time so divide the joyes of Heaven, as to cast any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remain in the World. No, be their estates greater than ever the World. gave, we shall (by the difference knowne unto us) even detest their consideration. And what soever comfort shall remaine of all forepast, the same will confist in the charity, which we exercised living: and in that Piety, Justice, and firme Faith, for which it pleased the infinite mercy of God to accept of us, and receive us, Shall wee therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as unnecessarie and vaine? Certainly no. For that infinite wisedome of God, which hath distinquished his Angels by degrees: which hath given greater and leffe light and beauty, to Heavenly bodies: which hath made differences betweene beafts and birds: crea-

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ted the Eagle and the Flye, the Cedar and the Shrub; and among stres, given the fairest tincture to the Ruby, and the quickest light to the Diamond . hath also ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the people, Magistrates, Judges, and other degrees among men. And as bonour is left to posterity, for a marke and ensigne of the vertue and understanding of their Ancestors: so (seeing Siracides preferreth Sirac.40.10.28) Death before Beggary : and that titles, without proportionable estates, fail under the miserable succour of other mens pity;) I account it foolishnesse to condemne such a care: Provided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raise not our owne buildings out of other mens ruines. For, as Plato doth first preferre the Plate leg. 1.23 perfection of bodily health; secondly, the forme and beauty; and thirdly, Divitias nulla fraude quæsitas : /o Jeremy cries, Woe unto them that erect their hou-IGI.22.13. fes by unrighteousnesse, and their chambers without equity : and Esay the same, Woe to those that spoile and were not spoiled. And it was out of the Esay 33. true wisdome of Solomon, that he commandeth us, not to drinke the wine of Protisties violence; not to lie in wait for bloud, and not to swallow them up alive, 25,9,81 whose riches we covet: for such are the wayes (faith hee) of every one that is greedy of gaine.

And if we could afford our selves but so much leisure as to consider, That hee which hath most in the world, bath, in respect of the world, nothing in it: and that be which hath the longest sime lent him to live init, hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we shall abide for ever: Isay, if both, to wit, our proporzion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing it is not out of any excellency of understanding, that we so much prise the one, which bath (in effect) no being : and fo much neglect the other, which bath no ending: coveting those mortall things of the world, as if our soules were therein immortall and neglecting those things which are immortall, as if our selves after the

world were but mortall.

But let every man value his owne wisedome, as he pleaseth. Let the Rich man thinke all fooles, that cannot equall his abundance the Revenger esteeme all neglivent that have not trodden down their opposites; the Politician, all groffe that cannot merchandize their faith: Yet when we once come in fight of the Port of death. to which all windes drive us to when by letting fall that fatall Anchor, which can never be weighed again, the Navigation of this life takes end: Then it is, I fay, that our own cogitations (those sad & severe cogitations, formerly beaten from us by our Health and Felicity) returne againe, and pay us to the uttermost for all the pleafing passages of our lives past. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy then. when our selves can no longer exercise cruelty to others: and it is onely then , that me are strucken through the soule with this terrible sentence, That God will not Galera be mocke. For if according to S. Peter, The righteous scarcely be saved: and that God spared not his Angels : where shall those appeare, who, having served their appetites all their lives, presume to think, that the severe Commandements of the All-powerfull God were given but in sport and that the short breath, which we draw when death presseth us, if we can but fashion it to the sound of Mercy (without any kind of satisfaction or amends) is safficient? O quam multi, saith a reverend Father, cum hacipe ad aternos labores & belladelcendunt ! I confesse that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have it faid, that we ended welfor we all

desire (as Balaam did) to die the death of the righteous. But what shall wee call a difesteeming, an apposing, or (indeed) a mocking of God: if those men doe not appose him, disesteeme him, and mocke him, that thinke it enough for God, to aske bim forgivenesse at leasure, with the remainder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For what doe they otherwise, that die this kinde of wel-dying, but say unto God as followeth? We be seech thee, O God, that all the falshoods, for swearings, and treacheries of our lives past, may be pleasing unto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that have had no leafure to doe any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to be a just God; that thou wilt love injuries and oppressions. call ambition wifedome, and charity foolishnesse. For I shall prejudice my sonne (which I am refolved not to doe) if I make restitution; and confesse my selfe to have beene unjust, (which I am too proud to doe) if I deliver the oppressed. Certainly thele wife worldlings have either found out a new God; or made One; and in all likelihood such a Leaden One, as Lewis the eleventh ware in his Cappe. which when he had caused any that he feared, or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head and kiffe it: befeeching it to pardon him this one evill act more, and io should be the last; which (as at other times) he did, when by the practice of a Cardinall and a falfified Sacrament, he caused the Earle of Armagnac to be stabbed to death:mockeries indeed fit to be used towards a Leaden, but not towards the everliving God. But of this composition are all devout lovers of the World, that they feare all that is durelesse and ridiculous: they feare the plots and practices of their opposites, and their very whisperings : they feare the opinions of men, which beate but upon shadowes: they flatter and for sake the prosperous and unprosperous. be they friends or Kings : yea they dive under water, like Duckes, at every pebble Rone, that is but throwne towards them by a powerfull hand : and on the contrary! they shew an obstinate and Giant-like valour, against the terrible judgements of the All-powerfull God: yeathey shew themselves gods against God, and slaves to wards men towards men whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.

Now for the rest: If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poore to oppressed, whom we account wretched: wee shall finde the happinesse of the one, and the miserable eflate of the other, so tied by God to the very instant, and both so subject to enterchange (witnesse the sudden downefall of the greatest Princes, and the speedy uprifing of the meanest persons) as the one hath nothing so certaine, whereof to boast? nor the other so uncertaine, whereof to bewaile it selfe. For there is no man so asfured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that he may be deprived of eyther, or all, the very next houre or day to come. Quid vesper vehat, incertum est. What the evening will bring with it, it is uncertaine. And yet ye cannot tell (faith S. fames) what shall be to morrow. To day he is set up? and to morrow he shall not be found; for hee is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth. And although the aire which compasseth adversity be very obscure: yet therin we better discerne God than in that shining light which environ neth worldly glory; through which, for the clevernesse there is no vanity which escapeth our fight. And let adversity seem what it will to happy men ridiculous, who make themselves merry at other mens misfortunes, and to those under the crosse, grievous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very instant, the portions remaining are equall to either. For bee it that wee have

lave lived many yeares, and (according to Solomon) in them all wee have reovced or beit that we have measured the same length of dayes and therein have evermore for rowed: yet looking backe from our prefent being, wee finde both the one and the other, to wit, the joy and the woe, fayled out of fight; and death, which doth pursue us and hold us in chace, from our infancy, bath gathered it. Quicquid ætatis retro est, mors tenet: Whatsoever of our age is past, death holds it. So as who soever hee bee, to whom Fortune hath beene a servant, and the Time a friend: let him but take the accompt of his memory (for wee have no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truly examine what it hath reserved evther of beauty and youth, or fore-gone delights, what it hath saved, that it might last, of his dearest affections, or of whatever else the amorous Spring-time gave his thoughts of contentment, then unvaluable; and bee shall finde that all the Art which his elder yeares have, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions. than heavie, secret, and sad sighes. He shall finde nothing remaining, but those forrowes. which grow up after our fast-springing youth; overtake it, when it is at a stand and over-topt it utterly, when it beginnes to wither: in so much as looking back from the very instant time, of from our now being, the poore, discased, and captive creature, bath as little sense of all his former miseries and paines, as hee that is most blest in common opinion, hath of his fore-passed pleasure and delights. For phatsoever is cast behinde us, is just nothing: and what is to come, deceitfull hope bathit : Omnia quæ eventura funt, in incerto jacent. Onely those few blacke Swannes I must except: who having had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their owne price. doe, by retayning the comfortable memory of a well acted life, behold death without dread, and the grave without feare: and embrace both, as necessary guides to endlesse glory.

For my selfe this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the forrowes of this life are but of two forts: whereof the one hathrespect to GOD: the other to the World. In the first we complaine to GOD against our selves for our offences against bim: and confesse, Et tu justus es in omnibus quæ venerunt super nos, And thou O Lord art just in all that hath befallen us. In the second wee complaine to our selves against GOD: as if hee had done us wrong either in not giving us worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites: or for taking them againe from us having had them; forgetting that humble Gjust acknowledgment of Job, the Lord hath given, & the Lord hath taken. To the first of which Saint Paul hath promised blesseduesse; to the second, death. And out of doubt he is either a foole, or ungratefull to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how meane soever his estate be, that the same is yet far greater. than that which God oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how sharpe soever his afflictions bee, that the same are yet far lesse, than those which are due unto him? And if an Heathen wife man cal the adversities of the world but tributa vivendi. the tributes of living: a wife (bristian man ought to know them, & beare them, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to beare them manlike, or resolvedly; or not as those whining souldiers doe, qui gementes sequuntur imperatorem.

For seeing God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written out for us, coappointed us all the parts we are to play: and hath not, in their distribution, beene partiallto the most mighty Princes of the world. That gave unto Darius the part of the greatest Emperour, and the part of the most miserable beggar.

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a beggar begging water of an Enemy, to quench the great drought of death. That appointed Bajazet to play the Grand Signior of the Turks in the morning, of in the same day the Footstoole of Tamerlane (both which parts Valerian had alfoplaid, being taken by Sapores:) that made Bellifarius play the most victorious Captaine & lastly the part of a blinde beggar; of which examples many thousands may be produced: why should other men, who are but as the least wormes. complaine of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world than to refolve, That the change of fortune on the great Theater, is but as the change of garments on the leffe. For when on the one and the other, every man weares but his own skin, the Players are all alike. Now if any man out of weakness prize the passages of this world otherwise (for saith Petrarch, Magni ingenii est revocare mentem a sensibus) it is by reason of that unhappy fantasie of ours. which forgeth in the braines of Man all the miseries (the corporall excepted) whereunto he is subject. Therein it is that Misfortune and Adversity work all that they worke. For feeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all. whatfoever Fortune or Force takes from any one; it were a foolish madnesse in the shipwracke of worldly things, where all finkes but the Sorrow, to fave it. That were, as Seneca Saith Fortunæ succumbere, quod tristius est omni fato: To fallunder Fortune, of all other the most miserable destinie.

But it is now time to sound a retrait; and to defire to be excused of this long purfuit : and withall, that the good intent, which bath moved mee to draw the picture of time past (which we call History) in so large a Table, may also bee accepted in

place of a better reason.

The examples of divine providence, every where found (the first divine Histories being nothing elle but a continuation of such examples) have persuaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, (reation. For though these two glorious actions of the Almighty be so neere, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implyeth the other: Creation inferring Providence (for what father for saketh the childe that he hath begotten?) and Providence pre-Supposing Creation: Yet many of those that have seemed to excell in worldly wisedome, have gone about to dis-joyne this coherence; the Epicure denying both (reation and Providence, but granting that the world had a Beginning; the Aristotelian granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.

Now although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for by faith we understad, that the world was made by the word of God) be too weighty a worke for Aristotles rotten ground to beare up, upon which he hath (notwithstanding) founded the Defences and Foreresses of all his Verball Doctrine: Yet that the necessity of infinite power, and the worlds beginning, and the impossibilitie of the contrary even in the judgement of Naturall reason, wherein he believed, had not better informed him . it is greatly to be mar velled at. And it is no leffe strange. that those men which are desirous of knowledge (seeing Aristotle hath failed in this maine point : and taught little other than termes in the rest) have so retrencht their mindes from the following and overtaking of truth, and so absolutely subjected themselves to the . w of those Philosophicall principles; as all contrary kinde of teaching, in the fearch of causes, they have condemned either for phantasticall, or curious. But doth it follow, that the positions of Heathen Philosophers are undoubted grounds and principles

indeed, because so called ? Or that ipsi dixerunt, doth make them to be such ? Certainly no. But this is true, That where natural reason hath built any thing so strong avainst it selfe, as the same reason can hardly assaile it, much lesse batter it downe: the same in every question of Nature, and infinite power, may be approved for a fundamentall law of bumane knowledge. For faith Charron in his booke of chamon de Sat wildome, Tout proposition humaine a autant d'authorite quel'autre, si la sile raison n' on fait la difference; Every humane proposition hath equall authority, if reason make not the difference, the rest being but the fables of principles. But hereof how shall the upright and unpartiall judgement of man oive a lentence, where opposition and examination are not admitted to give in evidence? And to this purpose it was well said of Lactantius, Sapientiam fibi adimunt. Latt. de originale qui fine ullo judicio inventa majorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur: They neglect their owne wisdome, who without any judgement approve the invention of those that fore-went them; & suffer themselves after the manner of Beasts, to be led by them. By the advantage of which floth and dulneffe, ignorance is now become so powerfull a Tyrant as it hath let true Philosophy, Physick, and Divinity in a Pillory; and written over the first. Contra negantem Principia; over the second, Virtus specifica; and over the

third, Ecclesia Romana.

But for my selfe, I shall never be perswaded, that God hath shut up all light of Learning within the lanthorne of Aristotles braines : or that it was ever faid unto him, as unto Esdras, Accendam in Corde tuo Lucernam intellectus: that God bath given invention but to the Heathen, and that they onely invaded Nature, and found the strength and bottome thereof; the same Nature having confumed all her ftore, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That these and these bee the causes of these and these effects, Time hath taught us; and not reason: and so bath experience without Art. The Cheeefe-wife knoweth it as well as the Philofopher, that sowre Rennet doth coagulate her milke into a curd. But if wee aske a reason of this cause, why the sowrenesse doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I think that there is nothing to be found in vulgar Philosophy, to satisfie this and many other like vulgar questions. But man to cover his ignorance in the least things, who cannot give a true reason for the Grasse under his feet, why it should be greene rather than red, or of any other colour; that could never yet difcover the way and reason of Natures working, in those which are far lesse noble creatures than himselfe: who is farre more Noble than the Heavens themselves: Man (Jaith Solomon) that can hardly discerne the things that are upon the Salomon 1.3 Earth, and with great labour finde out the things that are before us. that hath fo short a time in the world, as he no sooner begins to learne, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his understanding nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Effence of his owne foule, and which the wifest of the Naturalists (if Aristotle be be) could never so much as define, but by the Action & Effect, telling us what it works (which all men knew as well as he) but not what it is , which neither he nor any else , doth know, but GOD that created it ; (For though I were perfect, yet I know not my foule, faith Job.) Man, I fay, that is but an idiot in the next cause of his owne life, and in the cause of all actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the Art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD, who (faith Job) is so excellent as we know him not; Job 250

andexamine the beginning of the worke, which had end before Mankinde had a beginning of being. He will disable Gods power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather give the motes of the Aire for a cause; cast the work on nece Sity or chance bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers the one to be the Author of the Matter, the other of the Forme; and lastly, for want of a worke-man, have it Eternall: which latter opinion Aristotle, to make him. lelfe the Author of a new Dostrine, brought into the World: and his Sestatours baye maintained it : parati ac conjurati, quos sequuntur, Philosophorum animis invictis opiniones tueri. For Hermes, who lived at once with, or some after Moses, Zoroaster, Muszus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxago. ras, Empedocles, Melissus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato and many others (pobole opinions are examifitely gathered by Steuchius Eugubinus) found in the necessity of invincible reason, One eternal and infinite Being, to be the Parent of the universall. Horum omnium sententia quamvis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectar, ut Providétiam unam esse confentiant: five enim Natura, five Æther, five Ratio, five mens, five fatalis necessitas, sive divina Lex; idem est quod à nobis dicitur Deus: All these mens opinions (faith Lactantius) though uncertain, come to this. That they agree upon one Providence; whether the same be Nature, or light, or Reason, or understanding, or destinie, or divine ordinance, that it is the same which we call GOD. (ertainly, as all the Rivers in the world, though they have divers rifings, and divers runnings; though they sometimes hide themselves for a Phile under ground, and seem to be lost in Sea-like Lakes . doe at last find, and fall into the great Ocean: so after all the searches that humane capacity hath; and after all Philosophicall contemplation and curiofity; in the necessity of this infinite power, all the reason of man ends and dissolves it selfe.

As for others; and first touching those which conceive the matter of the World to have beene eternall, and that God did not create the World ex nihilo, but ex materia præexistete: the Supposition is so weak, as is hardly worth the answering. For (saith Eusebius) Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere, They seeme unto me, which affirme this, to give part of the work to God, & part to Fortune: insomuch as if God had not found this first matter by chance, He had neither beene Author, nor father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Universall. For were the Matter or Chaos eternall: it then followes, That either this supposed Matter did fit it selfe to God, or God accommodate himselfe to the matter. For the first, it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselves to the Work-mans will. For the second it were horrible to conceive of God, That as an Artificer he applyed himselfe, according to the proportion of matter which he lighted upon.

But let it be supposed, That this matter hath bin made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wife: I would gladly learne how it came to passe, that the Same was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent and infinitely wife; and no more, nor no leffe, than served to receive the form of the Universall. For had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it be granted, That God created out of nothing so much of new matter, as served to finish the worke of the World: Or had there binmore of this matter, than sufficed, then God did dissolve & annihilate what soever remained and was superfluous. And this must every rea**fonable**

Sonable Soule confesse, That it is the same worke of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing, And by the same art and power, and by none other, can thole things or any part of that eternall matter, be againe changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.

Againe, to say that this matter was the cause of it selfe; this, of all other were the greatest Idiotisme. For , if it were the cause of it selfe at any time ; then there was also a time when it selfe was not: at which time of not being, it is easie enough to conceive, that it could neither procure it selfe, nor any thing else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible. Nihil autem seipsum præcedit. nea; seipsum componit corpus: There is nothing that doth precede it

selfe, neither doe bodies compound themselves.

For the rest. Those that faine this matter to be eternall, must of necessity confesses that Infinite cannot bee Separate from Eternity. And then had infinite matter left no place for infinite forme, but that the first matter was finite, the forme which it received proves it. For conclusion of this part, who loever will make choice. rather to believe in eternall deformity, or in eternall dead matter, than in eternall light and eternall life : let eternall death be his reward. For it is a madne se of that kind, as wanteth tearmes to expresse it. For what reason of man (whom the curse of presumption hath not stupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of shadow, quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) hath any thing wanting in it self, either for matter or forms vea for as many worlds (if such had beene Gods will) as the Sea hath sands? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation, than the workmans will. Yea Reason it selfe finds it more easie for infinite power, to deliver from it selfe a finite world, without the help of matter prepared; than for a finite man, a foole and dust, to change the forme of matter made to his hands. They are Dionysius bis words, Deus in una existentia omnia præhabet: and againe consecution Esse omnium est ipsa Divinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides : to Dit, causaliter, or in better tearmes, non tanquam forma, sed tanquam causa universalis. Neither hath the world universall closed up all of GOD: For the most part of his workes (faith Siracides) are hid. Neither can the depth of his wifedome bee opened, by the glorious worke of the world: which never brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded and made finite. And hereof it comes; That wee seldome entitle GOD the all-Thewing, or the all-willing; but the Almighty, that is, infinitely able.

But now for those, who from that ground, That out of nothing no thing is made, inferre the Worlds eternity; and yet not so salvage therein, as those are, which give an eternall being to dead matter: It is true, if the word (nothing) be taken in the affirmative; and the making, imposed upon Naturall Agents and finite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctor Aristotle himselfe confesseth, quod omnes antiqui decreverunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsumq; infinitum: That all the Ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the same to be infinite: and a little after, more large ly and plainly, Principium ejus est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse stencements principium ac omnia complecti ac regere: it is strangethat this Philosopher, Philos with his followers, should rather make choice out of falshood, to conclude falsly; than out of truth, to resolve truly. For if we compare the world Universal & all the

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unmeasurable Orbes of Heaven, and those marvellous bodies of the Sun, Moone, and Stars, with ipfum Infinitum : it may truly be faid of them all, which bimfelf affirmes of his imaginary Materia prima, That they are neither quid, quale, nor quantum and therfore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (qui destruit omnem proportione) is no wonder in Gods power. And ther fore Anaximander, Melissus, & Empedocles, call the world universall, but particulam Universitatis and infinitatis, a parcell of that which is the universality and the infinity it self; Plato, but a shadow of God. But the other to prove the worlds eternity, urgeth this Maxime, That, A sufficient & effectual cause being granted, an answerable effect therof is also granted. Inferring that God being for ever a Jufficient & effectual cause of the world the effect of the cause should also have bin for ever to wit, the world universall. But what astrange mockery is this in so great a Master, to confesse a sufficient es effectual cause of the porld, (to wit, an almighty God) in his Antecedent to the same God to be a God restrained in his conclusion to make God free in power & bound in wil able to effect. unable to determine; able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiously to resolve of God, as of naturall necessity: which hath neither choice, nor will, nor understanding; which cannot but worke matter being present: as fire, to burne things combustible. Againe he thus disputeth. That every Agent which can work, and doth not work, if it afterward worke, it is either thereto moved by it selfe, or by somewhat else: and so it passeth from power to AEt: But God (saith he) is immoveable, and is neither moved by himselfe, nor by any other : but being alwayes the same, doth alwayes worke. Whence he concludeth. If the world were caused by God, that he was for ever the cause thereof: and therefore eternall. The answer to this is very easie. For that Gods performing indue time that, which he ever determined at length to performe, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancy in him. For the same action of his will, which made the world for ever, did also with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this answer, in it selfe sufficient, others add further, that the Patterne or Image of the World may be said to be sternall: which the Platonicks call, spiritualem mundum; and doe in this fort distinguish the Idea and Creation in time. Mar Ficin de jus Spiritualis ille mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque Dei opus, mon. Anima la 8. vita æquali est Architecto, fuit semper cum illo, eritque semper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decedit jam ab opifice ex parte una, quia non fuit semper : retinet alteram, quia sit semper futurus: That representative, or the intentional world (/ay they) the fampler of this visible world, the first worke of GOD, was equally ancient with the Architect: for it was for ever with him, and ever shall bee. This materiall world, the second worke or creature of 60 D, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from everlasting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for ever to come. The first point, That it was not for ever, all Christians confesse: The other they understand no otherwise, than that after the consumation of this world, there shalbe a new Heaven and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter. But of these things we need not here stand to argue: though such opinions be not unworthy the propounding, in this

consideration, of an eternall and unchangeable cause, producing a changeable

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That the compounded effence of the World (and because compounded, therefore dissipable) is continued, o knit to the Divine Being, by an individual o inseparable power flowing from Divine unity, & that the Worlds naturall appetite of God sheweth that the same proceedeth from a good and understanding divine; and that this vertue by which the World is continued & knit together must be infinite that it may infinitely and everlastingly continue and preserve the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (faith he) is not capable of , but receiveth it from the divine infinite according to the temporall Nature it hath, successively every moment by little and little even as the whole Materiall World is not altogether : but the abolithed parts are departed by small degrees, and the parts yet to come doe by the same small decrees succeed: as the shadow of a tree in a River, seemeth to have continual ed the same a long time in the water, but it is perpetually renewed, in the continuall

ebbing and flowing thereof.

Butto returne to them, which denying that ever the World had any beginning? withall deny that ever it shall have any end, and to this purpose affirm. That it was never heard never read, never scene, no not by any reason perceived, that the Heavens have ever suffered corruption; or that they appeare any way the older by continuance : or in any fort other wife than they were; which had they been subject to finall corruption. some change would have been discerned in so long a time. To this it is answered. That the little change as yet perceived, doth rather prove their new nesse, and that they have not continued so long; than that they wil continue for ever as they are. And if conjecturall arguments may receive answer by conjectures: it then feemeth that fome alteration may bee found. For either Aristotle, Plinie, Anife Mieral Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, and others, were grossely mistaken: or else those parts of Strabla. the world, lying within the burnt Zone, were not in elder times habitable, by rea-Bedade values the world, lying within the burnt Zone, were not in elder times habitable, by rea-Bedade values tem. 11.6.32. fon of the Suns heate, neither were the Seas, under the Equino Etial, na vigable. But Thomps q. wee know by experience, that those Regions, so situate, are filled with people, and rozaita, exceeding temperate; and the Sca, over which wa Navigate, passable enough. We reade also many Histories of deluges; and how that in the time of Phaeton divers places in the World were burnt up, by the Suns violent heate.

But in a Word, this observation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That stone-wals, of matter moldring and friable have stood two, or three thousand yeares: that many things have beene digged up out of the earth, of that depth, as supposed to have beene buried by the generall floud; without any alteration either of substance or figure: yea it is beleeved, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily found in Mynes, and Rockes, under ground, was created together with the

Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldest times have not invaded and corrupted: what great alteration should we looke for in Calestiall and quintessentiall bodies? And yet we have reason to thinke, that the Sunne, by whose help all Creatures are generate, doth not in these latter Ages asist Nature, as heretod fore. We have neither Giants, such as the eldest world had: nor mighty men, such as the elder world had; but all things in generall are reputed of leffe vertue which from the Heavens receive vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface would permit a larger discourse, we might easily fetch store of proofe; as that this world shall at length bave end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good answer that can bee made to this objection : if the World

and temporall effect. Touching which point Proclus the Platonist disputeth,

That

were evernall; why not all things in the World Eternall? If there were no first, no cause, no Father, no Creator, no incomprehensible wisedome, but that every Nature had beene alike eternall, and Man more rationall than every other Nature: Why had not the eternall reason of Man, provided for his eternall being in the World? For if all were equall, why not equall conditions to all? Why should

heavenly bodies live for ever; and the bodies of Menrot and dye?

Againe, who was it that appointed the Earth to keepe the center, and gave Order that it should hang in the Aire: that the Sunne should travaile betweene the Tropicks, and never exceed those bounds, nor faile to performe that Progresse once in every yeare: the Moon to live by borrowed light; the fixed Stars (according to common opinion) to bee fastned like Nailes in a Cart-wheele, and the Planets to mander at their pleasure? Or if none of these had power over other: was it out of Charity and Love, that the Sunne by his perpetuall travaile within those two Circles, hath visited, given light unto, and relieved all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turnes and times? Out of doubt, if the Sunne have of his owne accord kept this course in all eternity : He may justly be called eternall Charity and everlasting Love. The same may be said of all the Stars: who being all of them most large and cleare fountaines of vertue and operation, may also bee called eternall vertues: the Barth may be called eternall patience: the Moone, an eternall borrower and beggar; and Man of all other the most miserable, eternally mortall. And what were this, but to believe againe in the old Play of the gods? Yeain more gods by Millions, than ever Hesiodus dream'd of. But in stead of this mad folly, we see it well enough with our feeble and mortall eyes: and the eyes of our reafon discerne it better; That the Sun, Moon, Stars, and the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained: themselves they bave not constrained, nor could. Omne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinaverit; Every thing bounded hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.

Now for Nature; As by the ambiguity of this name, the schoole of Aristotle hath both commended many errours unto us, and fought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the governing of the World: so if the best definition be taken out of the second of Aristotles Phylicks, or primo de Cœlo, or out of the fift of his Metaphylicks; I say that the best is but nominall, and serving onely to difference the beginning of Naturall motion from Artificiall: which yet the Academicks open better, when they call it A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soule of the World: who give the first place to Providence, the second to Fate, and but the third to Nature. Providentia (by which they understand GOD) dux & caput Fatum, medium ex providentia prodiens; Natura postremum. But be it what he will, or be it any of these (God excepted) or participating of all: yet that it hath choice or understanding (both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man hath avowed. For this is unanswerable of Lactantius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut scientiam: He only can be said to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge

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But the will and science of Nature, are in these words truly exprest by Ficinus: Potest ubiq; Natura, vel per diversa media, vel ex diversis materils, diversa facere: sublata vero medioru materiarumq, diversitate, vel unicu, vel simi-

limum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diversity of meanes, or out of diversity of matter, to produce divers things: but taking away the diversity of meanes, and the diversity of matter, it then workes but one or the like worke; neither can it but worke, matter being present. Now if Nature made choice of diversity of matter, to worke all these variable workes of Heaven and Earth, it had then both understanding and will; it had counsell to beginne; reason to dispose; vertue and knowledge to finish, and power to governe: without which all things had been but one and the same: all of the matter of Heaven; or all of the matter of Earth. And if wee grant Nature this will, and this understanding, this counsell, reason, and power: Cur Natura potius quam Deus nominetur? Why should we then Last de ma Deus call such a cause rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men have notion, and give the first and highest place to Divine power: Omnes homines notionem diffiliade deorum habent, omnesse: summum locum divino cuidam numini assignant. And this I fay in short: that it is a true effect of true reason in man (were there no authority more binding than reason ; to acknowledge and adore the first and most sublime power. Vera Philosophia, est ascensus ab his quæ fluunt. & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere sunt, & semper eadem : True Philosophy, is an ascending from the things which flow, and arise, and fall to

the things that are for ever the same. For the rest: I doe also account it not the meanest, but an impiety monstrous, to confound God and Nature : be it but in tearmes. For it is God, that only disposeth of all things according to his own will, of maketh of one Earth, Vessels of honour & dishonor. It is Nature that can dispose of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherin it worketh. It is God that comandeth al. It is N ature that is obedient to all. It is God that doth good unto all knowing and loving the good he doth: It is Nature, that secondarily doth also good, but it neither knoweth nor loveth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himfelfe: Nature nothing in it felf. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which is begotten by all things, in which it liveth and laboureth, for by it selfe it existeth not. For shall we say, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heavie things fall towards it? Shal we call it Reason, which doth conduct every River into the salt Sea? Shall we tearme it knowledge in fire, that makes it to confume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledgin these: by the same Affection, Reason, and Knowledge it is that Nature worketh. And therefore seeing all things works as they doe, (call it by Forme, or Nature, or by what you please) yet because they porke by an impulsion, which they cannot refift; or by a faculty, infused by the supremest power: We are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder: and to him is the worship due, who hath created such a Nature in things, & such a faculty, as neither knowing it selfe, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; doe yet worke all things to their last and attermost perfection. And therefore every reasonable man, taking to himselfe for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquitie, and by all men truly learned that ever the world had; to wit. That there is a power infinite, and eternall (which also necessity doth prove unto us, without the helpe of Faith, and Reason. without the force of Authority) all things do as easily follow which have bin delivered by divine letters, as the

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maters of a running river do successively pursue each other fro the first fountains.

Elaze de defin.

This much I say it is, that Reason it selfe hath taught us: and this is the beginning of knowledge. Sapientia præcedit, Religio sequitur: quia prius est Deum Enclique a. ning of knowleage. Sapiente goes before, Religion followes: because it is devera sapiente. scire, consequens colere, Sapience goes before, Religion followes: because it is first to know God, and then to worship him. This Sapience Plato calleth absoluti boni scientiam, The science of the absolute good: and another scientiam rerum primarum, sempiternarum, perpetuarum, For Faith (faith Isidore) is not extorted by violence; but by reason and examples persuaded: fides nequaquam vi extorquetur, sed ratione & exemplis suadetur. I confesse it, That to enquire further as of the essence of God of his power of his Art, & by what meane He created the world: Or of his secret judgement & the causes is not an affect of Reason. Sed cum ratione in saniunt, but they grow mad with reason, that inquire after it: For as it is no shame nor dishonour (faith a French Author) de faire arrest au but qu'on nasceu surpasser, For a man to rest himself there, where he finds it impossible to passe on further: so what soever is beyond, and out of the reach of true reason, it acknowledgeth it to be fo; as under standing it felf not to be infinite, but according to the iName and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that best knowes the end of his own Art. For seeing both Reason & Necessity teach w (Reason, which is pars didumnaturam ter- vini spiritus in corpus humanum mersi) that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teath us; and feeing the same Reason and Necessito make us know, that the same infinite power is every where in the porld and yet how every where, it cannot informe us: our beliefe hereof is not peakned, but greatly strengthened, by our ignorance, because it is the same Reason that tels us, That such a Nature cannot be faid to be God, that can be in all conceived by man.

> Thave been already over-long, to make any large discourse either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuse: especially in the excuse of this or that paffage; feeing the whole is exceeding weak and defective. Among the groffest, the unsutable division of the bookes, I could not know how to excuse, had I not beene directed to enlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the first part sinished. All men know that there is no great Art in the dividing evenly of those things, which are subject to number and measure. For the rest, it sutes well enough with a great many Bookes of this Age, which speake too much, and yet say little; Ipfi nobis furto subducimur; We are stollen away from our selves setting a high price on all that is our owne. But hereof, though a late good Writer make complaint, yet shall it not lay hold on mee, because I beleeve as hee doth; That who fothinkes himselfe the wisest man, is but a poore and miserable ignorant. Those that are the best men of war, against all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do alwayes keepe the strongest guards against themselves, to defend them from themselves: from selfe love selfe estimation, and selfe opinion.

Generally concerning the order of the Worke. I have onely taken counsell from the Argument. For of the Assyrians, which after the downe-fall of Babel take up the first part, and were the first great Kings of the World, there came little to the rosew of posterity: some few enterprises, greater in fame than faith, of Ninus and Semiramis, excepted.

It was the story of the Hebrewes, of all before the Olympiads, that overcame the confuming disease of time, and preserved it selfe, from the very cradle and beginning

ginning to this day: and yet not so entire, but that the large discourses thereof (to which in many Scriptures we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the actions of those Kings and Princes which shot up here and there in the same time, I am driven to relate by way of digression: of which wee may fay with Virgil:

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto.

They appeare here and there floring in the great gulfe of time. To the same first Ages doe belong the report of many Inventions therein found. and from them derived to us : though most of the Authors Names have perished in solong a Navigation. For those Ages had their Lawes they had diversity of Government they had Kingly rule. Nobility Policy in war Navigation and all or the most of needfull Trades. To speak therfore of these (seeing in a generall History we should have left a great deale of Nakedne ffe, by their omission) it cannot properly be called a digression. True it is that I have made also many others: which if they shall belaid to my charge, I must cast the fault into the great heape of humane error. For feeing we digreffe in all the waies of our lives : yea, feeing the life of man is nothing else but digression; I may the better be excused, in writing their lives es actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Lawes of History, and of the Kindes.

The same hath been taught by many but by no man better, and with greater brevity. than by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir Francis Bacon. Christian Lawes are also taught us by the Prophets and Apostles; and every day preacht unto us. But we still make large digressions : yea, the Teachers themselves doe not

(in all) keepe the path which they point out to others.

For the rest, after such time as the Persians had wrested the Empire from the Chaldwans, and bad raised a great Monarchy, producing Actions of more importance than were elsewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story to attend this Empire; whilf it so flourished, that the affaires of the nations adjorning had reference thereunto. The like observance was to be used towards the fortunes of Greece, when they againe began to get ground upon the Persians. as also towards the affairs of Rome, when the Romans gre wmore mighty that the Greeks.

As for the Medes, the Macedonians, the Sicilians, the Carthaginians, and other Nations who resisted the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their composition and enlargement: it seemed best to remember What was knowne of them from their severall beginnings, in such times and places as they in their flourishing estates opposed those Monarchies, which in the end swallowed them up. And herein I have followed the best Geographers: Who seldome give names to those small brookes, whereof many joyned together, make great Rivers; till such time as they become united, and run in maine streame to the Ocean Sea. If the Phrase be weak, & the Stile not every-where like it self; the first shews their legitimation and true Parent . the second will excuse it self upon the Variety of Matter. For Virgil, who wrote his Eclogues, gracili avena, used stronger pipes, when he sounded the wars of Aneas. It may also be laid to my charge, that Iuse divers Hebrew words in my first booke, and elsewhere: in which language others may thinke, and I my selfe acknowledge it, that I am alweether ignorant; but it is true, that some of them I find in Montanus, others in latin Caracter in S. Senensis and of the rest I have borrowed the interpretation of some of my friends. But say I had bin beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondred at, having had

The Preface.

an eleven yeares leasure, to attaine the knowledge of that, or of any other tongue; How oever, Iknow that it will be faid by many. That I might have been more pleafing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine owne times, having been permitted to draw water as neare the Well-head as another. To this I answer, that who soever in writing a moderne History, shall follow truth too neare the heeles, it may haply strike out his teeth. There is no Mistresse or Guide, that bath led her followers and servants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too far off lofeth ber fight, and lofeth himself: and he that walkes after her at a middle distance. Iknow not whether I should call that kinde of course, Temper or Basenesse. It is true, that Inevertravelled after mens opinions, when I might have made the best use of them : and I have now too few dayes remaining, to imitate those, that either out of extreme ambition, or extreme cowardise or both, doe yet (when death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the world, between the bed and the grave. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times : wherein also why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and taxe the vices of those that are yet living in their persons that are long since dead; and have it laid to my charge? But this I cannot helpe, though innocent. And certainly if there be any that finding themselves spotted like the Tigers of old time, shal find fault with mee for painting them over anew, they shall therein accuse themselves justly and

me falliv.

For I protest before the Majesty of God. That I malice no man under the Sunne. Imposible I know it is to please all: seeing few or none are so pleased with themselves, or so assured of themselves by reason of their subjection to their private passions, but that they seem divers persons in one & the same day. Seneca hath said it, and so do I: Unus mihi pro populo erat: and to the same effect Epicurus, Ho: ego non multis sed tibi; or (as it hath since lamentably fallen out) Imay borrow the resolution of an ancient Philosopher, Satis est unus, Satis est nullus. For it was for the service of that inestimable Prince Henry, the successive hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I undertooke this Worke. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amisse. It is now left to the world without a Mafter: from which all that is presented, hath received both blows and thanks: Fadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis judicii, in quolis secundum plures datur. But these discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will judge charitably: so against those, qui gloriantur in malitia, my present adversity hath disarmed me. I am on the ground already. therefore have not far to fall: and for rising againe, as in the Naturall privation there is no recession to habit; so it is seldome seene in the privation politique. Ido therefore forbeare to stile my Readers Gentle, Courteous, and Friendly, therby to beg their good opinions, or to promise a second and third volume (which I also intend) if the first receive grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough, and too much: and it is certaine, let us claw the Reader with never so many courteous phrases, yet shall we evermore be thought fooles, that write foolishly. For conclusion, all the hope I have lies in this, That I have already found more ungentle and uncourteous Readers of my Love towards them, and well-deserving of them, than ever I shall doe againe. For had it been otherwise, I should hardly have had this leifure to have made my selfe a foole in print.

THE



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FINIS



THE FIRST PART OF THE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE BEGINNING, AND first Ages of the same, from the Creation, unto ABRAHAM.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

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That the invisible God is seene in his Creatures.



O D, whom the wifest men acknowledge to bee a Power uneffable, and Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant claritie invifible; and Understanding which it selfe can onely comprehend, an Effence eremall and spirituall, of absolute purenesse and simplicity; was, and is pleased to make himselfe knowne by the worke of the World: in the wonderfull magnitude whereof, (all which He imbraceth, filleth and fustaineth) we behold the Image of that glory, which cannot be measured, and withall that one, and yet univerfall Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious Lights

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In these more than wonderfull workes, God (faith * Hugo) speaketh unto man, and Tails, Thus verd ingenius, tis true, that thefe be those discourses of God, whose effects, all that live, witnesse in or non apparent hemselves; the sensible, in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable soules: # immanifefraccording to S.* GREGORY, O mis bomo eo i pfo quod rationalis condituses, ex i pfa tem manifigants, ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deumesse colligere debet; Every man, in that he is reasonable, be omit apout of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men parties, is omit and omit of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men omit of omit of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men omit of omit of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. behold (faith Job:) which is according to the Fathers, Dominationem illius conspictre in remia lilius Creatures, To discerne him in his providence by his Creatures. That God hath bedne other-generatorion off wife seene, to wit, with corporall eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my under stan- quangenerale,

2

Joh 5.3. Origen.l.z.mel icxav, c.22. Curil co Chryf. in Fols hom. 14. Greg.Naz.1.2. 13.Greg.Mag. epift. I.Decret. Alcuin I 2.de Trin.c.16.D.Areop.cap 4.Cal. 2.q.12.art II. dalibi.Deus, qui natura invisibilis est ut à vilibilibies postet sciri, op:us fecit, quod Opificem (ui visibiliter manifestaret utper certum incertum Circum & ille Deus omnium esse crederetur Amb in enzit. adRome.I. Cufan-degen. zlialog. Rom.1.20.

A Mont. Nat. Hift fol.7.

Herm in Pos-

mandro er in

fermone facro.

Deul-4.24.

Heb.12.19 .

ding, grounded on these places of S. John and S. Paul, Yee have not heard his voice at any time, neither have ye seene his shape. And againe, Whom never man saw, nor can see.

The first Booke of the first part

And this, I am fure, agreeth with the nature of Gods simplicity, of which S. Augustine Ipfaenimnatura, vel substantia, vel quolibet alio nomine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter viderinen poiest; That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoever name that is to be called which is God, whatloever that be, the same cannot be corporally Estatam.Augl.2. de Prince 12. & perceived. And of this opinion were Origen, Cyril, Chry softome, Gregory NaZian Zenus, Hie. rome, Augustine, Gregory the great, Evaristus, Alcuinus, Dionysius Areopagita, Aquinas, and all others of authoritie. But by his owne Word, and by this visible World, is God perceived of men; which is also the understood language of the Almighty, vouch fafed to to all his Creatures, whose Hieroglyphicall Characters, are the unnumbred Starres, the Sunne and Moone, written on these large Volumes of the Firmament: written also on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all those living Creatures, and Plants, which inhabite and refide therein. Therefore faid that learned Cus Anus, Mundus universus nihil aliudest, quam Deus explicatus; The World univerfall, is nothing else but God exprest. And the invisible things of God (faith S. Paul) are seene by creation of the World, being confidered in his Creatures. Of all which, there was no other cause preceding, than his owne Will, no other matter than his owne Power, no other workman than his owne Word, no other confideration than his owne infinite Goodnesse. The example and patterne of these his Creatures, as hee beheld the same in all eternity in the abundance of 2 his owne love, fo was it at length in the most wise order, by his unchanged Will moved, by his high Wisedome disposed, and by his almighty Power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (faith Mirandula) we ought to love God, Ex fide, & ex effectibus, (that is) both perswaded by his Word, and by the effects of the Worlds creation: Neg; enim qui causacaret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognosciq; potest, sed vel ex rerum, qua facta sunt quaq; fiunt & gubernantur observatione & collatione, vel ex ipsius Dei verbo : For he of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be knowne by any knowledge of cause or beginning, (faith Montanus) but either by the observing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and governe, or else by the Word of God himfelfe.

> S. II.
>
> That the wisest of the Heathen, whose authority is not to be dispised, have acknowledged the world to have beene created by God.

His worke and creation of the World, did most of the ancient and learned Philo-I fophers acknowledge, though by divers termes, and in a different manner exprest, I meane all those who are intitled by S.Augustine, Summi Philosophi, Philosophers of highest judgement and understanding. Mercurius Trismegistus calleth God, Principium universorum; The original of the universall: to whom he giveth also the attributes of Mens, Natura, Actus, Necessitas, Finis, & Renovatio. And wherein he truely, with S. Paul, cafteth upon God all power; confessing also, that the world was made by Gods almighty Word, and not by hands: Verbo, non manibus fabricatus est mundus. Zoroaster (whom Heraclitus followed in opinion) tooke the word Fire, to expresse God by (as in Deuteronomy, and in S. Paul it is used) Omnia ex unoigne genita sunt , All things (faith he) are caused, or produced out of one fire.

So did Orpheus plainely teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the Will of the most High God; whose remarkeable words are thus converted: Cum abscendisset omnia Jupiter summus, deinde in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia : Of which I conceive this sense : When great Jupiter had hidden all thing in him. selfe; working out of the love of his sacred heart, he sent thence, or brought forth into gratefull light, the admirable workes which he had fore-thought.

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wifest, acknowledged also one God, the most High, to be the Father and Creator of all things : Unus Deus, Pater, Creator fummus. P L A T O calleth God the cause and originall, the nature and reason of the universall; Totius rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus. But hereof more at large hereafter.

Now, although the curiofity of some men have found it superfluous, to remember the opinions of Philosophers, in matters of Divinity: (it being true, that the Scripture

hath not want of any forraine testimonie) yet as the Fathers, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; fo S. Paul himselfe did not despise, but thought it lawfull and profitable, to remember whatfoever hee found agreeable to the Word of Godamong the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of ignorance. God rendring vengeance to them that know him not as in the Epiftle to Titus he cyteth Epimenides against the Cretians, and to the Corinthians, Menander; and in the feventeenth of the Acts, Aratus &c. For, Truth (faith S. Ambrofe) by whom foever uttered is of the holy Ghost; Veritas à quocunq; dicatur, à Spiritusancto est: and lastly, let those kind of men learne this rule ; Que facris ferviunt prophana non funt ; Nothing is prophane that serveth to the use of holy things.

> 6. III. Of the meaning of In Principio, Genef. 1.1.

His visible world of which Moses writeth, God created in the beginning, or, first of all: in which (faith Tertullian) things began to be. This word Beginning (in which the Hebrewes feeke fome hidden mysterie, and which in the Jewes Targum is converted by the word Sapientia) cannot be referred to fuccession of time, nor to order, as some men have conceived, both which are subsequent: but onely to Creation then. For before that Beginning, there was neither primarie matter to be informed, nor forme to informe, nor any being, but the Eternall. Nature was not, nor the next Parent of Time begotten, Time properly and naturally taken: for if God had but disposed of Matter already in being, then as the word Beginning could not be referred to all things. fo must it follow, that the institution of Matter proceeded from a greater power, than that of God. And by what name shall wee then call such an One (faith Lanctantius) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellencie to make than to dispose of things made : whereupon it may be concluded that Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we faine a double creation, or allow of two powers, and both infinite, the impossibility whereof scorneth defence. Namimpossibile plura esse infinita: quoniam cusande mente alterum estern altero finitum. There cannot be more infinites than one: for one of them 163. would limit the other.

§. IV.

of the meaning of the words Heaven and Earth, Genef. i. 1.

■He univerfall matter of the world (which Mofes comprehendeth under the names of Heaven and Earth) is by divers diversly understood: for there are that conceive, that by those words was meant the first matter, as the Peripatetickes understand it to which S. Augustine and Isidore seeme to adhere. Fecisti mundum (favth S. Augustine de materia informi, quam fecifi de nulla re pene nullamrem : that is Thou hast made the world of a matter without forme which matter thou made ft of nothing, and being made it was little other than nothing.

But this potential and imaginarie materia prima, cannot exist without forme. Peter Lombard, the Schoolemen, Beda, Lyranus, Comeftor, Tostatus, and others affirme, that it pleased God first of all to create the Empyrean Heaven: which at the succeeding instant (faith Beda and Strabo) he filled with Angels. This Empyrean Heaven Steuchius Engubi. Beda Hex. Strab nus calleth Divine clarity, and uncreated: an errour, for which he is sharpely charged by Europe de Parerius, though (as I conceive) he rather failed in the fub fequent, when he made it to be rather failed in the fub fequent, when he made it to be rather failed in the fub fequent. a place, and the seate of Angels and just Soules, than in the former affirmation: for of the first, That God liveth in eternall Light, it is written; My foule, praise thou the Lord, Platsonie that covereth himselfe with light: and in the Revelation; And the City hath no need of the Clavitus divines noneflux fix Sunne, neyther of the Moone to shine in it: for the glory of God did light it. And herein also eta, ed fajea-John Mercer upon Genefis, differeth not in opinion from Engulinus: for as by Heaven liabeing created in the beginning, was not meant the invisible or supercelestiall, so in his judgement, because it was in all eternitie the glorious seat of God himselfe, it was not neces-Sarie to be created; Quem mundum supercalestem meo judicio creari (faith Mercer) non e. capatous fa rat necelle

But as Moses forbare to speake of Angels, and of things invisible and incorporate, for

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Ovidin Mad.

Bar. 3.24.25

Cufan in com-

pend.fol.zz4.

Calvinin Gen.

Operis.

the weaknesse of their capacities, whom he then cared to informe of those things which were more manifest, (to wit) that God did not only by a strong hand deliver them from the bondage of <code>Egypt</code>, according to his promise made to their foresathers; but also that he created, and was the sole cause of this aspectable, and perceiveable Universall: so on the other side I dare not thinke, that any supercelestiall Heaven, or whatsoever else (not the other side I dare not thinke, that any supercelestiall Heaven, or whatsoever else (not the other side I dare not thinke, that any supercelestiall Heaven, or whatsoever else (not the other side I dare not thinke, that any supercelestiall Heaven, or whatsoever else (not the other side I dare not thinke, that any supercelestiall Heaven, or whatsoever else (not the other side I dare not thinke, that any supercelestial Heaven, or whatsoever else (not the other world created, himselse) was increased and as for the place of God (saith Baruch) selfe, whom no magnitude else can containe: How great is the bouse of God (saith Baruch) show large is the place of his possession! it is great, and hath no end, it is high and unmeassurable. To be the supercelestic that he supercelestic strong allowed that he supercelestic supercelestic strong allowed that he supercelestic supercelestic strong and allowed that he supercelestic supercelestic strong and supercelestic superc

But leaving multiplicity of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the words Heaven and Earth, was meant the folid matter and substance, aswell of all the words Heavens, and Orbes supernall, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which covered it Heavens, to wit) that very matter of all things, materia, Chaos, possibilitas, sive possession over, (to wit) that very matter of all things, materia, Chaos, possibilitas, sive possession which matter (faith Calvin) was so called, quod totius mundi semen sucrit; Because it was the seed of the Universal . an opinion of ancient Philosophers long before-

That the substance of the waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by Mosks understood in 20 the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the attributes of unformed and voide, is described as the Chaos of the ancient Heathen.

Os Es first nameth Heaven and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word Earth; but afterwards hee nameth them apart, when God by his Spirit began to distinguish the confused Masse, and (as Basil saith) praparare naturam aqua ad facunditatem vitalem; to prepare the nature of water to a vital fruitful nesse.

For under the word Heaven, was the matter of all heavenly bodies, & natures express: and by the name of Earth and waters, all was meant, what foever is under the Moone, and subject to alteration. Corrupt seedes bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure 30 heavens are not subject, though subject to perishing. They shall perish (faith David) and the heavens shall vanish away like smoake, saith Esay. Neither were the waters the matter of Earth: for it is written, Let the waters under the heavens be gathered into one place, and let the drie land appeare: which proveth, that the drie land was mixt and covered with the waters, and not yet diftinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or seede of the Earth, much lesse of the Universall. Initio tu Domine terram fundasti, Thou, O Lord. in the beginning hast founded the Earth : and againe, The Earth was covered with the Deepe (meaning with waters) as with a garment; faith David. And if by naturall arguments it may be proved, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth us also, that earth rarified may become water: water, aire; aire, fire; and so on the 40 contrarie. Deus ignis substantiam per aerem in aquam convertit, God turneth the substance of fire, by aire, into water. For the Heavens and the Earth remained in the fame state, in which they were created, as touching their fubstance, though there was afterwards added multiplicitie of perfection, in respect of beauty and ornament. Calum verò & terra in statu creationis remanserunt, quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ora natus eis postmodum superaddita est. And the word which the Hebrews call Maim, is not to be understood according to the Latine translation simply, and as specificall water; but the same more properly signifieth liquor. For (according to Montanus) Est autem Maim liquor geminus, & boc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero aquas fecit. For Maim (faith he) is a double liquor (that is, of divers natures) and this name 50 or word the Latines, wanting a voyce to exprese it call it in the Plurall, Aquas, Waters.

This Masse, or indigested matter, or Chaos created in the beginning, was without forme, that is, without the proper forme, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the Earth, and digested it from the waters. And the earth was woide: that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, struits, or flowers. But after the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters and wrought this indigested matter into that forme, which it now recayneth, then did the earth bud forth the herbe, which seed the seed, and the struit full tree according to his kind, and God saw that it was good: which struit full tree according to his kind, and God saw that it was good: which struit full tree according to his kind, and God saw that it was good: which

attribute was not given to the Earth, while it was confused; nor to the Heavens, before they had motion, and adornement. God saw that it was good; that is, made perfect: for perfection is that to which nothing is warting. Et perfect Dei perfect sunt opera; The works of the perfect God, are perfect.

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the ancient Poets their invention of Demograpon: Hesiodus and Anaxagorus the knowledge of that Chaos: of which Ovid:

Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) Cælum, Unus erat toto natura vultus in Orbe, Quem dixêre Chaos, rudis indigestage moles.

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heaven, that all doth hide; In all the World one onely face of Nature did abide: Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heape.

How it is to be understood that the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters, and that this is not to be searched curiously.

Fter the Creation of Heaven and Earth, then void and without forme, the Spirit of God moved upon the Waters. The Seventy Interpreters use the word superfe-20 A rebatur, moved upon or over: incubabat, or fovebat (faith Hierome) out of Basil; and Basil out of a Syrian Doctor; Equidem non meam tibi, sed viri cujusdam Syrisenten- Basil. Herann. tiam recensebo (faith Basil:) which words incubare or fovere, importing warmth, harching, or quickning, have a speciall likenesse. Verbum translatumest ab avibus pullitiei sue incubantibus, quamvis spirituali, & plane inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo. The word is ta- Junio. ken of birds hatching their yong, not corporally, but in a spiritual and unexpressible manner. Some of the Hebrewes convert it to this effect, Spiritus Dei volitabat . The Spirit of God did flutter : the Chaldwan Paraphrast in this sense. Fentus à conspectu Dei sufflabat : or as other understand the Chaldwan, Flabat, pellebat, removebat: The wind from the face of God did blow under, drive, or remove, or did blow upon; according to the 147. Pfalme, Pfalme, Pfalme, 30 He caused his wind to blow, and the waters increase: but there was yet no wind nor exhalation. Ar Montage Arias Montanus in these words, Et Spiritus Elohim Meracheset, idest, efficaciter motitans supersuling consovens ac acitans super facies remini lianoris. The Spirit of God effectively of consovens. confovens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris; The Spirit of God effectually & often moving, keeping warme, and cherifbing, quickning and stirring upon the face of this double liquor. For he maketh foure originals, whereof three are agents, and the last passive and materiall, to wit, Caufa, which is the divine goodnesse: Jehi, which is, flat sive, erit, Let it Ar. Montide bee, or it shall be. Que vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit : Which voice (faith he) was the natura paging first that was uttered by the word of God. The third, Spiritus Elohim, the Spirit of God, id est, vis quadam divina, agilis acprasens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens; that is, A certaine divine power, or frength every where active and extending, and firetching through Ao all, filling and finishing allthings. The fourth he calleth Maim, idest, materies ad omnemrem conficiendam habilis , Matter apt to become every thing. For my felfe, I am refolved (Cima Deus sit super rationale omni ratione; Seeing God is in all reason above reason) that although the effects which follow his wonderfull waies of working, may in a measure be perceived by mans understanding, yet the maner and first operation of his divine power, cannot be conceived by any mind, or spirit, compassed with a mortall body. Animalis homo que Dei sunt non percipit : For my thoughts (faith the Lord in E s A +) are not your Elaste? thoughts, neither are your wayes my wayes. And as the world hath not knowne God himselfe: fo are his wayes (according to S.Pall) past finding out. O righteous Father, the world hath not knowne thee, faith Christ. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality 50 and operation, were by incubation or how elfe, the manner is onely knowne to God. Quomodoin omnibus sit rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non ca- Aug Tractico. Pit; For, how God faith S. Augustine, speaking of his Ubiquitie) is in all things, either by in Joh. 17.250 essence, presence, or power, our under standing cannot comprehend. Nihil inter Deum hominemq; distaret, si consilia, & dispositiones illins Majestatis aterna, togitatio assequeretur hu-taci in Fresti, mana: There would be no difference betweene God and Man, if mans understanding could conceive the counsels and disposing of that eternall Majesty; and therefore to be over-curious

in fearching how the all-powerfull Word of God wrought in the Creation of the

World, or his all-piercing and operative Spirit diftinguishing, gave forme to the Matter

P[a].102.26. E[ay.51.] Gen.1.v.9.

Pfal.104.6.

Zenge

Gul.Parij.600.

A.Mont. de nat

Gen. 1.2

12

of the Univerfall, is a labour and fearch like unto his, who not contented with a knowne and fafe Foord, wil prefume to paffe over the greatest River in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one lose his life, and the other his understanding. We behold the Sunne, and enjoy his light, as long as wee looke towards it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warme our selves safely, while we stand neere the fire; but if we seeke to out-face the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt,

But to eschew curiofity: this is true, that the English word (moved) is most proper and fignificant: for of motion proceedethall production, and all what foever is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truely called, Principium motus, and with MIRAN DULA, Vis causa efficientis, The force of the efficient cause; S. Augustine some- 10 times taketh for the holy Ghoft; fometime for a wind or breath, Sub nomine Spiritus, under the name of a Spirit, which is sometimes so taken: or for virtualis creatura, For a created virtuality : Tertullian and Theodoret call it also a breath or winde : Mercurius namethit, Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem, A pure or thin intelligible Spirit: Anaxa Goras, Mentem: Tostatus, Voluntatem & mentem Dei : The will and minde of God : which mens, Plato in Timeo, maketh Animammundi, The foule of the world: and in his fixt Booke de Republica, he calleth it the Law of Heaven; in his Epistles, The Leader of things to come. and the presence of things past. But as Cyprian wrote of the Incarnation of Christ our Saviour, Mens desicit, vox silet, & non mea tantum, sed etiam Angelorum; My minde fayleth, my voyce is silent, and not mine onely, but even the voyce Angels: so may all menelse say in 20 the understanding, and utterance of the wayes and works of the Creation; for to him (faith NaZianZenus) there is not one substance by which he is, and another, by which hee can, Sed consubstantiale illi est, quicquid ejus est, & quicquid est; Whatsoever attribute of him there is, and what foever he is it is the very fame fub stance that him felfe is.

But the Spirit of God which moved upon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or wind, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite active power of God, which then formed and diftinguished, and which now fustaineth, and giveth continuance to the Universall. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the same is it which main. tayneth all things, faith SALOMON. If thou fend forth thy Spirit (faith David) they are created: And GREGORY, Deus suo prasentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quod si se 30 rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic innihilum defluerent universa; Godgi, wethbeing to all things, by being present with all things, so as if he should withdraw himselfe from them then as of nothing the world was made, it would againe fall away and vanish into nothing. And this working of Gods Spirit in all things, Virgil hath exprest excellently:

Wirg. Antid.

Nazian lib.z.

Wildaz.v.y

Principio Calum ac Terras, camposq; liquentes, Lucentema; globum Luna, Titaniaq; aftra, Spiritus intus alit : totamq; infusa per artus, Mens agit at molem d' magno se corpore mi set.

The Heaven, and Earth, and all the liquid Mayne, The Moones bright Globe, and Stars Titanian, A Spirit within maintains: and their whole maffe, A Mind, which through each partinfus'd doth paffe, Fashions, and workes, and wholly doth transpierce All this great Body of the Universe.

706 6.26.V.13.

Gm.z.5.

And this was the same Spirit, which moved in the Universall, and thereby both di-Stinguished and adorned it. His Spirit bath garnished the Heavens, faith Job. So then the Spirit of God moved upon the waters, and created in them their spirituality, and naturall motion; motion brought forth heate; and heate rarifaction, and fubtilty of parts. By this Spirit (which gave heate and motion, and thereby, operation to every nature, 5 while it moved upon the waters, which were in one indigested lump, and Chaos, dispofed to all formes alike) was begotten Aire: an element superior, as lighter than the waters, through whose vast, open, subtile, Diaphanicke, or transparent body, the light afterwards created might eafily transpierce: Light for the excellency thereof being the first creature which God called good, whose creation immediatly followed. This Spirit Chysostome calleth a vitall Operation, Aquis à Des insitam, ex qua aqua non solum motisnem, sed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint. Hee callethit, A vitall Operation given by God unto the waters, whereby the waters had pot onely motion, but also power to procreate or S.VII. bring forth living Creatures.

of the light created, as the materiall substance of the Sunne : and of the nature of it, and diff. cultly of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and use of it: and of motion, and heate and nexeduntoit.

Hefe waters were afterwards congregated, and called the Sea: and this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and united, and called the Sunne, the Organ, and inftrument of created light. For this first and dispersed light did not (as I conceive) distinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the Sunnes To creation, and the uniting of the dispersed light therein. This is proved by these words, Let there be lights in the Firmament, to separate the day from the night : which Genes. 14. lights in the firmament of Heaven, were also made for fignes, & for seasons, and for dayes. and for yeares, implying a motion inftantly to follow, by which, dayes and yeares are diflinguished; after which succeeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three dayes which preceded the Sunnes creation, or formall perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be meafured, and the day named in the fift Verse; was but such a space, as afterwards by the Sunnes motion made a civill or naturall day. And as Waters were the matter of Aire, of the firmament, and of the lower and upper waters, and of the Seas, and Creatures there-20 in: Earth, the matter of Beafts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans body: fo may Light (for expression sake) be called the Chaos, or materiall substance of the Sunne, and other lights of heaven: Howbeit, neither the Sunne, nor any thing fensible, is that Light it selfe. Que causa est lucidorum, which is the cause that things are light some (though it make Luxdicium) it felfe & all things else visible): but a body most illightned, which illuminate the Moon, que le comit felse & all things else visible): but a body most illightned, which illuminate the Moon, que le comit felse & all things else visible): but a body most illightned, which illuminate the Moon, que le comit felse & all things else visible): but a body most illightned, which illuminate the Moon, que le comit felse & all things else visible): but a body most illightned, which illuminate the Moon, que le comit felse & all things else visible): but a body most illightned, which illuminate the Moon, que le comit felse & all things else visible): but a body most illightned, which illuminate the Moon, que le comit felse & all things else visible): but a body most illightned, which illuminate the Moon, que le comit felse & all things else visible): but a body most illightned, which illightned illi by whom the neighbouring Region (which the Greeks call Ather, the place of the fup discussion) posed Element of fire) is affected and qualified, and by it all bodies living in this our compendator, aire. For this light Avicenna calleth vehiculum & fomentum omnium calestium virtu. & executibis. tum & impressionum : The conducter, and preserver, or nourisher of all celestiall vertues and impressions, nothing descending of heavenly influences, but by the medium, or meanes. 30 of light. Aristotle calleth light a quality, inherent, or cleaving to a Diaphanous body, Lumen est qualitas inharens Diaphano : but this may be better avouched of the heate, which it transporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heate (fay the Platonicks) Abeunte lumine residet in subjecto, The light being departed, dothreside in the subject, Ficiallib de Inas warmth in the aire, though the same be deprived of light. This light Plotinus and all the Academicks make incorporall, & so doth Montanus, Cui nec duritia resistit, nec spatium ; Which neither hardnesse resisteth, nor space leaveth.

Aristotle findeth corporality in the beames of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, faith Picolomineus. Democritus, Leucippus, and Epicurus, Picale finite give materiality to light it selfe, but improperly: for it passeth at an instant, from the Heaven to the Earth, nor is it relisted by any hardnesse; because it pierceth through the folid body of glaffe, or other Crystalline matter; & whereas it is withstood by uncleane, and unpure earthy fubstances, lesse hard, and more easie to invade than the former, the fame is, Quodobstaculum natura terreum atq ; fordidum, non capit candidam lunzinis purita-Plotius tem; Because an obstacle by nature earth, and foule, doth not receive the pure clearenesse of light : alluding to that most divine Light, which onely shineth on those mindes, which

are purged from all worldly droffe, and humane uncleanneffe.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion; neither doe I marvaile at it for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philosophers, or Schoole-men, or other ancient or later Writers, that any of them understood either it or themselves therein: all o men (to cast offignorance) have disputed thereof, but there is no man that hath beene taught thereby. Thomas Aquinas (not inferiour to any in wit) as hee hath shewed little strength of argument in refuting the opinions of Beda, Hugo, Lombard, Lyranus, and others: fo is his owne judgement herein as weake as any mans; and most of the Schoole men were rather curious in the nature of termes, and more subtile in distinguishing upon the parts of doctrine already laid downes than discoverers of any thing hidden, either in Philosophy or Divinity: of whom it may be truely fayd, Nihil sapientia odiosius acumine nimio, Nothing is more odious to true wisedome, than too acute sharpnesse. Neither hatia the length of time, and the fearch of many learned men, (which the fame time hath CHAP.I. \$.8.

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Cubt.ex.71.

Gene 11

Ver[.124

brought forth and devoured) refolved us, whether this light be substantiall, corporall, or incorporall: Corporall they fay it cannot be, because then it could neither pierce the aire, nor those hard, solid, and Diaphanous bodies; which it doth, and yet every day we fee the aire illightned: incorporall it cannot be, because it sometime affecteth the fight of the eye with offence, and therefore by most of the Fathers so esteemed. Others fay (as Patricius) that it cannot be matter, because no forme so excellent as it selfe to informe it : neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruction of the subject: for light being taken from the Sunne, the Sunne is no more the Sunne in existence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and forme, then either, or both must be one of these, lucide or bright, darke or opake, Diaphanous or transparent; to but darkenesse cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous (being neither light, nor darknesse, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therefore must the matter, or forme, or both, be lucide and shining. Lucide and shining obtaine their so being of the light; and therefore, if wee derive this being of light from a former, then would the progresse goe on infinitely and against nature; and therefore he concludeth, that light in the Sunne hath his being primarily, and immediately of it selfe, and is therefore the Sunnes forme, and the forme of all lucide and shining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others judge.

But in my understanding, Lumen (which may be Englished by the word Shine) is an intentionall Species of that, which may bee Englished by Light, and so, this shining 2d which proceedeth from the Sunne, or other lights of Heaven, or from any other light, is an Image, or intentionall Species thereof; & an intentionall Species may be underflood by the example of a red, or greene colour, occasioned by the shining of the Sun through red or greene glaffe: for then we perceive the same colour cast upon any thing opposite; which rednesse or other colour, we call the intentionall Species of the colour in that glasse. And againe, as this light, touching his fimple nature, is no way yet understood: To it is disputed, whether this light first created, bee the same which the Sunne inholdeth and cafteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than till the Sunnes creation.

But by the most wife and unchanged order, which God observed in the worke of the World, I gather, that the Light, in the first day created, was the substance of the Sunne: 30 for Moles repeateth twice the maine parts of the Universall: first, as they were created in matter; secondly, as they were adorned with forme: first, naming the Heavens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused; and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made drie Land, and the Heavens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was uncovered, and before it was called Arida, or drie Land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or inriched with their vertuall formes: So the Sun although it had not his formall prefection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (under the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day united, and set 44 in the Firmament of Heaven: for, to Light created in the first day, God gave no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by Anticipation, (which was to separate day from night) were precifely performed, after this Light was congregated, and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisedome of God finde cause why it should move (by which motion, dayes and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by moving, the Sunne might give light, heate and operation.

But after the Earth (diftinguished from Waters) began to bud forth the bud of the herbe,&c. God caused the Sunne to move, and (by enterchange of time) to visite every part of the inferiour world; by his heate to stirre up the fire of generation, and to give 50 activity to the feedes of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth some goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the fame to that use and end, to which it was ordained; so it pleased God (faith Procopius) to command the Light to bee; which by his all-powerfull Word hee approved, and approving it, disposed thereof, to the use and

comfort of his future Creatures.

But in that it pleased God to aske of Jo B, By what way is the light parted, and where is the way where light dwelleth? we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not under mans understanding ; and therefore let it suffice, that by Gods grace we enjoy the ef-

fects thereof. For this light is of the treasure of God (faith E s D R A s :) And those which Esdl. 2.06.40 inhabite the Heavens, doe only know the Essence thereof. Nibil ignotum in calo, nibil notum Hem. interra : Nothing unknowne in Heaven, nothing perfectly knowne on earth. Res were funt in mundo invisibili; in mundo visibili umbra rerum: Things themselves are in the invisibile world in the world visible, but their shadowes. Surely, if this Light be not spirituall, ver it approcheth neerest unto spiritualitie; and if it have any corporalitie, then of all other the most subtile and pure; for howsoever, it is of all things seene, the most beautifull, and of the fwiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficiall. For it ministreth to men, and other creatures, all celeftiall influences; it diffipateth those sad thoughts and forrowes, which the darknesse both begetteth and maintayneth; it discovereth unto us the glorious workes of God, and carryeth up with an Angelicall fwiftnesse, our eyes unto Heaven, that by the fight thereof, our minds being informed of his visible marvailes, may continually travaile to furmount these perceived Heavens, and to finde out their omnipotent Cause and Creator. Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis; Our knowledge doth not Fine auiet it selfe in things created. Et ipsa lux facit, ut cateramundi membra digna sint laudibus, cum suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet; It is the Light (fairh Saint AMBROSE) that maketh the other parts of the world so worthy of praise seeing that it selfecommunicateth its goodnesse and beauty unto all. Of which ovid out of orpheus:

Ille ego fum, qui longum metior annum. Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus. Mundi oculus.

Quid Met 1.83

The World discernes it selfe, while I the World behold, By me the longest yeares, and other times are told, I the worlds eve.

Lastly, if we may behold in any creature, any one sparke of that eternal fire, or any far-offdawning of Gods glorious brightnesse, the same in the beautie, motion, and vertue of this Light, may be perceived. Therefore was God called Lux ipfa, and the Light, by Hermes named Lux fantta, and Christ our Saviour faid to be that Light, which light- John got 14 nethevery manthat commeth into the world. Yet in respect of Gods incomprehensible sub- 46. limitie, and puritie, this is also true, that God is neither a minde, nor a Spirit of the nature of other spirits ; nor a light, such as can be discerned. Deus profecto non mens est, at verò ut sit mens causa est ; nec spiritus, sed causa qua spiritus extat ; nec lumen, sed causa qua lumen existit : God (faith HERMEs in Poemandro) certainly is not a minde, but the cause that the minde bath his being; nor spirit, but the cause by which every spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.

So then the Masse and Chaos being first created, void, darke, and unformed, was by the operative Spirit of God, pierced and quickned; and the Waters, having now received Spirit and motion, refolved their thinner parts into Aire, which Godillightned: the Earth also by being contiguat, & mixt with waters (participating the same divine vertue) General brought forth the bud of the herbe that feedeth feede, &c. and for a meane and organ, by which this operative vertue might be continued, God appointed the Light to be united, and gave it also motion and heate, which heate caused a continuance of those severall species, which the Earth (being made fruitfull by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begat the time and times fucceeding.

5. VIII.
Of the Firmament, and of the waters above the Firmament: and whether there be any Crys. stalline Heaven, or any Primum mobile.

Fter that the Spirit of God had moved upon the waters, and light was created, God said, Let there be a Firmament in the middest of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters: that is, those waters which by rarifaction and evaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth and Sea.

But these waters separate above this extension, which the Latine Translation calleth firmamentum, or expansum (for so Vatablus, Pagninus, and Junius turne it) are not the Crystalline Heavens, created in the imaginations of men; which opinion Bafilius Magwas calletha childish supposition, making in the same place many learned arguments

Diamadmodum Rex aliquis, &c.Procapin Gen.I.

Jeb 38.24.

CHAP.I. S.10.

Mont Nathiff. foliszo

against this infancie. For the waters above the firmament, are the waters in the ayre above us, where the fame is more folid and condense, which God separated from the neather waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the words Raquia, which Montanus writeth Rakiagh, and Shamajim, being indifferently taken for the heaven and for ayre, and more properly for the ayre and Ather, than for the heavens, as the best Hebricians understand them, Quo suprema ac tenuia ab insimis crassis di. ducta, intersectaq; distarent, for that whereby the supreme and thin bodies were placed in distance, being severed and cut off from low and grosse matters: and the waters above the firmament, exprest in the word Majim, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters above the ayre, or in the uppermost region of the same.

Gen. 49.29. * Pfal. 104.120 a Gen. 19.24. Deut.II.II.

Malh.6.26.

Cap.27.38.

Fob 38.29.

Genara.

And that the word Heaven is used for the Ayre, the Scriptures every where witnesse; as in the bleffings of Joseph, and in the 104. Pfalme: * By these Springs shall the fowle of the Heaven dwell; and oupon Sodome and Gomorrha it rained brimstone and fire out of the Heawen; and in Ifaces bleffing to Jacob; God give therefore of the dew of Heaven: and in Deuteronomy the 11. But the land whither you goe to possesse it is a land that drinketh water of the rayne of Heaven; and in Job, Who bath ingendred the frosts of Heaven; and in S. Matthew, Behold the Fowles of Heaven, for they fow not . So as in all the Scriptures of the Old Testament throughout, is the word Heaven very often used for Ayre, and taken also hyperbolically for any great height, as, Let us build as a Tower, whose sop may reachts Heaven &c. And in this very place Basil avoucheth, that this appellation of Heaven for 20 the Firmament, is but by way of similitude : his owne words be these ; Et vocavit Deus firmamentum cœlum. Hœc appellatio alti quidem proprie accommodatur, huic autem nunc ad similitudinem , And God called the firmament Heaven: This appellation (faith Basil) is properly applyed to another (that is, to the Starrie Heaven) but to this (that is, to the Firmament dividing the waters) it is imposed by similitude. And if there were no other proofe, that by the firmament was meant the Ayre, and not the Heaven, the wordes of Moses in the eighth verse, conferred with the same word Firmament in the twentieth verse, make it manifest : for in the eighth verse it is written, that God called the Firmament, which divided waters from waters, Heaven; and in the twentieth verse he calleth the firmament of Heaven, Ayre, in these words: And let the Fowle flye upon the 32 earth in the open firmament of Heaven. And what use there should be of this yeie or crystalline, or waterie Heaven, I conceive not, except it bee to moderate and temper the heare, which the primum mobile would otherwise gather and increase: though in very truth, in stead of this helpe, it would adde an unmeasurable greatnesse of circle, whereby the swiftnesse of that first Moveable would exceed all possibilitie of beleefe. Sed nemo tenetur ad impossibilia; but no man ought to be held to impossibilities: and faith it selse (which furmounteth the height of all humane reason) hath for a forcible conducter, the Word of Truth, which also may be called lumen omnis ration is of intellectus, the light of all reason and under standing. Now that this supposed first Moveable, turneth it selfe so many hundred thousand miles in an instant (seeing the Scriptures teach it not) let those 40 that can beleeve mens imagination, apprehend it, for I cannot. But of these many Heavens, let the Reader that desireth satisfaction, search orontins, and of this waterie Heaven, Basilius Magnus, in his Hexam. fol. 40.41. Gr. and Matth. Beroaldus, his second Booke and fixt chapter. For my felfe, I am perswaded, that the waters called, The waters above the Heavens, are but the clouds and waters engendred in the uppermost ayre.

A conclusion, repeating the summe of the workes in the Creation which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finishing of it.

O conclude, it may be gathered out of the first Chapter of Genesis, that this was the order of the most wise God in the beginning, and when there was no other nature, or being, but Gods incomprehensible eternitie. First, hee created the matter of all things : and in the first three dayes hee distinguished and gave to every nature his proper forme; the forme of levicie to that which afcended; to that which descended, the forme of gravitie: for hee separated light from darkenesse, divided waters from waters, and gathered the waters under the firmament into one place. In the last

three dayes, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the World: hee fet in the Firmament of Heaven, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres; filled the Earth with Beafts, the Aire with Fowle, and the Sea with Fish, giving to all that have life, a power generative, thereby to continue their Species and kindes; to Creatures vegetative and growing, their feedes in themselves; for he created all things, that they might have their being; and the was deside generations of the world are preserved.

That Nature is no Principium per se; nor Forme the giver of being: and of our ignorance how (econd causes should have any proportion with their effects.

Nd for this working power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and rest, according to Aristotle, the same is nothing else, but the strength and Afaculty, which God hath infused into every creature, having no other selfe-ability, than a Clocke, after it is wound up by a mans hand, hath. These therefore that attribute unto this faculty, any first or sole power, have therein no other understanding, than fuch a one hath, who looking into the Sterne of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helme and Rudder, doth ascribe some absolute vertue to the peece of wood, without all confideration of the hand that guides it, or of the judgement, which also directeth and commandeth that hand: forgetting in this and in all else, that by the vertue of the first act, all Agents worke what soever they worke: Virtute primi actus agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt: for as the minde of man feeth by the Organ of the eve, heareth by the eares, and maketh choyce by the will: and therefore wee attribute fight to the eye, and hearing to the eares, &c. and yet it is the minde onely, that giveth ability, life, and motion to all these his instruments and Organs; so God worketh by Angels, by the Sunne, by the Starres, by Nature, or infufed properties, and by men, as by feverall Organs, feverall effects; all fecond causes whatsoever, being but instruments, conduites, and pipes, which carry and disperse what they have received from the head and fountaine of the Univerfall. For as it is Gods infinite power, and everiewhere-presence (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giveth to the Sunne power to draw up vapours, to vapours to be made cloudes, cloudes to containe raine, and raine to fall: fo all fecond and inftrumentall causes, together with Nature it selfe, without that operative faculty which God gave them, would become altogether filent, vertueleffe, and dead : of which excellently O R P H E U S; Per te virefount om- Natura enion nia, All things by thee spring forth in youthfull greene. I enforce not these things, thereby remota provito annihilate those variable vertues which God hath given to his creatures, animate dentia & pote-and inanimate, to heavenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all his workes in their vertues profits missless. prayse him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each o- Last defait sa ther, which the Heathen Philosophers, and those that follow them, have taken on piential 3 cases them to teach: I fay, there is not any one among them, nor any one among us, that could ever yet conceive it, or expresse it, ever enrich his owne understanding with any certaine truth, or ever edifie others (not foolish by selfe-flattery) therein. For (faith Lactantius, speaking of the wisedome of the Philosophers) Si facultas invenienda veritatis huic studio subjaceret, aliquando esset inventa; cum verò tot temporibus, tot ingeniis in ejus inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa, apparet nullam ibi esse sapientiam; If in this sudie (faith hee) were meanes to find out the truth, it had ere this bin found out : but seeing it is not yet comprehended, after that so much time, and so many wits have beene worne out in the inquirie of it, it appeareth, that there is no wisedome there to be had. Nam si de una re con de mone pracifa scientia haberetur, omnium rerum scientia necessario haberetur: If the precise know-tib 3, ledge of any one thing were to be had, it should necessarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to be had. And as the Philosophers were ignorant in Nature, and the wayes of her working: so were they more curious, than knowing, in their first matter and Phyficall forme. For if their first marter had any being, it were not then the first matter: for, as it is the first matter; it hath onely a power of being, which it altogether leaveth, when it doth substift. And seeing it is neither a substance perfect, nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other substance should thence take concrescence, it hath not beene taught, neyther are these formes (saith a learned Author) any thing, fex ea exprimatur potentia, qua nibil est. Againe, bow this first matter should bee sub-

jectum formarum, and passive, which is understood to precede the forme, it is hard to conceive: for to make forme, which is the cause, to be subsequent to the thing caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrary to all reason, divine and humane: onely it may bee faid, that originally there is no other difference betweene matter and forme, than betweene heate and fire, of which the one cannot subfift without the other, but in a kinde of rationall confideration. Leaving therefore these Riddles to their Lovers, who by certaine scholasticall distinctions wrest and pervert the truth of all things, and by which Aristotle hath laboured to prove a false eternitie of the World, I thinke it farre sa. fer to affirme with Saint Augustine, That all species and kindes are from God, from whom, what soever is naturall proceedeth, of what kinde or estimation soever, from whence are 10 the seedes of all formes, and the formes of all seedes and their motions; A quo est omnis see cies, à quo est quicquid naturaliter est, cujuscunq; generis est, cujuscunq; est imationis est à quo funt semina formarum, forma seminum, motus seminum atq; formarum. And thus much Auerrois is forced to confesse. For all forme (faith hee) are in primo motore; which is also the opinion of Aristotle in the twelfth of his Metaph, and of Albertus upon Diony fius.

z 2 Metaple.

 \S . XI. Of Fate , and that the Starres have great influence : and that their operations may diverfly $_{20}$ be prevented or furthered.

Nd, as of Nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that have written thereof, may be fafely received, had they not thereunto annexed and faftened an inevitable necessity, and made it more generall, and universally powerfull than it is, by giving it Dominion over the minde of man, and over his will, of which ovid and fuveral:

Twen fat.7.201.

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet. Servis regna dabant, captivis Fata triumphos.

'Gainst Fate no counsell can prevaile. Kingdomes to Slaves by Destinie, To Captives triumphs given be.

Balil.Ella.q. Aug.de heref. Tho.comt.Gent. 3.cap.8.3. Ficin.in.12.de leg. Cic.de fas.

An errour of the Chaldwans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Pharifees, Prifcillianists, the Bardisanists, and others, as Basil, Augustine, and Thomas have observed: but that Fate is an obedience of fecond causes to the first, was well conceived of Hermes, and Apuleius the Platonist. Plotinus out of the Astronomers calleth it a disposition from the acts of celeftiall Orbes, unchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the fame being also true enough, in respect of all those things which a rationall minde doth not order nor direct. Ptolomie, Seneca, Democritus, Epicurus, Chrysippus, Empedocles, and the Stoicks, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and 40 inevitable necessity; and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (quod de unoquoq: nostrum fatus est Deus) and the definite lot of all living. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Stars are instruments of far greater use, than to give an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after Sun-set: it being manifest, that the diversity of feafons, the Winters, and Summers, more hote and cold, are not fo uncertained by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alway keepe one and the fame courfe, but that the Starres have also their working therein.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath given vertues to Springs and Fountaines, to cold earth, to plants and stones, Mineralls, and to the excrementall parts of the bafest living creatures, why should we robbe the beautifull Starres of their working powers: for feeing they are many in number, and of eminent beauty and magnitude, wee may northinke, that in the treasurie of his wisedome, who is infinite, there can bee wanting (even for every Starre) a peculiar vertue and operation; as every herbe, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the Earth, hath the like. For as these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, and to cover and shadow her dustie face, but otherwise for the use of man and beast, to feede them and cure them; so were not those uncountable glorious bodies fet in the Firmament, to no other end, than to adorne it, but for instruments and Organs of his divine providence, so farre as it hath pleased his just will

to determine. Origen upon this place of Genesis, Let there be light in the Firmament, dre of Genaus. formeth, that the Starres are not causes (meaning perchance binding causes) but are as open Bookes, wherein are contained and fer down all things whatfoever to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wisedome: which latter part I believe well, and this saving of Swacides withall: That there are hid yet greater things than the febe, and we have feene but Ecological a few of his workes. And though, for the capacity of men, we know somewhat, yet in the true and uttermost vertues of herbes and plants, which our selves sow and set, and which grow under our feet, we are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and wors king of celestiall bodies. For hardly (faith SALOMON) can wee discerne the things that will also are upon the Earth, and with great labour finde we out those things that are before us; who can then investigate the things that are in Heaven? Multum est de rebus collestibus a. Aislantes liquid cognoscere: It is much to know a little of heavenly things. But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen wee doe not binde God to his creatures, in this supposed necessity of destiny; so on the contrary, we doe nor robbe those beautifull creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes despoyled God of his prerogative, or had God himselfe constrained the minde and will of man to impious acts by any celestiall inforcements, then fure the imvious excuse of some were justifiable; of whom S. Augustine: Impia peruersitate in Aug. 20. Sugar malis factis rectifsime reprehendends ingerunt accusandum potius auctorem syderum, quam Genadius, ocommissorem scelerum. Where we reprehend them of evill deeds, they againe with wicked perversenesse that rather the Author and Creator of the Starres, than the doer of the evill, is to be accused.

But that the Starres and other celeftiall bodies incline the will by mediation of the fensitive appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. Corpora coleftia (faith DAMASCENE) conflituunt in nobis habitus, complexi- Gallungan ones. & dispositiones. The heavenly bodies (faith he) make in us habits, complexions, and dif seguence. politions: for the body (though Galen inforce it further) hath undoubtedly a kinde of drawing after it the affections of the minde, especially bodies strong in humour, and weake in vertues: for those of cholericke complexion are subject to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they fuffer themselves to bee transported, where the minde hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her Vassals not her Mafters. And that they wholly direct the reasonlesse minde, I am resolved: For all those which were created mortall, as birds, beafts, and the like, are left to their naturall appetites; over all which, celeftiall bodies (as inftruments and executioners of Gods providence) have absolute dominion. What we should judge of men, who little differ from beafts. I cannot tell: for as he that contendeth against those inforcements, may easily mafter or refift them; fo who foever shall neglect the remedies by vertue and piety prepared putteth himselfe altogether under the power of his sensual appetite. Vincitur 200018 fatum firefiftas, vincit ficontempferis : Fate will be overcome, if thou refift it if thou nerlectic conquereth.

But that either the Starres or the Sunne have any power over the mindes of men immediately, it is abfurd to thinke, other than as aforefaid, as the fame by the bodies temper may be effected. Lumen folis ad generationem sensibilium corporum confert, & ad witam Angai Civile ipsammovet & nutrit & auget, & perficit : The light of the Sunne (faith S. Augustine) helpeth the generation of sensible bodies, moveth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth and perfecteth them: yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: Bonus quidemest Solin mini- Hex. 11.0.4 16.5. sterio, non imperio : The Sunne is good to serve, not to sway (faith S. Ambrose.) And Saint worms Augustine: Deus regit inferiora corpora per superiora; God ruleth the bodies below by those above: but hee avoucheth not, that superiour bodies have rule over mens mindes. which are incorporeall.

But how foever we are by the Starres inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation; and Aristotle himselse confesseth, that the Heavens do not alwaies worke their essects in inferiour bodies no more than the figures of raine and winde doe alwayes come to passe. And it is divers times seene, that paternall vertue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. Eft in Juvencis patrum virtus; In the yongueoff-foring the Fathers vertue is, and so the con- 30. trary patrum vitia: and herein also there is often found an enterchange; the Sonnes of vertuous men, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vice; and of vicious men, to vertie. Egregia

CHAP.I. \$.12.12.

15

Egregia est soboles scelerato nata parente:

A worthy sonne is borne of a wicked father.

The first Booke of the first part

But there is nothing (after Gods referved power) that fo much fetteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the World so wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing up may fashion anew and reforme them; nor any fo well disposed, whom (the reines being let loose) the continuall fellowship and familiarity, and the examples of dissolute men may not corrupt and deforme. Veffels will ever retaine a favour of their first liquor : it being equally difficult eyther to clenfe the minde once corrupted, or to extinguish the fweet favour 16 of vertue first received, when the minde was yet tender, open, and easily seasoned; but where a favourable confectation (allowing that the Starres incline the will) and a vertuous education doe happily arrive, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found to exceeding vertuous or vicious, Heaven and Earth (as it were) running together, and agreeing in one: for as the feedes of vertue may by the art and husbandry of Christian counsaile produce better and more beautifull fruit, than the strength of selfe-nar ture and kind could have yeelded them; fo the plants apt to grow wilde, and to change themselves into weedes, by being set in a soyle sutable, and like themselves, are made more unfavoury and filled with poylon. It was therefore truly affirmed, Sapiens adjuvabit opus astrorum, quemadmodum agricola terra naturam; A wise man assisteth the worke 20 of the Starres, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the foyle. And Ptolemie himselse confesseth thus much, Sapiens, & omina sapientis medici dominabuntur astris; A wise man, and the ominous art of a wise Physician shall prevaile against the Starres. Lastly, we ought all to know, that God created the Starres, as he did the rest of the Universall, whose influences may be called his reserved and unwritten Lawes. But let us consider how they bind: even as the Lawes of men doe; for although the Kings and Princes of the World have by their Lawes decreed, that a Thiefe and a Murderer shall suffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Judges and Magistrates (the Starres of Kings) executed accordingly; yet these Lawes doe not deprive Kings of their naturall or religious compassion, or binde them without prerogative, to such a severes execution, as that there should be nothing left of liberty to judgment, power, or conscience : the Law in his owne nature, being no other than a deafe Tyrant. But feeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) doe sometimes for causes to themselves knowne, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselves, it were then impious to rike that power and liberty from God himselfe, which his Substitutes enjoy; God bei. gmercy, goodnesse, and charity it selfe. Otherwise that example of Prayer by our Saviour taught; And let us not be led into temptation, but deliver us from evil, had be ne no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which onely knoweth eoperation of his owne creatures truely) hath affured us, that there is no inclination or temptation fo forcible, which 4 our humble Prayers and Defires may not make frustrate and breake asunder : for were it (as the Stoicks conceive) that Fate or Destiny, though depending upon eternall power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion and immutable dependency, that God himselfe should in a kinde have shut up himselfe therein: How miserable them were the condition of men (faith S. Augustine) left altogether without hope!

And if this strength of the Starres were so transferred, as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over his creatures; be he Pagan or Christian that so believeth, the onely true God of the one, and the imaginary gods of the other, would thereby be de-

fpoyled of all worship, reverence, or respect.

And certainly, God which hath promised us the reward of well-doing, which Christ is himselfe claimed at the hands of the Father, (I have finished the worke which then gavestime to doe:) and the same God, who hath threatned unto us the forrow and torment of offences, could not, contrary to his mercifull nature, be so unjust, as to bind us inevitably to the Destinies or influences of the Starres, or subject our soules to any imposed necessity. But it was well said of Plotinus, that the Starres were significant, but not efficient, giving them yet something lesse than their due: and therefore as I doe not consent with them, who would make those glorious creatures of God vertuelesse: so I thinke that wee derogate from his eternall and absolute power and providence, to ascribe to

them the fame dominion over our immortall foules, which they have over all bodily sub-stances, and perishable natures: for the soules of men, loving and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it selfe, whereof the Sunnes clarity, and that of the Starres, is by Plato called but a shadow. Lumen est umbra Dei, Deus est lumen luminis; Light is the Plat pole. Indow of Gods brightnesse, who is the light of light: But to end this question, because this Finish Indow, together with Providence, Prescience, and Predestination are often consounded, I thinke it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two; for every man hath not observed it, though all learned men have.

%XII. of Prescience.

Rescience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greekes call Prognosis, the Latines pracognitio, or prascientia) considered in order and nature (if we may speake of God after the manner of men) goeth before Providence : for God fore-knew all things. before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Prescience is no other than an infallible fore-knowledge. For whatfoever our felves fore-know except the same be to succeed accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Prescience of God (as it is Prescience onely) is not the cause of any thing sururely 20 succeeding : neither doth Gods fore-knowledge impose any necessity, or binde. For in that we fore-know that the Sunne will rife, and set; that all men borne in the World shall dye againe; that after Winter, the Spring shall come; after the Spring Summer and Harvest; and that according to the severall seeds that we sow, we shall reap severall forts of graine; yet is not our fore-knowledge the cause of this, or any of these: neither doth the knowledge in us bind or constraine the Sume to rise and set, or mento dve for the causes (as men perswade themselves) are otherwise manifest and knowne to all. The eye of man (faith Boetius) beholdeth those things subject to sense, as they are the ere feeth that fuch a beaft is an horse, it feethmen, trees, and houses, oc but our seeing of them (a they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they be in their owne natures. And a- Boetius decombia gaine out of the same Author; Divina providentia rebus generandis non imponit necessitatem, quia si omniaevenirent ex necessitate, pramiabonorum, & pæna malorum periret : Diwine Providence (faith he) imposeth no necessity upon things that are to exist for if all came to passe of necessity, there should neither be reward of good, nor punishment of evill.

§. XIII. of Providence.

ow Providence (which the Greekes call Froncia) is an intellectuall knowledge, both fore-feeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely behold all paft, all prefent, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which Prefeince (simply taken) is not: and therefore Providence by the Philosophers (saith Sangustine) is divided into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: Memory of the past, Knowledge of the present, and Care of the future: and wee our selves account such a man for provident; as, remembring things past, and observing things present, can by judgement, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the suture, and times succeeding. That such a thing there is as Providence, the Scriptures every-where teach us; Moses in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions, Christ himselse and his Apostles assured; and besides the Scriptures, Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus, and (ineffect) all learned men acknowledge the Providence of God: 50 yea the Turkes themselves are so consident therein, as they resuse not to accompany and visit each other, in the most pestilent diseases, nor shun any perill whatsoever though death thereindo manifestly present it selse.

The places of Scripture proving Providence, are so many, both in generall and particular, as I shall neede to repeate but a few of them in this place. Sing unto God (laith David) which covereth the Heavens with cloudes, and prepareth raine for the earth, and materialist keth the grasset or upon the Mountaines, which give theo beats their food, and feedeth the yongue Raven that cries: All these wait upon the, that thou mayest give them sood in due least of the River Cheareth (saith Godto Eliah) and I have Plaliod. The Court of the River Cheareth (saith Godto Eliah) and I have the saith of the River Cheareth (saith Godto Eliah) and I have the saith of the River Cheareth (saith Godto Eliah) and I have the saith of the River Cheareth (saith Godto Eliah) and I have the saith of the River Cheareth (saith Godto Eliah) and I have the saith of the River Cheareth (saith Godto Eliah).

Mat.6.13

John 17.4

C H A P.1. S.14.15

1 R(g.17.4. Matth.6.26. Luke 12 6.7.

I Pet.5.7 . Pfal.36.6.

Fer. 23.24.

Ifay 42.8

Toh.ep.I.C.4. Godislovc.

Rom.8 & 9.

Lamb.l.I.dift.

39. Thom part 1.

dift.23. Bern.deProbl.

Civit.Dei. -

Rom.v.II.

Bezinmagn.

annor in cap. 9.

Danæus,l.3.de

Greg.Magn.

Joh 9. Aug.adPolin.

Salut.

Ep.59.

Aug.1.15.c.1.de

Calincap.g.ad

de p.d.

commanded the Ravens to feed thee there. Behold, the Fowles of the Ayre, they sow not nor reape, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them : Againe, Are not two Sparrowes fold for a farthing: and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea all the hayres of your head arenumbred : And S. Peter, Cast all your care on him, for hee careth for you. And his judgements are written, faith DAV I D.

God therefore, who is every-where present, who filleth the Heavens and the Earth, whose eyes are upon the Righteous and his countenance against them that doe evill, was therefore by orpheus called oculus infinitus, an infinite eye, beholding all things; & cannot therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other: for it is contrary to his owne Word: Gloriam meam alteri non dabo. I will not give my glory to 10 another. No man commandeth in the Kings presence, but by the Kings direction; but God is every-where prefent, and King of kings. The example of Gods univerfall Providence is feene in his creatures. The Father provideth for his children: beafts and birds and all livings for their young ones. If Providence be found in fecond Fathers, much more in the first and Universall: and if there be a natural loving care in men, and beasts. much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whose Divine love was the beginning, and is the bond of the Univerfall: Amor divinus rerum omnium est principium, & vinculum universi (faith Plato.) Amor Deiest nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumq; ejus im. mobile sustent aculum, ac universa machina fundamentum; The love of God is the perpetual knot, and linke or chaine of the world, and the immoveable pillar of every part there-20 of, and the Basis and foundation of the universall. God therefore who could onely be the cause of all, can onely provide for all, and sustaine all; so as to absolute power; to everywhere presence; to perfect goodnesse; to pure and divine love; this attribute transcendent hability of Providence is onely proper and belonging.

§.XIV. Of Predestination.

TOw for Predefination, we can difference it no otherwise, from Providence and Prescience, than in this, that Prescience onely fore-seeth; Providence fore-seeth30 and careth for, and hath respect to all creatures, even from the brightest Angels of Heaven, to the unworthieft Wormes of the Earth: and Predeffination (asicis used specially by Divines) is onely of men, and yetnot of all to men belonging, but of their falvation properly, in the common use of Divines, or perdition, as some have used it. Yet Peter Lombard, Thomas, Bernensis Theologue, and others, take the word Predestination more strictly, and for a preparation to felicity: divers of the Fathers take it more largely fometimes: among whom Saint Augustine speaking of two Cities, & two Societies, useth these words, Quarum est una, qua pradestinata est in aternum regnare cum Deo, altera aternum supplicium subire cum Diabolo ; Whereof one is it, which is predestinated to reigne for ever with God, but the other is to undergoe everlasting torment with 40 the Devill: for according to Nonius Marcellus, destinare est preparare; and of the fame opinion are many Protestant writers, as Calvin, Beza, Buchanus, Danaus, and such like: and as for the manifold questions hereof arising, I leave them to the Divines; and why it hath pleafed God to create fome veffels of honour, and fome of dishonour, I will answer with Gregory, who faith, Qui in factis Deirationem non videt, infirmitatem suam considerans, cur non videat, rationem videt . He that seeth no reason in the actions of God by consideration of his owne insirmity perceiveth the reason of his blindnesse. And againe with S. Augustine, Occultaeffe causa porest, injusta effe non potest ; Hidden the cause of his Prede-Aination may be, unjust it cannot be.

S. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reason of somethings that seeme to be by fortune, and against Rea-Son and Providence.

Aftly, seeing Destiny or Necessity is subsequent to Gods Providence, and seeing that the Starres have no other dominion, than is before spoken, and that Nature is nothing, but as Plato calleth it, Dei artem, wel artificiosum Dei Organum; The art, or artificiall Organ of God: and Cus Anus, Divini pracepti instrumentum; The art, or artificiall organ of God: and Cus ANUS, Divini pracepti instrumentum. The instrument of the divine precept : we may then with better reason reject that kinde of Idolarry, or God of fooles, called Fortune or Chance: a Goddeffe, the most reverenced, and the most reviled of all other, but not ancient; for Homer maketh her the Daughter of Oceanus as Paufanias witnesseth in his Messeniacks. The Greekes call her wyw, fignifying a relative being, or betiding, so as before Homers time this great Lady was scarce heard of and Hesiodus, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfeit gods. hath not a word of Fortune: yet afterward she grew so great and omniptent, as from senepoli. Kings and Kingdomes, to Beggars and Cottages, the ordered all things, refifting the Autoritide wisedome of the wisest, by making the Possessor thereof miserable valuing the folly of tertinace Serithe most foolish by making their successe prosperous; insomuch as the actions of men in Polioretes were faid to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens in the great and were faid to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens in the great and were faid to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens in the great and lives, but her pastimes: of which PALLADIUS, Vita hominum ludus fortuna est; The offis Fortune, life of man is the play of Fortune: and because it often falleth out, that enterprises guided is said to have by ill counfels, have equall fuccesse to those by the best judgement conducted, therefore upon Fortune. had Fortune the fame externall figure with Sapience; whereof Athenaus:

Longissime à Sapientia Fors dissidet, Sed multa persicit tamen simillima :

From Wisedome Fortune differs farre. And yet in workes most like they are.

But I will forbeare to be curious in that, which (as it is commonly understood) is nothing else but a power imaginary, to which the successe of humane actions and endevours were for their variety ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be given. then was it attributed to fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant; contrary to this true ground of PLATO: Nihil est ortum sub Sole, cuius causa legitima non pracesserit; Nothing ever came to passe under the Sunne, of which there was not a just preceding cause. But Aquinas hath herein answered in one distinction. what foever may be objected; for many things there are (faith he) which happen, to besides the intention of the Inferior but not besides the intention of the Superior : Prater intentionem Inferioris, sed non prater intentionem Superioris, (to wit, the ordinance of God :) and therefore (faith MELANCHTON) Quod Poeta fortunam, nos Deum appellamus; Tefacimus Fort whom the Poets call Fortune, we know to be God. And that this is true, the Scripture in time Dean, can many places teacheth us; as in the Law of Murder, He that smitteth a man, and he dye, shall log locamus. dyethe death and if a man hath not laid waite, but God hath offered him into his hands, then Expd. 112.1 I will appoint thee a place whither hee shall flee. Now, where the Scripture hath these words. God hath offered him into his hands, we fay, If he hurt him by Chance: and in verse. Deuteronomy the nineteenth, where the flipping of an Axe from the helve, whereby another is flaine, was the worke of God himselfe, we in our phrase attribute this accio dentto Chance or Fortune: and in the Proverbes the fixteenth, The lot is cast into the vertage lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord: so as that which seemeth most casuall and fubiect to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and hereof the wifer fort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as Cieero witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of Aristotle and his Sectators, with those of Plato, and the Academicks, to this effect, That the same power which they called animam mundi; The soule of the World, was no other than that incomprehensible wisedome, which we expresse by the name of God, governing every being aswell in heaven as in earth; to which wisedome and power they sometime gave the title of Ne- cicac qualities. ceffity or Fate, because it bindeth by inevitable ordinance: sometime, the style of Forto tune, because of many effects there appeare unto us no certaine causes. To this effect speaketh S. Augustine in his questions upon Genesis the first Booke: the same hath Seneca in his fourth of Benefits : which was also the doctrine of the Stoicks, of which Sect he was : senect forte For what (oever (faith hee) thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one & the same differenced by diverstermes, according as he useth, & exerciseth his power diversly.

But it may be objected, That if Fortune and Chance were not formetimes the caufes of good and evill in men, but an idle voice, wherby we expresse successe; how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise men depended upon so many unworthy and empty-headed fooles; that riches and honour are given to externall men, and without ker-

meextulifti cadem me is (Cen. tio) perditum.

18

nell: and formary learned, vertuous, and valiant men weare out their lives in poore and dejected estates. In a word, there is no other inferior, or apparent cause, beside the partiality of mans affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our selves according to the nature of the time wherein we live: for who foever is most able, and best sufficient to discerne, and hath with all an honest and open heart and loving truth; if Princes, or those that governe, endure no other discourse than their owne flatteries, then I say such an one, whose vertue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall evermore hang under the wheele; which kinde of deferving well and receiving ill, we alwayes falfly charge Fortune withall. For whosoever shall tell any great Man or Magi-Hrate, that he is not just; the Generall of an Army, that he is not valiant, and great La- 10 dies that they are not faire; shall never be made a Counseller, a Captaine, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wife with a wife Prince, valiant with a valiant, and just with him that is just, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperity; but he must also change with the fucceffor, if he be of contrary qualities; faile with the tyde of the time, and alter forme and condition, as the Estate or the Estates Master changeth: Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could fo often attaine to honour and riches, but by fuch an observant slavish course? These men having nothing else to value themselves by, but a counterfeit kinde of wondring at other men, and by making them believe that all their vices are vertues, and all their dusty actions crystalline, have yet in all ages prospered equally with the most vertuous, 20 if not exceeded them. For according to MENANDER, Omnis insipiens arrogantia plausibus capitur; Every foole is wonne with his owne pride, and others flattering applause: fo as who foever will live altogether out of himfelfe, and fludy other mens humours, and observe them, shall never be unfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and vertue (except the season whereinhe liveth be of all these, and of all forts of goodnesse fruitfull) shall never prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to warre or contend in vaine against the nature of times wherein he liveth: for fuch a one is often the author of his owne mifery; but best it were to follow the advice, which the Pope gave the Bishops of that age, out of ovid, while the Arian Herefie raged:

Ovid:rem.am

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.

Whilefury gallops on the way, Let no man furies gallop stay.

And if Cicero (than whom that world begat not a man of more reputed judgement) had followed the counsell of his brother Quintus Posuisset (faith Petranch) in lectulo suo mori potuisset integro candavere sepeliri; He might then have dyed the death of nature, and beene with an untorne and undissevered body buried; for as Petrarch in the same place noteth: Quid stultius quam desperantem (prasertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicaris? What more foolish than for him that despaires (especially of the effect) to be in-40 tangled with endlesse contentions? Whosover therefore will set before him MACH I-AVELS two markes to shoote at (to wit) Riches, and Glory, must set on and take off a backe of yron to a weake woodden Bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble: for as he that first devised to adde sayles to rowing vessels, did either so proportion them, as being fastened alost, and towards the head of his Mast, he might abide all windes and stormes, or else he sometime or other perished by his owne invention: so that man which prizeth vertue for it selfe, and cannot endure to hoise and strike his sailes, as the divers natures of calmes and stormes require, must cut his failes and his cloth of meane length and breadth, and content himselfe with a flow and lure navigation, (to wit)a meane and free estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and the rest, or of whatsoever 50 Lords or Gods, imaginary powers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishnesse) of man hath found out: let us refolve with S. Paul, who hath taught us, that there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; there are diversities of operations, but God is the same which workethall in all.

Exp.12.ver[6.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of mans estate in his first Creation, and of Gods rest.

of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.

He creation of all other creatures being finished, the heavens adorned, and the earth replenished, God faid, Let us make man in our own Image, according Gen 1.26,

the earth replenined, Go land, 200 to our likenesse.

to our likenesse.

Man is the last and most admirable of Gods workes to us knowne: ingent tristalline de volunt. Dei.

Plantes the greatest monder (saith P L A T O Out of MER CUR i US:) Nature de volunt. Dei.

Plantes the greatest monder (saith P L A T O Out of MER CUR i US:) miraculum homo; Man is the greatest wonder (faith P L A TO out of MERCURIUS:) Nature de volunt. Dei, ardentisima artificium, The artificiall worke of the most ardent or fire-like nature (as faith Platlegia) Zoroafter) though the same be meant, not for any excellency externall, but in respect of his internal forme, both in the nature, qualities, and other attributes thereof: in nature, because it hath an essence, immortall, and spirituall; in qualities, because the same was by God created holy and righteous in truth; in other attributes, because Man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein.

Sanctius his animal mentifq; capacius alta Deerat adhuc : & quod dominari in catera posset. Natus homo est.

More holy than the rest, and understanding more, A living creature wants to rule all made before: So man began to be.

Sanctum,quia pars potior im-mortalis; animal; ejuia in mortali. In locum Ovid. Met.1.1.76.

Of this Image and Similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers. Schoole-men, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceive, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire and Dominion, as S. Chrylostome 30 Ambrole, and some others: which S. Ambrose denieth to the woman in these words, At ficut Deus unus ab eo fieret homo unus, & quomodo ex Deo uno omnia, ita ex uno homine omne genus effet super faciemtotius terra: Unus igitur, unum fecit, qui unitatis ejus haberet imaginem : That as God is one, one man might be made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kinde should be upon the face of the whole earth: Therefore hee being one, made one, that should have the Image of his unity. But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the fame Verlethat man was after the Image of God in respect of rule and power, it is written Dominamini in the plurall number, and let them rule over the fish in the Sea, &c. and therefore cannot the womanbe excluded. Others conceive, that man is faid to be after the Image of God in reto spect of his immortall foule onely, because as God is invisible, so the soule of man is invisible; as God is immortall and incorporall, so is the soule of man immortall and incorporall; and as there is but one God which governeth the world; so but one soule which governeth the body of man; and as God is wholly in every part of the world, so is the foule of man wholly in every part of the body: Animaest tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte; The foule is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in every part thereof; according to Aristotle: though Chalcidius, and other learned men deny that doctrine; which that it is otherwise than potentially true, all the Aristotelians in the world shall never prove. These and the like arguments doethe Jewes (make faith Tostatus) and these resemblances, betweene the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The Schoole-men resemble the Minde or Soule of Manto God, in this respect especially; because that as in the Minde there are three distinct powers, or faculties (to wit) Memory, Understanding, and Will; and yet all these, being of reall differences, are but one minde : fo in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Sonne, the holy Ghoft, and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Similatude divers; and againe, they diffinguish betweene Imaginem Dei; and ad Imaginem Dei, and spinne into small threds, with subtile distinctions, many times the plainenesse and sincerity of the Scriptures : their wits being like that strong water, that eateth thorow and dissolveth the purest gold. Victorians also maketh the Image of God to bee substantiall, but not CHAP.2. C.2.

C H A P.2. S.I.

E Cor.15.49 .

Fam. 3.9.

VI Supra.

Augut sapr.

Verlio.

the fimilitude: fed in substantia nomen qualitatis declarativum; A word declaring quality in the substante. Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is inferred, that as the image and similitude doe greatly differ: so the sinfull soule doth not therefore leave to be the image of God; but it hath not his similitude, except it be holy and righteous. S. Augustine also against Adimantus the Manichee affirmeth, that by sinne, the perfection of this image is lost in man; and in his Retractations maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, than the Image.

But how soever the Schoolemen and others distinguish, or what soever the Fathers conceive, fure I am that S. Paul maketh the fame fense of the image, which Victorinus doth of the similitude, who saith: As wee have borne the image of the earthly, so shall we to beare the image of the heavenly; and it cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, that the words Image and Similitude were used but in one sense, and in this place the better to expresse each other; whatsoever Lombard hath said to the contrary. For God knowes, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himselfe in the Scriptures, which neither Moses, the Prophets, or Apostles, ever conceived. Now as S. Paul useth the word (Image) for both: fo Saint James useth the word (Similitude) for both in these words: Therewith bleffe we God ewen the Father, and therewith curse wee Men, which are made after the similitude of God. How soever therefore S. Augustine seemeth, out of a kind of elegancy in writing, to make fome difference : as where he writteth, Confitemur imaginem in aternitate, similitudinem in moribus inveniri , We confesse that this image is found in 20 eternity, but his similitude in manners, that is, in the spirituall dispositions and qualities of the minde; yet thus he elsewhere speaketh plainly: Quasi vero possit esse image aliqua, in qua similitudo non sit: si enim omnino similis non est, procul dubio nec imago est; As if (faith he) there could be any image, where the similitude is not : no, out of doubt, where there is no likenesse, there is no image. The very words of the Text make this most manifest, as, Let us make man in our image, according to our likenesse : which is, Let us make man in our image, that he may be like us: and in the next Verse following, God himselse makethit plaine; for there he useth the word (Image) onely, as thus: God ereated the man in his image, in the image of God created he him. And to take away all dispute or ambiguity, in the first Verse of the fift Chapter, the word (Similitude) is used againe? by it selfe, as, In the day that God created ADAM, in the likenesse of God made he him. And this similitude S. Paul Colos the third, calleth the Image. Put on (faith he) the new man which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him. And in Syracides it, is written. He made them according to his image. Now if we may believe Saint Paul before Peter Lombard and other Schoolemen, then it is as manifest as words can make it, that the image and similitude is but the same; for S. Paul useth both the words directly in one sense. For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God, to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man.

Zanchius laboureth to prove, that man was formed after the image of God, both in body and minde: Nulla pars in homine qua non fuerit hujusce imaginis particeps; No 40 part in a man (faith he) which was not participating Gods image: for God said, Let us make man according to our owne image. But the foule alone is not man, but the Hypostalis or whole man compounded of body and foule. The body of man (faith he) is the image of the world, and called therefore Microcosmus; but the Idea and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his body, must needes be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his owne objection seemeth to me sufficient, where he alleageth that it may be faid, that Moses spake by the figure Synecdocke, as when a man is called a mortall man, yet is not the whole man mortall, but the body onely: fo when God faid, Let us make man after our image, he meant the foule of man, and not the body of earth and dust: Maledictus qui Deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert 50 (faith Saint Augus TINE:) Curfed is he that referreth the Deity of God to the lineaments of mans body : Deus enim non est humana forma particeps, neg; corpus humanum divina faith PHILO:)God is not partaker of humane forme, nor humane body of the forme divine The Hebrew word for image, is Telem, which fignifieth a shadow or obscure resemblances In imagine pertransit homo. Man passeth away in a shadow : Let us then know and consider, that God, who is eternall and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition; for it is both against his Nature and his Word; an error of the Anthropomorphita, against the very effence and Majesty of God. Surely

Surely Cicero, who was but a Heathen, had yet a more divine understanding than these orosse Heretikes: Ad similitudinem Dei proprins accedebat humana virtus, qu'am sieura. The vertue which is in man (faith he) came neerer the similitude of God, than the figure. For God is a spiritual substance, invisible, and most simple; God is a just God: God is Mercifull; Godis Charity it felfe, and (in a word) Goodnesse it selfe; and none elfe fimply good. And thus much it hath pleafed God himfelfe to teach us, and to make us know of himselfe. What then can be the shadow of such a substance, the image of fuch a nature, or wherein can man be faid to refemble his unexcogitable power and perfectuesse: certainely, not in Dominion alone: for the Devill is faid to be the Prince of Ephone. this World, and the Kingdome of Christ was not thereof, who was the true and perfect Job. 18.36 image of his Father; neither because man hath an immortall soule, and therein the faculties of Memory, Understanding, and Will; for the Devils are also immortall, and participate those faculties, being called Damones, because scientes of Knowledge, and Platin Cravilli Subrilty; neither because we are reasonable creatures, by which we are distinguished from beafts : for who have rebelled against God ! who have made gods of the vilest beafts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owles, yeaseven of shamefull parts, of lusts and pleafures, but reasonable men : yet doe I not condemne the opinion of Saint Chrysostome and Osvans de Just Ambrole, as touching dominion, but that, in respect thereof, man was in some fort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, such as it ought to be, that is, accompanied owith Justice and Piety: for God did not onely make man a Ruler and Governour over the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowles of Heaven (or of the aire) and over the Beasts of the Field; But God gave unto mana dominion over men, he appointed Kings to governe them, and Judges to judge them in equity. Neither doe I exclude Reason, as it is the ability of Understanding. For I doe not conceive, that Ireneus did therefore call man, the image of God, because he was animal rationale only; but that he understood it better with Sybilla: Imago mea est homo, rectam rationem habens: Man that is endued with right reason is said to resemble God, (that is) by right reason to know and confesse God his Creatour, and the same God to serve, love, and obey : and therefore said S. Angustine (who herein came neerer the Truth) Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem suam in nomente: God made man, in respect of the intellect, after his owne Image and similitude: and REYNERYUS; Homo, quod habet mentem, factus est ad imaginem Dei; Man was made after Reyndement the Image of God in minde, or in that he had a minde.

\$. I I.

Of the intellectual minde of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by Sinne.

Dut Mens is not taken here for anima phylica, according to Aristotle, which is forma, vel natura hominis: The forme or nature of man; but this faculty or gift of God, called Mens, is taken for prima vis animi, the principall sirength of the minde. or soule, cujus actus est perpetua veritatis contemplatio, whose act, exercise, or office is the perpetuall contemplation of truth; and therefore it is also called intellectus divinus, intellectus contemplatious, & anima contemplativa. A divine under standing, and an intellect or minde pumanda. contemplative. Est autem mens nostra (faith Cus a nus) vis comprehendendi, & totum possenel virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum: Our intellectuall minde Idipalizi (faithhe) is a power of comprehending, even the whole, that is in this kinde powerfull, compounded of all the powers of comprehension: unto which Mercurius attributeth so much (if his meaning accompany his words) that he esteemethat to be the very effence of God (which was also the errour of the Manichees, and others) and no otherwise separate from God (faith he) than the light from the Sunne: for this Mens or understanding (faith MER CURIUS) est Deus in hominibus : Is God in men, or rather (and smeps side) which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For as the Sunne is not of 31 fi the same effence or nature with the divine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; so is this Mens or understanding in men, nor of the essence of Gods infinite understanding but a power and faculty of our soules the purest; or the lumen animarationalis, by the true and eternall light illightned. And this Mens others call animam anime, The foule of the foule, or with S. Augustine, the eie of the foule, or receptacle of Sapience and divine knowledge-qua amorem (apiensia sanguam dissent sequisur. Which followers

Zanch.de op. Dei.l.3.cap.I.

Rom.1.23.

In Gen.

CHAP.2. S.2.

after the love of sapience as her guide (faith Philo) betweene which and reason, betweene which and the minde, called anima, betweene which and that power which the Latines call animus, there is this difference. Reason is that faculty by which we judge and discourse; Anima, by which we live. Hereofit is said, Anima corpus animat, idest, vivisicat; or the Soule is that which doth animate the body, that is, giveth it life . for death is the separation of body and foule; and the same strength (faith Philo) which God the great Director hath in the World, the same hath this Anima, or minde, or foule in man. Animus, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this Bafil agreeth, which called this Mens, or divine understanding, perspicacem anima partem, the perseiving part of the minde, or the light by which the Soule difcerneth: dormientium mens, non anima, sopitur, & in furiosis 10 mens extinguitur, animamanet: In menthat fleepe it is this (mens) or under standing, and not the mind or foule, which refeth, during which time it is but habituall in wife men, & inmad men this (Mens) is extinguished, and not the soule : for mad men doe live, though distract, Therefore this word being often used for the Soule giving life, is attributed abusively

to mad men, when we say that they are of a distract minde, in stead of a broken understanding: which word (Mind) weuse also for opinion, as, I am of this minde, or that minde : and sometimes for mens conditions or vertues, as, He is of an honest minde, or, a man of a just minde: sometimes for affection, as, I doe this formy mindes sake; and Arifortle sometimes useth this word (Mens) for the phantasie, which is the strength of the imagination: formerimes for the knowledge of principles, which we have without dif- 20 course: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels and Intelligences: but as it is used in the proper fignification, including both the understanding agent and possible, it is described to bee a pure, simple, substantiallact, not depending upon matter, but having relation to that which is intelligible, as to his first object: or more at large thus; A part or particle of the Soule, whereby it doth understand, not depending upon matter, nor needing any organ, free from paffion comming from without, and apt to be differened, as, eternall from that which is mortall Hereof excellently MERCURIUS: Anima est imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti praest, mens anima anima corpori . The Soule (meaning that which giveth life) is the Image of this understanding, or Mens, and this (Mens) or understanding is the Image of God. God is President or Ruler over this under standing, this underflanding over the Soule, and this Soule over the body. This division and distinction out of the Platonikes and Peripatetikes, I leave to the Reader to judge of. That, Mens humans hathno need of any organ, Marsilius Ficinus in his ninth Booke of the Soules immortalitylaboureth to prove. Zanchius doth not differ from Ficinus in words: for (faith he) Adfacultatemintelligentemexercendam non eget Mens organo ; tanquam medio, per quodintelligat : quanquam eget objecto in quodintuatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat: boc autem objectium sunt phantasmata, seu rerum à sensibus perceptarum simulachra ad phantasiam prolata: To exercise the faculty of understanding the minde of man (faith he)needeth no instrument, as a meane, by which it may understand: but it needeth an object, whereon to looke, and whence to conceive the act of understanding. This object are the phantasmes, 4 or the resemblances of things received from the sense, and carried to the phantasie. But in effect his conclusion seemeth to carry a contrary sense, when hee maketh the Phantasic, in representing the object to the understanding, to be a corporall Organum; neither can it be understood to be an organum of any thing, but of the understanding. And he addeth, that the refemblance of things in mans imagination, are to his understanding and minde, as colours are to the fight: whence it fo followeth, that the imagination or phantafie it felle is to the faculty of understanding, as the eye is to the faculty of seeing; and as this is an ore ganum, fo that Of this question, How the minde in all her actions makethuse of the body, and hath communion with the body, I referre the Reader to a most grave and learned Discourse in the last Reply of M.D. Bilson, late Bishop of Winchester, unto Henry Jacob. at bomeaniscom. Howfoever the Truth be determined, wee must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we discourse, nor in respect of the minde it selfe by which wee envens agraficeret live, nor in respect of our soules simply, by which we are immortall, that we are made sum atg innite after the Image of God. But most safely may we resemble our selves to God in mente, and in respect of that pure faculty which is never separate from the contemplation and

love of God. Yetthis is not all. For Saint Bernard maketh a true difference between the nature and faculties of the Minde or Soule, and betweene the infusion of quali-

ties, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which,

Lib. 9. Cap. 5. Dei,part-3. lib.s

> quent. Ad imaginem. Dei creavit iltumideft favatione fluderet.

Exam.

being added to the nature, effence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to be after the Image of God, whose words are these: Non proptered imago Dei est, quia sui meminit Mens, seq intelligit & diligit (which also was the opinion of Saint Augustine) fed quia potelle meminissed on Mens was meminissed in the Minde (or Mens) was not therefore the Image of God, because it remembreth, understandeth, and loweth it selfe, but be cause it can remember under stand, and love God, who created it. And that this Image may be deformed and made unprofitable, heare BASIL: Homo ad imaginem & similatudinem Des factus est, peccatum verò imaginis hujus pulchritudinem deformavit, & inutilem reddidis. dum animam corruptis concupiscentia affectibus immersit: Man was made after the Image and similitude of GoD, but sinne hath deformed the beauty of this Image, and made it unprofitable by drawing our minds into corrupt concupifcence.

It is not therefore (as aforefaid) by reason of Immortalility, nor in Reason, nor in Dominion, nor in any one of these by it selfe, nor in all these joyned, by any of which or by all which we refemble, or may be called the fludow of God, though by reason and understanding, with the other faculties of the Soule, we are made capable of this print: but chiefly, in respect of the habit of Originall right cousnesse, most perfectly insufed by God into the Minde and Soule of man in his first Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberality, that we were printed with the feale of Gods Image (though Reafon may be faid to be of her gift, which joyned to the foule is a part of the Effentiall Conflio tution of our proper Species) but from the bountifull grace of the Lord of all goodnesses, who breathed life into Earth, and contrived within the Trunke of Duft and Clay, the ini-

mitable hability of his own Piety, and Righteousnesse.

So long therefore (for that refemblance which Dominion hath) doe those that are powerfull retaine the Image of God, as according to his Commandements they exercise the Office or Magistracy to which they are called, and sincerely walke in the wayes of Gons 222 God, which in the Scriptures is called, walking with God; and all other men fo long rerainethis Image, as they feare, love and ferve God truly, that is, for the love of God alone, and doe not bruife and deface his Seale by the weight of manifold and voluntarv offences, and obstinate sinnes. For the unjust minde cannot be after the Image of God. to feeing God is Justice it felfe; The bloud-thirsty hath it not; for God is Charity, and Mercy it selfe: Falshood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Sathan; and therefore cannot dwell in one foule, together with Go D: and to be short, there is 2 con 6.14? nolikelihood betweene pure light and blacke darknesse, betweene beauty and deformity, orbetweene righteousnesse and reprobation. And though Nature, according to commonunderstanding, have made us capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receive this Image of Gods goodnesse, which the sensual soules of beasts cannot perreive; yet were that aptitude naturallmore inclinable to follow and imbrace the falfe and durelesse pleasures of this Stage-play World, than to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanship of Gods Wisedome, and the liberality of his Mercy, formed eyes to our foules, as to our bodies. which, piercing through the impurity of our flesh, behold the highest Heavens, and thence bring Knowledge and Object to the Minde and Soule, to contemplate the eyerduring Glory, and termeleffe Joy, prepared for those, which retaine the Image and similitude of their Creatour, preferving undefiled and unrent the garment of the new man, 2 cor 3 3 which, after the Image of Go pais created in Righteoufnesse, and Holinesse, as faith Saint Paul. Now, whereas it is thought by forme of the Fathers, as by S. Augustine, with whom s. Aminotis S. Ambrofe joyneth, that by finne, the perfection of the Image is lost, and not the Image it less 5 both opinions by this distinction may be well reconciled (to wir) that the Image of God, in man, may be taken two wayes; for either it is confidered, according to o naturall gifts, and confiseth therein: namely, to have a reasonable and understanding nature, &c. and in this fense, the Image of God is more lost by finne, than the very reaionable or understanding nature, &c. is lost, (or sinne doth not abolish and take away. these naturall gifts:) or, the Image of God is considered, according to supernatural! gifts, namely, of Divine Grace and heavenly Glory, which is indeed the perfection and accomplishment of the naturall Image; and this maner of similitude and Image of God wholly blotted out and destroyed by fin.

CHAP.2. S.4.5.

Of our base and fraile bodies: and that the care thereof should yeeld to the immortall Soule. He externall man God formed out of the dust of the Earth, or according to the fignification of the word, Adam, of Adamath, of red Earth, or, extimoterre, our of the slime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. Non ex qualibet humo, sed ex ghaphar adamath (idest) ex pinguissima & mollissima: Not th. iod made an Image or Statue of Clay, but out of Clay, Earth or Dust God formed and made stell,

bloud and bone, with all parts of man.

Sen. 18.27. Job 4.27.

Eccl. 12.14

Wins Mont de

pat f. 156.

That man was formed of Earth and Dust did Abraham acknowledge, when in humble 16 scare hee called unto God, to save Sodome: Let not my Lord now be angry, if I speake, I that am but dust and ashes: And, In these Houses of Clay, whose foundation is in the dust, doe our soules inhabite, according to Job. And though our owne eyes doe every-where behold the fudden and refistlesse assaults of Death, and Nature assureth us by never-failing Experience, and Reason by infallible demonstration, that our times upon the Earth have neither certainty nor durability, that our Bodies are but the Anviles of paine and difeales, and our Mindes the Hives of unnumbred cares, forrowes and passions : and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted posts, against which Envie and Fortung direct their darts; yet such is the true unhappinesse of our condition, and the darke ignorance which covereth the eyes of our understanding, that we onely prize, pamper, and 24 exalt this Vassall and Slave of death, and forget altogether (or onely remember at our cast-away leisure) the imprisoned immortall Soule, which can neither dye with the Reprobate, nor perish with the mortall parts of vertuous men: seeing Gods justice in the one, and his goodnesse in the other is exercised for evermore, as the ever-living subjects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that we examine this great account ? Never while we have one vanity left us to spend: we plead for Titles, till our breath suile us; digge for Riches, whiles our strength enableth us; exercise malice, while we can revenge; and then when Time hath beaten from us both youth, pleasure, and health, and that Nature it felfe hateth the house of old age, we remember with Job, that we must goe the way For 10,21,617. from whence we shall not returne, and that our bed is made ready for us in the darke; And then it I fay looking over-late into the bottome of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked up from us all our lives,) wee behold therein the fearefull Images of our actions past, and withall this terrible Inscription: That God will bring every workeinto

judgement that man hath done under the Sunne. But what examples have ever moved us ? what perfuations reformed us ? or what threatnings made us affraid ? we behold other mens Tragedies plaid before us, we heare what is promifed and threatned: but the Worlds bright glory hath put out the eyes of Our minds, and these berraying lights, (with which we onely see) doe neither looke up towards termeleffe joyes, nor downe towards endleffe forrowes, till we neither know, nor can looke for any thing elfe, at the Worlds hands. Of which excellently Marius

Victor:

Nil hoftes, nil dira fames, nildeniq; morbi Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc famus, iifq; periclis Tentati, nihilo meliores reddimur unquam, Sub vitiis nullo culparum fine manentes.

Discases, Famine, Enemies, in us no change have wrought, What erst we were, we are; still in the same snare caught: No time can our corrupted manners mend, In Vice we dwell, in Sinne that hath no end-

But let us not flatter our immortall Soules herein: for to neglect God all our lives, and know that weeneglect him; to offend God voluntarily, and know that we offend him, casting our hopes on the Peace, which we trust to make at parting, is no other than a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) even a contemptuous laughing to scorne, and deriding of God, his Lawes and Precepts. Frustra sperant qui sic de misse ricordia Dei sibi blandiuntur , They hope in vaine, faith BERNARD, which in this fort flatter, themselves with Gods mercy. 9.IV

BernenPlat.

6. IV.

Of the Spirit of Life, which God breathed into man in his Creation.

N this frame and carcaffe God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a living Soule: (that is) God gave a body of Earth and of corruptible matter, a Soule spi-I rituall and incorruptible; not that God had any fuch bodily instruments as menuse. but God breathed the Spirit of Life and Immortalitie into man, as hee breatheth his grace daily into fuch as love and feare him. The Spirit of God (faith Elihu in Iob) Job 33 49 hath made mee, and the breath of the Almighty hath given me Life: In qua (ententia (faith RABANUS) vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formasse corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labies suis inspirasse in faciem formati, ut vivere possit & piraculum vita habere: Nam et Propheta cum ait, Manus tua fecerunt me, &c. Tropica hac locutione magis quam propria, (id est) juxta consuetudinem. qua solent homines operari, loquutus est: In which sentence (faith hee) the beggarlinesse of carnall sense is to bee avoided, lest perhaps wee should thinke, either that God with bodile hands made mans body of lime or breathed with jawes or lips upon bis face (being formed) that be might live, and have the Spirit of Life: for the Prophet allowhen he (aith. Thy hands bave made mee, (pake this Tropically, rather than properly (that is) according to the custom which menuse in working. Quantum est periculi his, qui Scripturas sensu corporeo legunt ? In what danger are they that reade the Scriptures in a carnall fense? By this breath was infused into man both life and foule; and therefore this (Soule) the Philosophers call Animam. que vivificat corpus & animat ; Which doth animate, and give life to the body. The infpiration of the Almighty giveth understanding, faith Joz and this spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable soule of man, returneth agains to God that gave it. as the body returneth unto the Earth, out of which it was taken; according to Ecclesia after: And dust shall returne to the Earth, out of which is was taken, and the spirit shall re- Ecological turn to God that gave it. Neither is this word (Spirit) usually otherwise taken in the Scriptures, than for the foule; as when Stephen cried unto God: Domine, suscipe spiritum 40,7,56, meum : Lord Tefus receive my (pirit: and in S. John, And Jefus bowed his bead and gave foling 300 up the Ghoft, or Spirit; (which was) that his life and foule left his body dead. And that the immortall foule of man differeth from the Soules of beafts, the manner of creation maketh it manifest : for it is written, Let the waters bring forth in abundance every cree. Gen. 126. ping thing, and let the Earth bring forth the living thing, according to his kinde, the beaft of the Earth, &c. But of man it is written, Let us make man in our owne Image, &c. and further, that the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life. Wherefore, as from the Wa- Genary ter and Earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence received life; so shall they againe be dissolved into the same first matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath everlasting, which God breathed into man, shall according to Ecclesiastes, returne Ecclesiastes againe to God that gave it.

S. V. That manis (as it were) a little World: with a digression touching our mortality.

An, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abiltract or modell, or briefe Storie of the Universall: in whom God concluded the Creation, and worke of the World, and whom hee made the last and most excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued with a divine understanding, by which hee might contemplate and serve his Creatour, after whose image hee was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of Reason and other abilities, that thereby also hee might governe and rule the World, and all other Gods creatures therein. And whereas God created three forts of living natures, (to wit) Angelicall, Rationall, and Brutall; giving to Angels an intellectuall, and to Beafts a sensuall nature; he vouchsafed unto Man, both the intellectuall of Angels, the fenfitive of Beafts, and the proper rationall belonging untoman: and therefore (faith GREGORY NAZIANZENE,) Homo est utrius, nature 622.175. vinculum, Man is the bond and chaine which tyeth together both natures: and because in Greg Mag. Epift. the little frame of mans body there is a repreferration of the Universall, and (by allu-omais normal for) a hind of the Universall, and (by allu-oranized creature, or creatu sion) a kinde of participation of all the parts there, therefore was manicalled Micro- lume tora. cosmos, or the little World. Deus'igitur bominem factum, velut alterum quendam mun- Auglauszas

Dvid Met.l. 20

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dum, in brevi magnum, atq; exiguo totum, interris statuit; God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom he had made, as it were another World; the great and large World in the small and little World: for out of the Earth and Dust was formed the slesh of man, and therefore heavie and lumpish: the bones of his body we may compare to the hard Rockes and Stones, and therefore strong and durable of which OVID:

Inde genus durum sumus, experiensq;laborum, Et documenta damus qua simus origine nati:

From thence our Kind hard-hearted is, enduring paine and care, Approving, that our bodies of a stonie nature are.

His bloud, which dispersethit selfe by the branches of veines through all the body, may be refembled to those waters, which are carried by Brookes and Rivers over all the Earth; his breath to the Aire, his naturall heate to the inclosed warmth which the Earth hath in it felfe, which, stirred up by the heate of the Sunne, assisted Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radicall moisture, Oyle, or Balfamum (whereon the naturall heate feedeth and is maintain ned) is refembled to the fat and fertilitie of the Earth; the haires of mans body, which adornes or over-shadowes it, to the graffe, which covereth the upper face and skin of the Earth 3 our generative power, to Nature, which produceth all things 5 our determinations to the light, wandering & unstable clouds, carried every where with uncertain winds; our eies, to the light of the Sun and Moone; and the beauty of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very fhort time, or with the Sunnes heat, dry up, and wither away, or the fierce puffes of winde blow them from the stalkes; the thoughts of our minde, to the motion of Angels; and our pure understanding (formerly called Mens, and that which alwayes looketh upwards) to those intellectuall natures, which are alwayes present with God; and lastly our immortall soules (while they are righteous) are by God himselfe beautified with the title of his owne I mage and similitude. And although, in respect of God, there is no man just, or good, or righteous: for in Angelis deprebensaest stuttitia, Behold, beefound folly in his Angels (faith Job) yet with fuch a kind of difference, as there is betweene the fubstance and the shadow, there may be found a goodnesse in man which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called man, the image and fimilitude of his owne righteoufnesse. In this also is the little World of man compared, and made more like the univerfall (man being the measure of all things ; Homo est mensura omnium rerum, faith Aristotle and Pythagoras) that the foure Complections refemble the foure Elements, and the feven Ages of man the feven Planets: Whereof our infancie is compared to the Moone, in which we feeme onely to live and grow, as Plants; the fecond Age to Mercurie, wherein we are taught and instructed; our third Age to Venus, the dayes of Love, Defire, and Vanitie; the fourth to the Sunne, the strong, flourishing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to Mars, in which we feeke honour and victorie, and in which our thoughts travaile to ambitious a ends; the fixth Age is ascribed to Jupiter, in which we beginne to take accompt of our times, judge of our selves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding; the last and seventh to Saturne, wherin our dayes are fad and over-cast, and in which we find by deare and lamentable experience, & by the loffe which can never be repaired, that of all our vaine passions and affections past, the forrow only abideth: Our attendants are sickneffes, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more we are accompanied with plentie, by so much the more greedily is our end defired, whom when Time hath made unsociable to others, we become aburthen to our selves : being of no other use, than to hold the riches we have, from our Successors-Inthis time it is, when (as a forefaid) we, for the most part, and never before, prepare for our eternall habitation, which we passe on unto, with many fighes, grones and fad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanthip of death, finish the sorrowfull businesse of a wretched life, towards which we alwaies travell both fleeping and waking: neither have those beloved companions of honor and riches any power at all to hold us any one day, by the glorious promise of entertainments; but by what crooked path foever we walk, the fame leadeth on directly to the house of death, whose doores lye open at all houres, and to all persons. For this tyde of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a perpetuall Ebbe and falling Streame, but never flowerhagaine: our Leafe once fallen, springeth no more,

neither doth the Sunne or the Summer adorne us againe, with the garments of new Leaves and Flowers. Redditur arboribus florens revirentibus atas

Ergo non homini, qued fuit ante, redit.

To which I give this fense!

The Plants and Trees made poore and old By Winter envious, The Spring-time bounteous Covers againe from shame and cold:

I But never man repair dagaine His youth and beautie loft. Though Art, and care, and coff. Doe promise Natures helpe in vaince

And of which.

CATULLUS EPIGRAM.53. Soles occidere & redire possunt :

The Sunne may fet and rife: But we contrariwife

Nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux. Nox est perpetua una dormienda. Sleepe after our fhort light One everlasting night.

For if there were any baiting place, or rest, in the course or race of mans life, then according to the doctrine of the Academicks, the fame might also perpetually bee mainrained; but as there is a continuance of motion in naturall living things, and as the fap and invoce, wherein the life of Plants is preferved, doth evermore afcend or descend: fo is it with the life of man, which is alwayes either increasing towards ripenesse and perfection, or declining and decreafing towards rottennesse and dissolution.

5. VI.

of the free power, which man had in his first Creation, to dispose of himselfe.

Hefe be the miferies which our first Parents brought on all Mankinde, unto whom God in his creation gave a free and unconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberall choice of all things, with one onely prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God fet before him, a mortall and immortall Life, a nature celestiall and terrene, and (indeed) God gave man to himselfe, to bee his owne Guide. his owne Workeman, and his owne Painter, that hee might frame or describe unto himselfe what hee pleased, and make election of his owne forme. God made Entire 11. maninthe beginning (faith SIRACIDES) and left himinthe hands of his owne counsell. Such was the liberalitie of God, and mans felicitie: whereas beafts, and all other creatures reasonlesse, brought with them into the World (faith Lucilius) and that even when they first fell from the bodies of their Dams, the nature, which they could not change : and the supernall Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or soone after, of that condition, in which they remaine in perpetuall eternitie. But (as aforefaid) God gave unto man all kind of Seeds and Grafts of life (to wit) the vegetative life of Plants, the scnfinall of Beafts, the rationall of Man, and the intellectuall of Angels; whereof which foever he tooke pleasure to plant and cultive, the same should suturely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his owne choice and plantation. This freedome of the first man Adam, and our first Father, was anigmatically described by Asclepius Athemenlis (faith Mirandula) in the performand Fable of Proteus, who was faid, as often as he pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated Metamora phoses among the Pythagorians, and ancient Poets, whereinit was fained, that men were transformed into divers shapes of beasts, thereby to shew the change of mens conditions, from Reason to Brutalitie, from Vertue to Vice, from Mecknessero Crueltie, and from Justice to Oppression. For by the lively Image of other creatures did those Ancients represent the variable passions, and affections of mortall men; as by Serpents were fignified Deceivers; by Lyons, Oppreffors, and cruell men; by Swine, Men given over to luft and fenfualitie; by Wolves, ravening, and greedie Men; which also Saint Matthew resembleth to false prophets, which come to you in sheepes clothing, but in- thaubitse wardly they are ravening Wolves: by the images of stones and stockes, foolish and ignorant Men; by Vipers, ungratefull Men: of which S. John Baptist, O yee generation of Manhair Vipers, &c.

6. VII

Fob 4.180

CHAP.3. \$.2.

S. VII.

Of Gods ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the Universall createdwas exceeding good.

N this worke of Man, God finished the Creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, Cui volu. ife est feei se; With whom, to will is to make, faith Beda. Neither did God so rest, that hee left the World made, and the Creatures therein to themselves: for my Father workethto this day (faith Christ) and I worke; but God rested (that is) hee created no new species or kinds of creatures, but (as aforesaid) gave unto man a power generative, and to to the rest of living creatures, and to Plants and Flowers their seeds in themselves; 10 and commanded man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their feverall kinds: all which being finished, God faw that his workes were good; not that he fore-knew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they were; for God made every Plant of the field before it was in the Earth; but hee gave to all things which hee had created the name of good, thereby to teach men, that from so good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfeet good, and from whole simple puritie and from so excellent a cause, there could proceed no impure or imperfect effect. For man having a free will and liberall choice, purchafed by disobedience his owne death and mortalitie, and for the crueltie of mans heart, was the Earth afterward curfed, and all creatures of the first Age destroyed, but 20 the righteous man Noah and his Family, with those creatures which the Arke contayned, reserved by God to replenish the Earth.

CHAP. III.

Of the Place of Paradise.

§. I That the feate of Paradife is greatly mistaken: and that it is no marvell that men should erre.



28

Fohn 5.170

Oncerning the first Habitation of man, we reade, that the Lord God plana ted a Garden Eastward in Eden, and there hee put the man whom hee made, GEN. 2.6. Of this seate and place of Paradise, all Ages have held dispute; and the opinions and judgements have beene in effect, as divers, among those that have written upon this part of Genesis, as upon any one place

therein, feeming most obscure: some there are, that have conceived the being of the terrestriall Paradise, without all regard of the Worlds Geographie, and without any respect of the East and West, or any consideration of the place where Moses wrote, and 40 from whence he directed (by the quarters of the Heavens) the way how to find out and judge, in what Region of the Worldthis Garden was by God planted, wherein hee was exceeding respective and precise. Others, by being themselves ignorant in the Hebrew, followed the first Interpretation, or trusting to their owne judgements, understood one place for another; and one Errour is so fruitfull, as it begetteth a thoufand Children, if the licentiousnesse thereof bee not timely restrayned. And thirdly, those Writers which gave themselves to follow and imitate others, were in all things fo abservant Sectatours of those Masters, whom they admired and beleeved in, as they thought it fafer to condemne their owne understanding, than to examine theirs. For (faith Vadianus in his Epistle of Paradise) Magnos errores, magnorum viro-50 rum authoritate persuasi, transmittimus; Wee passe over many grosse errours, by the authoritie of great men led and perswaded. And it is true, that many of the Fathers were farre wide from the understanding of this place. I speake it not, that I my selfe dare presume to censure them, for I reverence both their Learning and their Pietie, and yet not bound to follow them any further, than they are guided by truth: for they were men; Et humanum est errare. And to the end that no man should bee proude of himselfe, God hath distributed unto men such a proportion of Knowledge, as the wifest may behold in themselves their owne weakenesse:

Nulli unquam dedit omnia Deus; Godnever gave the knowledge of all things to any one. Saint 2. COLIL 24 Paul confest that he knew not, whether he were taken up into the third heaven in the sless. or out of the flesh; and Christ himselfe acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Mauha4.36; Angels knew of the latter day; and therefore, seeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to S. Jude) who is only wife. Sapientia ubi invenitur? (faith Joe) but where is Jude Esway. wiledome found? and where is the place of understanding? man knoweth not the price thereof Job 28.12. for it is not found in the Land of the living. And therefore seeing God found folly in his Angels, mens judgements (which inhabite in houses of clay) cannot be without their mitakings: and fo the Fathers, and other learned men, excufable in particulars, especially in those whereupon our falvation dependeth not.

> 6. II. Arecitall of strange opinions touching Paradife.

TOw touching Paradife, first it is to be enquired, whether there were a Paradife. or no : or whether Mofes description were altogether mysticall, and allegoricall ? as Origen, Philo, Fran. Georgius, with others have affirmed; and that under the names of those foure Rivers, Pifon, Gehon, Hidekel, and Perath, the tree of life, and the tree of Knowledge, there were delivered unto us other my steries and significations; as, that by the foure Rivers were meant the foure Cardinall vertues, Justice, Temperance, Fortitude, Bartassemal and Prudence; or (by other)Oyle, Wine, Milke, and Hony. This Allegoricall understan- La 143: ding of Paradise by Origen divulged, was againe by Franciscus Georgius received (saith Sixtus Senensis;) whose frivolous imaginations Sixtus himselfe doth fully and learnedly answer, in the 34. Annoration of his fift Booke, fol. 338 the last Edition.

S. Ambrofe also leaned wholly to the Allegorical Construction, and set Paradise in the third Heaven, and in the vertues of the minde, of in noftro principali, which is, as I conceive it, in mente, or in our foules: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this fort. By the place or garden of Paradife, was meant the foule or minde; by Adam, Mens, or Understanding; by Eve, the Sense; by the Serpent, Delectation; by the Tree of good and 30 evill, Sapience; and by the rest of the Trees, the vertues of the minde, or in the minde plan- Amb de Penal; ted, or from thence foringing. Notwithstanding all which, upon the first of the Corin. c. 6. hein direct words alloweth both of a celeftial and terreftrial I Paradife; the one into which S. Paul was rapt; the other, into which Adam was put by God. Aug. Chryfamenfis was of opinion, that a Paradife had beene, but that there was not now any marke thereof on the earth the fame being not only defaced, but withall the places now not formuch as existing. To which Luther feemeth to adhere:

The Manichees also understood, that by Paradise was ment the whole Earth; to which opinion, Vadianus inclineth, as I conceive his words, in two feverall places. First, upon this: Fill the earth, Gen. 10. Of which he giveth this judgement. Hos ipfo etiam quod Ao dixit, Replete terram, dominamini universis animantibus subjicite terram, clarissime docet. totam terram extantem & omnigenis (ut tum erat) fructibus consitam, sedem & hortum illum Ada, & posteritatis future fuisse: These words faith he) in which God said, Bring forth fruit and multiply, and fill the earth, and fubdue it, and rule over every creature, doe cleerly shew. that the Universall earth set or filled with all sorts of fruits (as then it was) was the garden and feate of ADAM, and of his future posteritie. And afterward he acknowledgeth the place, out Vale 26, of the Atts Cap 17. Apostolus ex uno sanguine omne genus humanum ideo fattum docet, ut habitarent super universam faciem terra: tota igitur terra Paradi sus ille erat; The Apostle (faith he) teacheth, that God hath made of one bloud all mankinde, to dwell over all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth (faith he) was that Paradife. Which conjectures I will answer in order. Goropius Beganus differeth not much from this opinion, but yet he acknowledgeth that Adam was first planted by God in one certaine place, and peculiar Garden; which place Goropius findeth neere the River of Acesines, in the confines of India.

Tertullian, Bonaventure, and Durandus, make Paradife under the Equinoctiall; and Bana6326, Postellies, onite contrary, under the North pole: the Chaldwans also for the most part, & all their Sectators, followed the opinion of Origen, or rather Origen theirs, who would either make Paradise a figure, or Sacrament only, or else would have it seated out of this fensible world, or raised into some high and remote Region of the Ayres Strabus, and

Bed.in Gen. Pet.Comeft.l.x. cap-3. Moles Barc.de

Sec. c.19.2.

20

Rabanus, were both ficke of this vanitie, with origen, and Philo: fo was our venerable Beda, and Peter Comestor, and Moses Barcephas the Syrian, translated by Masius. But as Hopkins fayes of Philo Judam, that hee wondred, Quomalo genio afflatus; By what evill Angell he was blowne up into this errour: fo can I not but greatly marvell at the learned men, who fo groffely and blindely wandred; feeing Moses, and after him the Prophets, do fo plainely describe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the kingdomes and provinces bordering it, by the Rivers which watered it, and by the points of the Compasse upon which it lay, in respect of Judæa, or Canaan.

Novionagus also upon Beda, De natura rerum, beleeveth that all the Earth was taken for Paradise, and not any one place. For the whole earth (saith he) hath the same beau- to ty ascribed to Paradise. He addeth, that the Ocean was that fountaine, from whence the foure Rivers, Pifon, Gehon, Tigris, and Euphrates, had their beginning: for he could northinke it possible, that these Rivers of Ganges, Nilus, Tigris, and Euphrates (whereof the one ranne through India, the other through Egypt, and the other through Mefopotamia and Armenia) could rife out of one fountaine, were it not out of the Fountaine

of the Ocean.

That there was a true locall Paradise Eastward, in the Countrey of Eden.

→O the first therefore, that such a place there was upon the earth, the words of Moses make it manifest, where it is written, And the Lord God planted a garden Eastward in Eden, and there hee put the man whom hee had made. And how soever the vulgar translation, called Hieromes translation, hath converted this place thus, Plansaverat Dominus Deus Paradisum voluptatis à principio; The Lord God planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginning; putting the word (pleasure) for Eden, & (from the beginning) for Eastward: it is manifest, that in this place Eden is the proper name of a Region. For what fense hath this translation (faith our Hopkins, in his Treatise of Paradise) that hee planted a garden in pleasure, or that a River went out of pleasure to water the garden? But the seventy Interpreters call it Paradisum Edenis, the Paradise of Eden, and so doth the Chaldæan Paraphrast truely take it for the proper name of a place, and for a Noune appellative; which Region, in respect of the fertilitie of the soyle, of the many beautifull Rivers and goodly Woods, and that the trees (as in the Indies) doe alwayes keepe their leaves, was called Eden, which fignifieth in the Hebrew, pleafantneffe, or delicacie, as the Spaniards call the Country, opposite to the Isle of Cuba, Florida: and this is the mistaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double sense of the word, that as Florida was a Countrey, so called for the flourishing beauty thereof; so was Eden a Region called pleasure, or delicacy, for its pleasure, or delicacy: and as Florida sigmifieth flourishings so Eden signifieth pleasure: and yet both are the proper names of Countries; for Edenbeing the proper name of a Region (called pleasure in the Hebrew) and 40 Paradife being the choice feate of all that Region, Paradife was truly the Garden of Eden, and truely the Garden of pleasure.

Now, for Eastward, to translate it, from the beginning, it is also contrary to the transflation of the Seventy; to the ancient Greeke Fathers, as Ba fil, Chryfostome, Theodoret, Gregorie; and to the Rabines, as Ramban, Rabbi Salomon, R. Abraham, and Chimchi; and of the Latines, Severinus, Damascenus, &c. who plainly take Eden for the proper name of a Region, and set the word (Éastward) for ab initio: for Damascens owne words are these, Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter consitus ; Paradise

is a place, marvellously planted by the hands of God, in Eden, toward the East. And after all these Fathers, Guilhelmus Paristensis, a great learned man, and Sixtus Se- 50 nensis, of later times, doe both understand these words of Eden, and of the East, contrary to the vulgar translation; Parisiensis, as indifferent to both, and Sixtus Senensis, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their owne words: After this I will begin to speake of Paradise terrestriall, which God planted from the beginning, or Eastward &c. Post bæc incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantasse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem &c. And then Senensis; Moses enim claristime prodit, Paradisum à Deo consitum invegione terra Orientalis, qua dicitur Heden: Heden autem esse proprium nomen apparet ex quarto capite Gen ubi legimus CHAM babitaffe ad Orientalem plagam Heden; For Moses

(faith he) doth show most cleerely, that Paradise was planted of God in a Region of the East Countrie, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Genesis, where we reade, that CHAM dwelt on the East border of Heden. PERE-Version RIUS endevoureth to qualifie this translation; for this particle (faith he) ab initio, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very first day; alledging this place of Christ, that although the Divell was said to be a man-flayer from the beginning, ver John 8 447 that was meant but after the fixth day. But furely, as I thinke (referring my felfe to better judgement) the Devill was from the instant of his fall a man-slayer in disposition. though he had not whereon to practife till mans creation. And for conclusion, S. Hierome (if that be his translation) adviseth himselfe better in the end of the third Chapter of Genesis, converting the word (Eden) by (ante) and not (a principio) as, Goddid set a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden; Collocavit Deus ante Paradisum voluptatis Cherubin; and Pererius himselfe acknowledgeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew. Posuit à parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin; Heeset Genazio on the East-side of the Garden of Heden, a Cherubin. BE CANUS affirmeth, that the Hebrew word (Be) fignifieth (with) as well as (in) and fo the Text beareth this fense; That God planted a Garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But Becanus followerh this construction, onely to the end, to finde Paradise upon the River of Acesines: for there he hath heard of the Indian Fig-tree in great aboundance, which he supposeth to be the tree of Knowledge of good and evill, and would therefore draw Paradife to the Fig. tree: which conceit of his I will answer hereafter.

Now, because Paradise was seated by Moses toward the East, thence came the custome of praying towards the East, and not by imitation of the Chaldwans: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the Sun riseth in March, which is directly over Paradife (faith Damafeenus:) affirming, that we alwayes pray towards the East, as looking towards Paradife, whence we were cast out; and vet the Temple of Solomon had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themselves in their fervice and divine ceremonies, alwayes towards the West, thereby to avoide the superstition

of the Egyptians and Chaldwans.

CHAP.2. \$.3.

But because East and West are but in respect of places; (for although Paradise were East from Judga, yet it was West from Persia) and the serving of God is every where in the worldsthe matter is not great which way we turn our faces, so our hearts stand right, other than this, that we who dwell West from Paradise, and pray turning our selves towards the East, may remember thereby to befeech God, that as by Adams fall wee have loft the Paradife on earth; fo by Christ's death and passion we may be made partakers of the Paradife celeftiall, and the Kingdome of heaven. To conclude, I conceive that there was no other mysterie in adding the word (East) to Eden by Moses, than to shew, that the Region of Eden, in which Paradife was lay Eastward from Judge and Canaan: for the Scriptures alwayes called the people of those Nations, the Sons of the East which inhago bited Arabia, Mesopotamia, Chaldwa, and Persia: of which o vid.

Eurus ad Euroram, Nabataaq; regnarecessit, The East winde with Aurona hatha biding Among th' Arabian, and the Persian Hils, Whom Phobius first salies at his up-rising.

And if it be objected, that Hieremy the Prophet, threatning the destruction of Hierusalem, doth often make mention of Northerne Nations, it is to be noted, that the North is there named, in respect of those nations that followed Nabuchodonozer, and of whom the Streatest part of his Army was compounded; not that Babylon it selfe stood North from Hierufalem, though inclining from the East towards the North.

Now to the difference of this Translation, Peter Comeftor giveth best statisfaction: for houseth the word, From the beginning, that is, from the first part of the World, (a principio). ideft, (faith he) à prima orbis parte; and afterward hee affirmeth, that à principio, and ad Orientem, have the same signification: From the beginning & East ward is all onesa princi-

Pio idemest quod ad Orientem. .

But to returne to the proofe of this place, and that this Story of Mankind was not Allegoricall, it followeth in the Text of the 2. Chap. & 9. Verfe, in these words: For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every Tree pleasant to the sight, and good for meat, fo as first it appeared that God created Adam elsewhere, as in the World at large, and then put him into the Garden: and the end why, is exprest: that he might dreffeit and

Ver(e 18.

32

keepe it ; Paradife being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the most excellent kinds, pleafant to behold, and (with all) good for meate: which prove that P_{a-} radife was a terrestriall Garden, garnished with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taste. And to make it more plaine, and to take away all opinion of Allegoricall construction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a River; expressing also the Region, out of which this River sprang, which he calleth Heden; and that Heden is also a Countrie ncere unto Charan in Mesopotamia, Ezechiel witnesseth.

Exech:27.23

Egech.31.9

But to all these Cabalists, which draw the Truthand Storie of the Scriptures into Allegories, Epiphanius answereth in these words: Si Paradisus non est sensibilis, non est etiam fons, sinon est fons, non est flumen, si non est flumen, non sunt quatuor principia, non Pison, 10 non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates, non est ficus, non folia, non comedit Eva de arbore, non est ADAM, non sunt homines, sed verisas jam fabula est, & omnia ad Allegorias revocantur: If Paradife be not sensible, then there was no fountaine, and then no river, if no river, then no fuch foure heads or branches, and then not any fuch river, as Pison, or Gehon, Tigris, or Euphrates, no such fig. tree or fruit, or leaves, Eve then did not eate of the fruit, neither was there any ADAM, or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things esteemed are called back into Allegories. Words to the fame effect hath S. Hierome upon DANIEL: Contitefoante orum deliramenta, qui umbras & imagines in veritate sequentes, ipsam conantur evertere veritatem, ut Paradisum & flumina, & arbores putent Allegoria Legibus se debere subruere: vertiatem, ut Lai au jum of jum be filent, who following shadowes and images in the Truth, endevour to 20 Subvert the Truth it selfe, and thinke that they ought to bring Paradise, and the Rivers of the

Trees under the Rules of Allegorie. Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Storie is the place made more manifest. For, God gave Adam free libertie to eate of every Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of knowledge excepted) which Trees Moses in the ninth verse faith that they were good to cat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Befides, God left all beafts to Adam to be named, which he had formerly made; and these beasts were neither in the third Heaven, nor neer the circle of the Moon, nor beafts in imagination: for if all thefe things were Enigmatical or mysticall, the same might also be said of the creation of all things. And Ezechiel, speaking of the glory of the Affyrian Kings, ufeth this speech : All the Trees of Eden, which a were in the Garden of God, envied him; which proveth both Eden, and Paradife therein feated, to be terrestriall: for the Prophets made no imaginary comparisons. But Moses wrote plainly, and in a simple stile, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and he was more large and precise in the description of Paradise, than in any other place of Scripture; of purpose to take away all scruple from the incredulitie of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecie) to beapt to fabulous inventions, and that if he had not described both the region and the Rivers, and how it stood from Canaan, many of the unbeleeving Ifraelites & others after them, would have misconstrued this Storie of Mankind. And is it likely, there would have beene so often mention made of Paradise in the Scriptures, if the fame had beene an Miopia? For wee finde that the Valley, wherein Sodome and Gomor- 40

Gen.13-10.

excellency. Besides, whence had Homer his invention of Alcinous Gardens, as Justin Martyr noteth, but out of Mofes his description of Paradife? Gen. 2. and whence are their praises of the Elizian fields, but out of the story of Paradife? to which also appertaine those Verses 50 of the Golden Age in Ovid:

rha flood, (fometimes called Pentapolis, of the five principall Cities therein) was

before the destruction (which their unnaturall sinne purchased) compared to the Para-

dise of the Lord, and like to the Land of Egypt roward Zoar: In like manner was Ifrael

resembled to the Paradise of God, beforethe Babylonians wasted it: which prove the

plainly, that Paradife it felfe exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that these places had

but a resemblancee thereof: being compared to a seate and soyle of farreexceeding

Guid Metomiliza

Fer erat aternum, placidiq, tepentibus auric Mulcebant Zephyri natos fine semine flores.

The joyfull Spring did ever laft, | Sweete flowers by his gentle blaft, Without the helpe of Seed And Zephyrus did breede

And it is manifelt, that Orpheus, Linus, Pindarus, Hefiodus, and Homer, and after him, Ovid, one out of another, and all these together with Pythageras and Plato, and their Secta-

Sectatours, did greatly enrich their inventions, by venting the stolne Treasures of Divine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and difguifed by poetical convertions, as if they had bin conceived out of their owne speculations and contemplations.

But besides all these testimonies, if wee finde what Region Heden or Eden was: if we prove the River that ran out of it, and that the fame afterwards was divided into foure branches; together with the Kingdomes of Havila and Cush, and that all these are Eastward from Canaan, or the Defarts of the Amorites, where Moses wrote: I then conceive that there is no man that will doubt, but that fuch a place there was. And yet I doe not exclude the Allegoricall fense of the Scripture; for as well in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughout : the Storie being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (faith Saint Augustine) Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententia : una est eorum, qui tantummodo corporaliter Paradisum intelligi golunt : alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantium (id est) Ecclesiam: tertia eorum, qui utroq: modo Paradifum accipiunt, (that is) There are three opinions of Paradife: the one of those men, which will have it altogether corporall: a second of those, which conceive it altogether spirituall, and to bee a figure of the Church: the third of those which take it in both senses; which third opinion S. Augustine approveth, and of which Suidas giveth this allowable Augusticianes indocement: Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul conditus erat: sic & hujus sanctissimum nemus, sensibile simul & intelligibile, & duplici specie est praditum; (that Raradius is) As man was created at one time both sensible and intelligible: so was this holy Grove or

Garden to be taken both wayes, and endued with a double forme.

Why it should be needfull to intreas diligently of the place of Paradise.

D Ut it may be objected, that it is needleffe, and a kinde of curiofitie to enquire for Bdiligently after this place of *Paradife*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no use. To which I answer, that there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Storie be necessarie, then by the place proved. o the same is also made more apparent. For if wee should conceive that Paradise were not on the Earth, but lifted up as high as the Moone; or that it were beyond all the Ocean, and inno part of the knowne World, from whence Adam was faid to wade through the Sea, and thence to have come into Judea, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would give any credit unto it. For what could feeme more vidiculous than the report of fuch a place and befides, what maketh this feate of Paradife fo much difputed and doubted of, but the conceit that Pishon should be Ganges, which watereth the East India, and Gehon, Nilus, which enricheth Egypt, and these two Rivers so farre diflant, as (except all the World were Paradife) thefe streames can no way be comprised therein ?

Secondly, if the birth and workes, and death of our Saviour, were faid to have beene in some such Countrey, of which no man ever heard tell, and that his Miracles had bin performed in the Ayre, or no place certainly knowne: I affure my felfe, that the Christian Religion would have taken but a flender roote in the minds of men: for times and pla-

ces are approved witnesses of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should rely, or give place to the judgement of some Writers upon this place of Genesis (though otherwise for their doctrine in generall, they are worthy of honour and reverence) I say that there is no fable among the Grecians or Egyptians more ridiculous: for who would believe that there were a piece of the World fo fet by it felfe and separated as to hang in the Ayre under the circle of the Moone or who fo doltish to conceive, that from thence the foure Rivers of Ganges, Nilus, Euphrates, and Tygris, should fall downe, and run under all the Ocean, and rife up againe inthis our habitable world, and in those places where they are now found. Which lest any man thinke that I enforce or strain to the work, these are Peter Comestors own words. Est autem locus amanisimus, longo terra & maris tractu à nostra habitabili Zona secretus, a deò elevatus, ut usqual lunarem globum attingat, &c. (that is) It is a most pleasant place, severed from our habitable Zone by a long tract of Land and Sea, elevated that it reachet to the globe of the

And Mofes Barcephas upon this place writeth in this manner : Deinde boe quoq; respons Barconverted volumus, by Masim.

CHAP.2. \$.5.

CHAP.3. \$.5

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volumus, Paradisum multo sublimiore positum esseregione, atq; hæc nostra extet terra eoq; fi. eri ut illine per pracipitium delabantur fluvii tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non possis ; eoq; impetu impulsi pressiq; sub Oceani vado rapiuntur, underursus prosiliant e bulliantq; in hoc à nobis culto orbe: which have this sense: Furthermore (laith he) we give this for an answer, that Paradise is set in a Region farre raised above this part which wee inhabite; whereby it comes to passe, that from thence these rivers fall downe with such a headlong violence, as words cannot expresse; and with that force so impulsed and prest, they are carried under the deepe Ocean, and doe againe rise and boyle up in this our habitable World: and to this he addeth the opinion of Ephram, which is this. Ephram dicit Paradifum ambire terram, atq; ultra O ceanum ita positum esse suttotum terrarum or bem ab omni circumdet regione, 10 non aliter atq; Luna orbis Lunam cingit; (which is) That Paradise doth compasse or embrace the whole Earth, and is so set beyond the Ocean Sea, as it environeth the whole Orbe of the Earth on every side, as the Orbe of the Moone doth embrace the Moone. To the end therefore that these ridiculous expositions and opinions doe not bring question unto Truth it selfe, or make the same subject to doubts or disputes, it is necessary to discover the true place of Paradise, which God in his wisedome appointed in the very Navell of this our World, and (as Melancthon faies) in parte Terra meliore, in the best part thereof, that from thence, as from a Center, the Univertall might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we shall the better judge of the beginning of Nations, and of the worlds inhabitation: for neere unto this did the Sons of Noah alfo dispersethemselves after the floud, 20 into all other remote regions and countries. And if it be a generous defire in men, to know from whence their owne forefathers have come, and out of what regions and Nations, it cannot be displeasing to understand the place of our first Ancestor, from whence all the Areames and branches of Mankind have followed and bin deduced. If then it doe appeare by the former, that fuch a place there was as Paradife, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be unprofitable, it followeth in order to examine feverall opinions before remembred, by the Truth it selfe; and to see how they agree with the sense of the Scripture, and with common reason, and afterward to prove directly, and to delineate the Region in which God first planted this delightfull Garden.

J. V. That the Floud hath not utterly defaced the markes of Paradise, nor caused Hils in the Earth.

Nd first, whereas it is supposed by Aug. Chyfamensis, that the Floud hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such forr, as no man can finde any marke or memorie thereof: (of which opinion there were others alfo, ascribing to the Floud the cause of those high Mountaines, which are found on all the Earth over, with many other strange effects) for mine owne opinion, I thinke neither the one nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face 49 of Paradife was after the Floud withered, and growne old, in respect of the first beautie: (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed) yet if there had been eno figne of any fuch place, or if the foile and feate had not remained, then would not Moses, who wrote of Paradise about 850. yeares after the Floud, have described it so particularly, and the Prophets long after Moses would not have made so often mention thereof. And though the verie Garden it selfe were not then to be found, but that the Floud, and other accidents of time made it one common field and pasture with the Land of Eden, yet the place is still the same, and the Rivers still remaine the fame Rivers. By two of which (never doubted of) to wir, Tygris and Enphrases, we are fure to finde in what longitude Paradife lay; and learning out one of these so Rivers, which afterward doth divide it felfe into foure branches, wee are fure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it selfe. For it is written, that out of Eden went a River to water the Garden, and from thence it was divided and became into foure heads: Now whether the word in the Latine Translation (Inde) from thence, be referred to Eden it felfe, or to Paradife, yet the division and branching of those rivers must be in the North or South fide of the very Garden (if the rivers run as they doe, North and South) and therfore these rivers yet remaining, & Eden manifestly known, there could be no such defacing by the floud, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood,

that the place could be fo altered as future ages knew it not, fo is there no probability, that either these Rivers were turned out of their courses, or new rivers created by the Floud which were not, or that the Floud(as aforefaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decrease, was the cause of high Hils or deep Vallies. For what descent of waters could there be in a Sphericall and round body, wherein there is nor high nor low? feeing that all violent force of waters is either by the strength of wind, by descent from a higher to a lower. or by the ebb or floud of the Sea. But that there was any wind (wherby the Seas are most enraged) it appeareth not rather the contrary is probable for it is written, Therefore God Gen. S. 1) made a wind to passe upon the Earth, and the waters ceased. So as it appeareth not that untill to the waters fank, there was any winde at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodnesse. caused the winde to blow to drye up the abundant slime and mud of the Earth, and make the Land more firm, and to cleanfe the Ayre of thick vapours, and unwholfom mifts: and this we know by experience, that all down-right rains doe evermore diffever the violence of outrageous winds, and beat down, and level the fwelling and mountainous billow of the Sea: for any ebbs and flouds there could be none, when the waters were equal and of one height over all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughs, Bayes, or Gulfes to receive a Floud, or any descent, or violent falling of waters in the round forme of the Earth and Waters, as aforefaid: and therefore it feemeth most agreeable to reason, that the waters rather stood in a quiet calme, than that they moved with any raging or overbearing violence. And for a more direct proofe that the Floud made no fuch destroying alteration, Josephus avoweth that one of those pillars erected by Seth, the third from A. dam, was to be seene in his dayes; which pillars were set up above 1426. yeares before the Floud, counting Seth to be an hundred yeares old at the erection of them; and Foseth himselfe to have lived some fortie or fiftie yeares after Christ: of whom although there be no cause to believe all that he wrote, yet that which he avouched of his owne time. cannot (without great derogation) be called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruine thereof might then be seene. Now that such pillars were raifed by Seth, all Antiquitie hath avowed. It is also written in Berosus (to whom although I give little credit, yet I cannot condemn him in all) that the citie of Enoch, built 30 by Cain about the mountaines of Libanus, was not defaced by length of time : yea the ruines thereof Annius (who commented upon that invented fragment) faith, were to be feene in his dayes, who lived in the reigne of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile. And if these his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, speaking of this citie of Enoch, he concludeth in this fort: Cujus maxima & ingentis molis fundamenta vi Suntur & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Civitas Cain, ut nostri mercatores, & peregrini referunt; The foundation of which huge Masse is now to be seene, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the Citie of Cain, as both our strangers and merchants report. It is also a vowed by Pomponius Mela (to whom I give more credit in these things) that the city of Joppa was built before the Floud, over which Cepha was King: whose name, with his brother Phinew, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was found graven upon certaine alters of stone. And it is not impossible, that the ruines of this other citie, called Enoch by Annius, might be seene, though founded in the first Age: but it could not be of the first citie of the world, built by Cain, the place rather than the time denving it.

And to prove directly that the Floud was not the cause of mountaines, but that there were mountaines from the creation, it is written, that the maters of the Floud overflowed by Gen 417 fifteene Cubits the highest Mountains. And Massius Damascenus, speaking of the Floud, Writerh in this maner : Eft supra Mingadam excelsus mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos fermo est diluvii tempore liberatos. And upon Miny ada there is an high Mountaine in Armenia (called Baris) unto which (as it is faid) that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they faved themselves thereon. Now although it is contrarie to Gods Word, that any more were faved than eight persons (which Masses doth not avouch, but by report) yet it is a testimonie, that such Mountaines were before the Floud, which were afterwards, and ever fince, knowne by the fame names; &on which Mountaines it is generally received that the Arke rested; but untruely, as I shall prove hereafter. And againe it appeareth, that the Mount sion (though by another name) was knowne before the Floud; on which the Thalmudists report, that many Giants faved themselves also; but, as Annius faith, without all authoritie; either divine or humane. Laftly

Gen.z.Io.

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Lastly, it appeareth that the Floud did not so turne upside downe the face of the Earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased, by this, that when NOAH sent out the Dove the second time, she returned with an Olive-leafe in her mouth. which she had pluckt, and which (untill the Trees were discovered) she found not: for otherwise she might have found them storing on the water; a manifest proofe, that the Trees were not torne up by the rootes, nor fwam upon the waters, for it is written: folium Oliva, raptum or decerptum, aleafe pluckt, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to teare off. By this it is apparent, (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the Floud made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of Paradise might be seene to succeeding Ages, especially unto Moles, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the 19 Worlds Creation, and unto the Prophets which succeeded him: both which Itake for my warrant, and to guide me in this Discovery.

 $\mathfrak{g}.\ V\ I.$ That Paradise was not the whole Earth, as some have thought: making the Ocean to beethe fountaine of those foure Rivers.

His conceit of Aug. Chysamensisbeing answered, who onely giveth his opinion for reason, I will in a few words examine that of the Manichees, of Noviomagus, Va. dianus, Goropius, Becanus, and all those that understood, that by Paradise was 20 meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many words, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Universalitie will appeare altogether improper. The places which Vadianus alledgeth, Bring forth fruit and multiply, fill the Earth and subdue it, rule over every Creature, &c. with this of the Acts, and hath made of one bloud all Mankinde, to dwell on all the face of the Earth, doe no way prove fuch a generalitie : for the World was made for man, of which he was Lord and Governour, and all things therein were ordained of God for his use. Now although all men were of one and the same fountaine of bloud originally; and Adams posteritie inhabited in process of time over all the face of the earth; yet it disproveth in nothing the particular Garden, affigned to Adam, to dreffe and cultive, in which he lived in so bleffed an estate before his 3 transgression. For if there had beene no other choyce, but that Adam had bin left to the Univerfall; Moses would not then have said, Eastward in Eden, seeing the World hath nor East nor West but respectively. And to what end had the Angell of God beene set to keepe the East-side, and entrance into Paradise after Adams expulsion, if the Univerfall had beene Paradise: for then must Adam have been chased also out of the World. For if all the earth were Paradife, that place can receive no better construction than this, That Adam was driven out of the World into the World, and out of Paradile into Paradile, except we should believe with Metrodorus, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinkes all one, as to affirme, That in so large a field, as the Universall, there should grow but one Thiftle. NOVIOMAGUS upon Beda, feemeth to be led by this, that it was im- 40 possible for those three Rivers, Ganges, Nilus, and Euphrates (which water three portions of the World so far distant) to rise out of one Fountaine, except the Ocean bee taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

And it is true, that those foure Rivers, being so understood, there could been conjecture more probable; but it shall plainly appeare, that Pison was falsly taken for Ganges, and Gehon falfly for Nilus, although Ganges be a River by Havilah in India, & Ni-Ins run through Ethiopia. The Seventy write Chus for Ethiopia, and thereby the errors of the Manichees, and the mistakings of Noviomagus, Goropius, & Vadianus, with others, are made manifest. Yet was their conjecture farre more probable, than that of Ephrem, Cyrillus, and Athanasius: That Paradise was seated far beyond the Ocean Sea, and that 50 Adam waded through it, and at last came toward the Country in which hee was created, and was buried at Mount Calvary in Hierusalem. And certainely, though all those of the first Age were of great stature, and so continued many yeares after the Floud, yet Adams shin-bones must have contained a thousand fadome, and much more, if he had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needes no argument to dis-6. VII.

prove it.

of their opinion which make Paradise as high as the Moone: and of others, which make it higher than the middle Region of the Avre.

Hirdly, whereas Beda faith, and as the Schoolemen affirme, Paradife to be a place, altogether removed from the knowledge of men, (locus à cognitione bominum remotissimus) and Barcephas conceived, that Paradise was farrein the Fast, but mounted above the Ocean, and all the Earth, and neere the Orbe of the Moone (which opinion, though the Schoolemen charge Beda withall, vet Pererius layes it off from Beda upon Strabus, and his Master Rabanus:) and whereas Rupertus. in his Geographie of Paradise, doth not much differ from the rest, but findes it seated next or neerest heaven; It may seeme, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of Plato, and Plato out of Socrates: but neither of them (as I conceive) well understood: who (undoubtedly) tooke this place for Heavenit felfe, into which the Soules of the

bleffed were carried after death.

CHAP.3. \$.7.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for seare of the Areopagites (in this and Diog. Laws and many other divine apprehensions) set downe what they believed in plaine termes, e- some specially Plato: though Socrates in the end suffered death, for acknowledging one onely o powerfull God; and therefore did the Devill himselfe doe him that right, as by an Oracle to pronounce him the wifest man. Justine Martyr affirmeth, that Plato had read Justin Mart. the Scriptures; and S. Augustine gave this judgement of him, as his opinion, that (few admad Gen) things changed) he might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to mee, that both Tertullian and Eusebius conceive, that Socrates, by that place aforefaid, meant the celestiall Paradise, and not this of Eden. Solinus, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull and healthfull, upon the top of Mount Atho (called Acrothonos) which being above all Clouds of Raine, or other inconvenience, the people (by reafon of their fo many yeeres) are called Macrobici (that is) Long-lived. A further Argument is used, for proofe of the height of this place, because therein was Enoch pre-Gerved from the violence of the Floud: approved by Isidore, and Peter Lombard: in which place also Tertullian conceived, that the bleffed Soules were preserved till the last judgement; which Irenaus and Justine Martyr also believed. But this opinion was of all Catholique Divines reproved, and in the Florentine Councell damned; of which Saint Augustine more modestly gave this judgement: Sieut certum est, ENOCH and ELIAM nunc vivere : itaubi nunc sunt : an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est : (that is) As it is certaine that Enoch and Elias doe now live: so where they live, in Paradise or elsewhere, it is uncertaine. But Barcephas gives a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (faith he)it was necessary that Paradise should be set at such a distance and height, because the foure Rivers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not have had sufficient force o to have thrust themselves under the great Ocean, and afterward have forced their passage through the earth, and have rifen againe in the farre diftant Regions of India, Egypt, and Armenia.

These strange fancies and dreames have beene answered by divers learned men long fince, and lately by Hopkins, and Pererius, writing upon this subject; of whose arguments I will repeate these few : for to use long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly be judged a vanity in the Answerer, not much

inferior to that of the Inventer.

It is first therefore alledged, that such a place cannot be commodious to live in: for being fet fo neere the Moone, it had beene too neere the Sunne, and other heavenly bodies. Secondly, because it must have beene too joynet a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the Ayrein that Region is so violently moved, and carried about with fuch fwiftnesse, as nothing in that place can consist or have abiding. Fourthly, because the place betweene the Earth and the Moone (according to Ptolomie and Alfragants) is seventeene times the Diameter of the Earth, which makes in a groffe account about one hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that Paradife, being raised to this height, must have the compasse of the whole earth for a Basis and foundation. But had it beene so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men: feeing it would deprive us of the Sunnes light, all the fore-part

Gen.1-18. Alls 17.26.

Gen. 2.8.

3.24

Cicero Somme

g.Pet . 7.20.

Gen.7.19

Exed.14.21.

of the day, being feated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortific the former opinions, Toftatus addeth this, that those people which dwell neere those fals of waters, are deafe from their infancy, like those which dwell neere the Catadapa, or over-fals of Nilus. But this I hold as fained. For I have feene in the Indies, far greater water-falls, than those of Nilus, and yet the people dwelling neere them are not deafe at all. Toftatus (the better to Atrengthen himselfe) citeth Basil and Ambrosetogether to which Pererius, Sed ego hac apud Basilium & Ambrosium in corum scriptis, qua nunc extant nusquam me legere memini, But I doe not remember (faith he) that I ever read those things either in Basil or Amerose.

But for the bodies of Enoch and Elias, God hath disposed of them according to his wisdome. Their taking up might be into the celestiall Paradife, for ought we know. For al-in though fleshand bloud, subject to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdome of heaven, and the feed must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith S. Paul) but all shall be changed : which change, in Enoch and Elias, was easie to him that is Almightie-But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the Floud all perished on the earth, faving eight persons; and therefore in the terrestriall Paradise they could not be.

For Toffatus his owne opinion, who foared not altogether fo high as the rest, but beleeved that Paradife was raifed above the middle Region of the Aire, and twenty cubits above all Mountaines, that the Floud did not therefore reach it : (which Scotus and other latter Schoole-men also beleeved; for, say they, there were no sinners in Paradise, and therefore no cause to over-whelme it:) this is also contrary to the expresse letter of the Scripture, which directly, and without admitting of any diftinction, teacheth us, that the waters over-flowed all the mountaines under heaven. And were it otherwise, then might we aswell give credit to Massus, Damascenus, & the Thalmudists, who affirme, that there were of the Giants that faved themselves on the Mountaine Baris, and on Sion. But to helpe this, Scotus, being (as the rest of the Schoolemen are) full of distinctions, saith, That the waters stood at Paradise, as they did in the Red Sea, and at Jordan; and as the Floud was not naturall, fo was Paradife faved by miracle. And Thomas Aquinas qualifieth this high conceit with this supposition, That it was not believed, that Paradise was so seated, as Beda and others seeme to affirme in words, but by Hyperbole and comparatively, for the delicacie and beautie fo resembled. But this I dare avow of all those Schoole-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their Followers to shift, than to resolve by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of Tostatus, I confesse that it is written, that the Mountaines of Olympus, Atho, and Atlas, over-reach and furmount all windes and clouds, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the Hils both springs and fruits; and the Pagan Priests, sacrificing on these mountaine tops, do not find the ashes (remaining of their facrifices) blowne thence, nor thence washt off by raines, when they returne: yet experience hath resolved us, that these reports are fabulous, and Pliny himselfe (who was not sparing in the report of wonders) avoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the height of these Mountaines is farre under the supposed place of Paradise; and on 4 these selfe Hils the ayre is so thin (faith S. Augustine, whom herein I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to beare up the body of a bird, having therein no feeling of her wings, or any sensible resistance of ayre to mount her selfe by.

Of their opinion that seate Paradise under the Aquinottiall: and of the pleasant habitation under those Climats.

Hose which come neerer unto Reason, finde Paradise under the Aquinottial line, as Tertullian, Bonaventure, and Durandus: judging, that thereunder st might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertility of soile : but against it Thomas Aquinas objecteth the distemperate heat, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly under the Sunne; but this is (non causa pro causa,) for although Paradise could not be under the Line, because Eden is farre from it, in which Paradise was, and because there is no part of Euphrates, Tigris, or Ganges under it, (Ganges being one of the foure rivers, as they suppose) yer this conceit of diffemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very untrue, though for the conjecture not to bee condemned, confidering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas

it appeared, that every Countrie, as it lay by degrees neerer the Tropick, and so toward the Aguinostiall, did so much the more exceede in heat; It was therefore a reasonable conjecture, that those Countries which were situated directly under it, were of a distemper uninhabitable: but it seemeth that Tertullian conceived better, and so did Avicense, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those dayes it might be thought a fantasticall opinion (as all are which goe against the vulgar) yet we now find, that if there be any place upon the earth of that nature. beautie, and delight that Paradife had, the fame must be found within that supposed uninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neerest to the line it selfe. For hereof experience hath informed Reason, and Time hath made those things apparent; which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be discovered. Indeed it hath fo pleased God to provide for all livingcreatures, wherewith he hath filled the world. that fuch inconveniences which we contemplate a farre off, are found by triall and the witnesse of mens travailes, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vaine, or as a fruitleffelump to fashion out the rest. For God himselfe (faith I s A Y) that 1994 19 formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vaine, he formed it to be inhabited. Now we finde that these hortest Regions of the world, seated under the Aguinottial line, or neere it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of Easternely winde (which the Spaniards call the Brize) that doth evermore blow strongest in the heate of the day, as the downe-right beames of the Sunne cannot fo much mafter it, that there is any inconvenience or diftemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are fo cold. fresh, and equall, by reason of the entire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my felfe have feene, neere the Line and under it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equall temper: Onely there are some tracks, which by accident of high Mountaines are barr'd from this ayre and fresh wind, and some few sandy parts without trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest; and such difference of foiles we finde also in all other parts of the world. But (for the greatest part) those Regions have formany goodly Rivers, Fountaines, and little Brookes, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees, casting shade, so many forts of delicate fruits ever bearing, and at all times beautified with bloffome and fruit both greene and ripe, as it may of all other parts be best compared to the Paradise of Eden: the boughes and branches are never unclothed and left naked, their fap creepeth not under ground into the root. fearing the injury of the frost neither doth Pomona at any time despise her withered Husband Vertumnus, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countries called Terra vitiofa, Vicious Countries: for Nature being liberallto all without labour. necessitie imposing no industrie or travell, idlenesse bringeth forth no other fruits than vaine thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that to conclude this part, Tertullian and those of his opinion, were not deceived in the nature of the place: but Aquinas, who missiliked this opinion, and followed a worse. And (to say the truth) all the Schoolesmen were groffe in this particular.

6. IX Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that Eden in Calosyria, there is a Country in Babylon once of this name, as is provedent of E & A. 37 and E z E K. 27.

Hele opinions answered, and the region of Eden not found in any of those imaginary worlds, nor under Torrida Zona; it followeth that now we discover and find out the feat thereof, for in it was Paradife by God planted. The difficultie of which fearch resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations have often changed names with b their Masters; so are most of these places, by Moses remembred, forgotten by those names of all Historian and Geographers, as well ancient as moderne.

Besides, we find that the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians (Cyrus onely and a few other excepted) sought to extinguish the Hebrewes. The Grecians hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the Romanes despised once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they transforme the names of all those principall Places and Cities in the East: and after them, the. Turke hath fought (what he could) to extinguish in all things; the ancient memorie of those people; which he hath subjected and inthralleds

CHAP.2. \$.9

4]

Now besides those notable markes, Euphrates and Tigris, the better to finde the way which leadeth to the Country of Eden, we are to take for guides these two considerations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from Canaan and Judga; and that it was of all other the most beautifull and fertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Country to Judaa Eastward was Arabia Petraa; but in this Region was Moses himselfe when he wrote: and the next unto it Eastward also was Arabia the Defart, both which in respect of the infertility could not be Eden; neither have any of the Arabians any fuch Rivers, as are exprest to runne out of it: So as it followeth of necessitie, that Eden must be Eastward, and beyond both Arabia Petraa, and Deferta. But because Eden is by Moses named by it self, and by the fertility, & the rivers only described, we must seeke it in other Scrip- to tures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour Nations better described. In the Prophet Isay I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in these words, spoken in the person of Senacherib by RABSAKEH: Have the gods of the Nations delivered them, which my Fathers have destroyed, as Gosan, and Haran, & Re-SEPH, and the children of EDEN, which were at Telassar? and in Ezechiel, where he pro-

Cap.1.vers.1.

I(2.37,U.I 2.

Ver 5.24.

Caparive [33.] phecieth against the Tyrians: They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheaba, Ashur, and Chilmad, were they merchants, &c. But to avoid confusion, we must understand that there were two Edens, one of which the Prophet Amos remembreth, where he divideth Syria into three Provinces, whereof, the first he maketh Syria Damascene, or Decapolitan: the second part is that Valley 20 called Avenis, otherwife Convallis, or the tract of Chamath, where Asyria is joyned to Arabia the Defart, & where Ptolomie placeth the City of Averia: & the third is knowne by the name of Domus Edenis, or Calofyria, otherwise Vallis cava, or the bollow Valley, because the mountaines of Libanus and Antilibanus, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it : for Coele in Greeke is Cava in Latine. But this is not that Eden, which we seeke : neither doth this Province lye East from Canaan, but North, and so joyneth unto it, as it could not be unknowne to the Hebrewes. Yet, because there is a little Citie therein called Paradise, the Jewes believed this Calosyria to be the same which Moses describeth. For the same cause doth Hopkins in his Treatise of Paradise reprehend Beroaldus, in that he confoundeth this Eden, with the other Eden of Paradife, though, to 30 give Beroldus his right, I conceive that he led the way to Hopkins, and to all other later Writers, saving, That he fayled in distinguishing these two Regions, both called Eden: and that he altogether mif-understood two of the source Rivers (to wit) Pison and Gehon, as shall appeare hereafter. Now to finde out Eden, which (as Moses teachethus) lay Eastward from the Defarts, where he wrote, after he had passed the Red Sea; we must consider where those other Countries are found, which the Prophet I say and Exechiel joyneth with it. For (faith E s A I A H) Gosan, Haran, and Re-Ezech 27,023. feph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar. Also Ezechiel joyneth Haran with Eden, who together with those of Sheba, Ashur, and Chilmad, were the Merchants that traded with the City of Tyre, which was then (faith EZECHIEL) the Mart of 4 the people for many Isles. And it hath ever beene the custome, that the Persians conveyed their Merchandise to Babylon, and to those Cities upon Euphrates, and Tigris, and from thence transported them into Syria, now Soria, and to the Port of the Mediter. rane Sea: as in ancient times to the Citie of Tyre, afterward to Tripoly, and now to Aleppo, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of Alexandretta, in the Bay of Isicus, now Lajazzo. Ezechiel in the description of the magnificence of Tyre, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the only Marttowne of that part of the world, reciteth both the people, with whom they had commerce, and also what commodities every Countrie yeelded: and having counted the severall People and Countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them ex- 50 ercifed: They were thy merchants (faith the Prophet) in all forts of things, in rayments of blue filke, and of broydered workes, fine linnen corrall, and pearle: and afterwards speaking of the Merchants of Sheba and Raamab, and what kinds they traded, he hath these words: The merchants of Sheba, & Raamah were thy merchants, they occupied in thy Faires, with the chiefe of all Spices, and with all precious stones and gold. Now these be indeed the riches which Persia & Arabia Falix yeeld: and because Sheba & Raamah are those parts of Arabia, which border the Sea, called the Perfian Gulfe, therefore did those Nations both vent fuch Spice, sweet Gummes, and Pearles, as their owne Goungries yeelded:

and (withall) having trade with their Neighbours of India, had from them also all forts of spices, and plenty of gold. The better to convey these commodities to that great Mart of Tyre the Shebans or Arabians entred by the mouth of Tigris, and from the Cirie of Terredon (built or enlarged by Nebuchodono Tor, now called Ballara) thence fenr up all these rich merchandises by boat to Babylon, from whence by the body of Euphrares as farre as it bended Westward, and afterward by a brauch thereof, which reaches be within three dayes journey of Aleppo, and then over Land they past to Tyre, as they did afterward to Tripoly, (formerly Hieropolis) and thence to Alexandretta, as aforefaid. Now the Merchants of Canneh, which Exechiel joyneth with Eden, inhabited farre up the River, and received this trade from Arabia and India, besides those proper commodities which themselves had and which they received out of Persia which bordered them. Saint Hierome understandeth by Canneh, Seleucia, which is feated upon Euphrates, where it breaketh into foure heads, and which tooke that name from Selencus who made thereof a magnificent City. Hierofolymitanus thinkes it to be Ctefiphon: but Ctefiphon is feated downe low upon Tigris, and Canneh cannot be on that fide. I meane on the East-side of Tigris; for then were it out of the Valley of Shinar. Plinie pla-Plinie 0.25 ceth the Schenita upon Euphrates, where the fame beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of Syria, after it leaveth to be the bound of Arabia the Defart, and where the River of Euphrates reflecteth from the Defart of Palmirena: for these people of Canneh (afterward Schenita) inhabited both borders of Euphrates, fretching themselves, from their owne Citie of Canneth in Shinar Westward along the bankes of Euphrates, as farre as the City of Thapfacus, where Ptolomy appointed the Foords of Euphrates: which also agreeth with the description of the Schemta by Strabo, whose words are these: Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam & Babyloniam euntibus, iter est per Schenitas . The Merchants which travaile from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their war by the Schenites. Therefore those which take Canneh for Charran, doe much mistake it. For Genas, 363 Charran to which Abraham came from Ur in Chaldae (called by God) frandeth alfo in Mesopotamia, not upon Euphrates it selfe, but upon the River of Chaboras, which falleth into Euphrates : and the Merchants of Charran are distinctly named with those of Canneh in Exechiel (as) They of Haran, & Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Albur and Chilmad were thy merchants. Wherefore Charran, which is fometime called Charreand Haran, and Aran, is but the fame Charran of Mesopotamia; and when it is written Aran then it is taken for the region of Mesopotamia: or Aran fluviorum, the Greeke word (Melopotamia) importing a country betweene rivers: for Melos in Greeke, is Medius in Latine, and Potamos, fluvius; and when it is written Haran or Aran, it is then taken for the City it selfe, to which Abraham came from Ur (as aforesaid.) For Strabe in the description of Arabia, giveth that tract of land from the borders of Coelosyria to the edge of Mesoporamia, to the Schenita, who also inhabited on both sides of Euphrares, and were in after-ages accounted of these Arabians which inhabite Batanea, & the North part of the Defarts, stretching themselves toward the unhabited solitude of Palmirena, which lyeth betweene Syria, and Arabia the Defart. So as these of Canneh lay in the very highway from Babylon to Tyre, and were neighbours (indifferent) to Charran and to Eden: and therefore they are by the Prophet Exechiel coupled together, They of Haran, and Cannels, & Eden, &c. But S. Hierom made a good interpretation of Cannels, or Chalne. by Seleucia: for Seleucia was anciently called Chalanne (witnesse Appear,) and so Rabanus Maurus calleth it in his Commentaries upon Genesis; the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from Chalne or Canneh, to Chalanne : of which name there are two other Cities, standing in Triangle with Seleucia, and almost the next unto it, (as) Thelbe-canne, and Mann-canne, the one a little to the West of Seleucia, and the other o opposite unto it; where these rivers of Tigris and Euphrates are ready to joyne. Therefore, which of these the ancient Canne was, (being all three within the bound of the valley Shinar) it is uncertaine: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certaine seate thereof, that so many other cities did retaine a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it unlikely, that these additions of Thelbe and Mann to the word Canne, were but to make difference betweenethe Halt and the West, or the greater and the lesse Canne, or betweene Canne the old and the new: which additions to distinguish cities by are ordinary in all the Regions of the World. Now of the other city joyned with Eden, as Haran or Charran, S. Hierom on the Judici

Lacar.l. 1.105.

Gen. 10.10.

fisd.z.

Judges speaketh thereof in these words: Cumq; reverterentur, pervenerunt ad Charran, qua est in medio itinere contra Ninevem, undecimo die When they returned, they came to Charran (which is the mid-way against Nineve) the eleventh day.

Act.7.1.

This city is by the Martyr Stephen named Charran (speaking to the high Priest:) Tee Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: The God of glory appeared to our Father ABRAHAM, while he was in Mesopotamia, before be dwelt in Charran. But the seateof this city is not doubted of: for it is not onely remembred in many Scriptures, but, withall, exceeding famous for the death and overthrow of Crassus the Romane, who for his unsatiable greedinesse was called Gurges avaritia; The gulfe of avarice. Whereof Lucan.

Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras.

With Roman bloud th' Affrian Carre he defil'd.

But this city Canne or Chalne is made manifest by Moses himselfe, where it is written of NIMROD: And the beginning of his Kingdomes was Babel, and Erech, and Acad, and Chalne, in the land of Sinaar or Shinar: where Mofes sheweth the first composition of the Babylonian Empire, and what cities and people were fubject unto Nimred, all which lay in the faid Valley of Shinar, or neere it; and this Valley of Shinar is that Tract afterwards called Babylonia and Chaldæa, into which also Eden stretcheth it selfe. Chaldæa, Babylonia, Sinaar, idem funt (faith Comestor.) Three names of one Country: which Region of Babylonia tooke name of the Tower Babel; and the Tower, of the confusion of tongues. And that Shinar was Babylonia, it is proved in the eleventh chapter of Genefis, in these words : And as they went from the East, they found a Plaine in the Land of Shinar, and there they abode : in which Plaine Babylon was built (as aforesaid.)

Vei 5.29

Vest7

Now Shinar being Babylonia, and Canneh, in the first beginning of Nimrods greatneffe, and before he had subdued any strange, or far-off Nations being one part of his Dominion, and also named by Moses to be in Shinar, it proveth that Canneh joyneth to Babylonia; which also Ezechiel coupleth with Eden, and (further) affirmeth that those of Eden were also the Merchants which traded with the Tyrians: & Esay in the threates of Senacherib against Jerusalem (with other Nations that Senacharib vaunted that his Fathers had deftroyed) nameth the children of Eden which were at Tel affar. But be-3 fore I conclude where Eden it selfe lyeth, it is necessary to describe those other Countries, which Ezechiel joyneth therewith, in the places before remembred, as, those of Sheba and Raamah. It is written in Genesis the tenth: Moreover the sonnes of HAM were Cush, Gc. And the sonnes of Cush were Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and RAAMAH, &c. And the sonnes of RAAMAH were SHEBA, &c. and anon after; Cush begat NIMROD: foas Sheba was the grand-child of Cufh, and Nimrod the fonne of Cufh, whose elder brother was Sebah: though some there are that conceive to the contrary, that Nimrod was the elder in valour and understanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of Shinar, where Babel was built, afterwards Babylonia His brother Raamah or Regma tooke that part adjoyning to Shinar, toward 41 the Sea fide and Perfian gulfe (called afterwards Raama and Sheba, by the Father and his Sonnes, which possessed it.) For (faith Eze CHIEL) the merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy merchants, they occupied in thy Paires with the chiefe of all spices, and all precious ftones, and gold. So as Sheba was that Tract of Country, which parteth Arabia Deferta from Arabia Fælix, and which joyneth to the Sea where Tigris and Euphrates fall out, & render themselves to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Country, Strabo calleth Catabria, where the best Myrrhe and Frankincense is gathered; which people have an interchange or trade with Elana, lying on the East fide of the Persian gulfe. By this it appeareth who were the Shebeans, spoken of by Ezechiel, and said to have beene the Merchants of Tyre, for gold, spices, and precious stones of which they had not onely 50 plenty of their owne, but were also furnished from that part of India (called Elana, according to Strabo) for exchange of their Aromatiques, and other proper commodities. For, as Strabo reporteth out of Eratosthenes: În Persica ora înitio Infula est, in qua multi & pretiosi uniones gignantur : in aliis vero, clari & perlucidi lapilli. ERATOSTHENES (faith Strabo) affirmeth, that in the beginning of the Persianguife, there is an Island, in which there are many precious pearles bred; and in other, very cleare and shining stones. Now, the difference betweene Sheba, the sonne of Raamah, and Seba, the sonne of Culh, is in this, That Sebais written with the Hebrew (Samech;) and Sheba with (Schiz:)

but what soever the difference may be in the Hebrew Orthography, their Countries and Habitations are divers. For Sheba is that which bordereth the Perfian Sea, and Saba (whence the Queene of Saba) neighboured the Red Sea; and so that place of the 72. Plalme, expounded Reges Arabum & Saba, hath in the Hebrew this fenie: Reges Sheba & Saba.

CHAP-3.\$.9.

The Shebans, Exechiel nameth together with the Edenites, because they inhabited upon the Out-let of the same River, upon which the Edenites were seated : and so those of Sheba, towards the Sea-coast, and upon it, past up the Countrey, by Tigris and Euphrates, being joyned in one maine streame, and so through the Region of Eden, which Tigris boundeth, thereby the better to convey their merchandise toward Tyre. And as 10 rhe Cities of Charran, and Canneh, border Eden on the West and North-west : so doth Sheba on the South, and Chilmad on the North-east: Chilmad being a Region of the higher Media, as appeareth in the Chaldwan Paraphrast; which Countrey by the Geographers is called Coromitena, (L) placed by exchange for (R.) which change the Hebrewes also oftenuse.

Thus much of those Countries which border Eden, and who altogether traded with the Tyrians : of which, the chiefe were the Edenites, inhabiting Telassar: for these Senacherib vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed; and this place of Telassar lay most convenient, both to receive the Trade from Sheba & Arabia, and also to convey it over into Syria, and to Tyrus. Now to make these things the more plaine, we must remember, that before the death of Senacherib, many parts of the Babylonian Empire fell from his obe-

dience, and after his death these Monarchies were utterly dis-joyned.

For it appeareth both in Esay the 37. and in the second of Kings, by the threates of Rabfache, the while the Army of Affyrialay before Jerusalem, that the Cities of Gofan, Haran, Refeph, and the Edenites at Telassar, had resisted the Assyrians, though by them (in a fort) mastered and recovered. Have the gods of the Nations delivered Esty 37. Walls them, whom my Fathers have destroyed as Gofan, and Haran, Refeph of the children of Eden. which were at Telassar? But it appeared manifestly after Senacheribs death, that these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subjection: for Elar-30 Haddon held Affyria, and Merodach Baladan, Babylonia. And after that the Army of Se. 2 King 19:35: nacherib, commanded by Rabsache which lay before Jerusalem (Ezechias then reigning) while Senacherib was in Egypt, was by the Angell of God destroyed; the King Elay 39.1. of Babel fent to Ezechias, both to congratulate the recovery of his health, and his vi- E/Ay 37.381 ctory obtained over the Affyrians. After which overthrow, Senacherib himselfe was flaine by his owne fonnes in the Temple of his Idols, Efar-Haddon fucceeding him in Assyria. To the Babylonian Ambassadours sent by Merodach, Ezechias shewed all his Esay 39-23 treasures, aswell proper as consecrate, which invited the kings of Babylon afterward to undertaketheir conquest and subversion. So as, the suspition of warre encreasing betweene Babylon and Affyria, the Edenites which inhabited the borders of Shinar towards the North, and towards Affyria, were imployed to beare off the incursions of the Affyrians; and their Garrison-place was at Telassar: and the very word (Telassar) faith Junius, fignifying as much, as a bulwarke against the Assyrians. This place Hierofolymitanus takes for Resem, others for Seleucia: but this Telassar is the same, which Am. Marcellinus in the History of Julian (whom he followed in the enterprize of Persia) calleth Thilutha in stead of Telassar, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 24. Booke: it is seated in an Island of Euphrates upon a steepe and unassaultable Rocke, in so much as the Emperour Julian durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a convenient place for a Garrison against the Assyrians, being also a passage out of Mesopotamia into Babylonia, and in which the Edenites of the Countrey adjoyning were o lodged to defend the fame. This place Ptolomy calleth Teridata, having Refeph (which After abia) he calleth Resepha) on the left hand; and Canneh, (which he calleth Thelbe-canne) on the right hand; not farre from whence is also found the City of Mann-canne upon Tigris; and all these seated together, as Esay and Ezechiel have sorted them. But the understanding of these places is the more difficult, because Assyria (which the Chaldwans call Atturia) and Mesopotamia, were so often confounded: the one taken for the other by interchange of Dominion. Assyria & Mesopotamia in Babylonia nomen transserunt (faith NIGER,) Affria and Mesopotamia tooke the name of Babylonia. Lastly, it appeareth by comog Asia those adjacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what patt of the World Edenis

Strago 1.16.

C H A P.2. S.10:

feated, as, by Charran or Heran in Mesopotamia: also by Canneh and Reseph, according to the opinion of Vatablus, who in these words translateth this place: Plantaverat autem JEHOVAH Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente; The Lord God planted a Garden in Eden, Eastward: that is (faith he in his Annotations) Jusserat nasci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabia & Mesopotamia; He commanded Trees to grow in Eden, an Easterne Region in the borders of Arabia and Mesopotamia.

Of divers other testimonies of the Land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradise.

Nd for a more particular pointing out of this Eden, it feemes by the two Epifiles of the Nestorian Christians, that inhabit Mesopotamia, which Epistles in the yeare 1552 they fent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch,& Andraas Masius hath published them, translated out of Syriac into Latine. By these Epistles (I say) it seemes we may have some farther light for the proofe of that, which we have faid about the Region of Eden in those parts. For in them both there is mention of the Island of Eden in the River Tigris, or at least, Tigris in both these Epistlesis called the River of Eden. This Island, as Masius in his Preface to these Epistles saith, is commonly called GoZoria (as it were, the Island, by an eminency.) It hath (faith he) ten miles in circuit, and was sometimes walled round about, which name of the Island 20 Edenmay (doubtlesse) remaine to this day 5 though in the rest of the Region so called, this name be swallowed up, with the fame of those flourishing Kingdomes of Mesopotamia, Affyria, Babylonia, and Chaldra. This Island of Eden hath up the River, and not farre beyond it, the City of Hasan-Cepha, otherwise Fortis Petra: below it, it hath Mofal or Mosel, from which (as in that which followeth it shall appeare out of Massus) it is not above twelve miles distant. Neither is it to trouble us, that Mosal or Mosel, by Marius Niger is remembred among the Cities higher up Tigris, in these words. Juxia autem Tigrim, Civitates sunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, que nunc Mosel dicitur; magna sane, &c. (that is) By Tigris are these Cities, Dorbeta neere unto mount Taurus (which is now called Mosel) which is a great one, &c. This opinion of Niger, displacing 30 Mosel, and making it to be Dorbeta (Isay) needs not here to trouble us: seeing for this matter, the testimony of Masius, informed by the Christians that dwelt there (the Seat of whose Patriach it is) ought to be of credit, avowing that this Mosal (or Mozal) is in the Confines of Mcsopotamia and Affyria, seated upon Tigris, and in the neighbour-hood of Nineve; and that it is the famous Seleucia Parthorum. The Nestorian Christians in their former Epistle, call it Attur, in these words : Ex amnibus Civitatibus & pagis qua funt circum Civitatem Mosal (boc est) Attur in vicinia Nineves, Of all the Cities and Townes which are about the Citie of Mozal (that is) Attur in the neighbur-hood of Nineve. As also Niger acknowledgeth Ctefiphon, a City thereabout to be called Affur, (which is the fame as Attur, after the Dialect of those Nations, which change Shinto T.) Neither is it 4 much that he should mistake Ctefiphon, (which is not farre off Seleucia) for Seleucia, to be Assur. By this then we may come somewhat neere the end of our purpose. For the Ile of Eden, which lieth in the breft of Tigris, is but twelve miles from Mofal, & that ancient City, which Ptolomy and Tacitus call Ninus, and the Scriptures Nineve; Phi-Loftratus, and Simeon Sethi, Mosula, and John Lean, Mosal, others Mosse, (though it be not the same with Mosal) is set but a little higher upon the same River of Tigris, neere Mosal: so that we are like to finde this Ile of Eden hereabout. For the sarte Andreas Mafius, which placeth it above Mosal, makes it to be below Hasan-cepha, which is upon the fame River of Tigris.

The onely difficulty is this, that some perhaps may thinke, that the words of the Nestorians in both their Epistles, speake not of any Ilein Tigris, called the Ile of Eden, but of an Ile in Tigris, a River of Eden. But this fense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more unprobable. And yet if this were the meaning here, we have a testimonie from the Learned of those parts, that not onely Euphrates, but also Tigris was a River of Eden, and that the name of Eden in those parts is not yet quite worne out, though the Region hath been subject to the same change, that all other Kingdomes of the world have beene, and hath by conquest and corruption of other Languages, received new and differing names. For the South part of Eden, which stretcheth over Euphrates, was

after the floud called Shinar, and then of the Tower of Babel, Babylonia; and the North part of Eden is that Tract of Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Armenia, which imbraceth both the bankes of Tigris betweene Mount Taurus, and Seleucia. And of this Region of Eden that ancient Athicus maketh mention, (not that latter Athicus, Disciple of Gallinicus, otherwise by Plutarch and Athenaus called Istri, who lived in Egypt in the Reigne of Philadelphus; but another of a farre higher and remote time) the fame being made Latine out of the Greeke by Saint Hierome. And though by corruption of the ancient Copie it be written in Aethicus, Adonis for Edenis; yet Adonis being a River of Phanicia, cannot be understood to be the Region named by Athicus. For Athicus makes ita Countrey, and not a River, and joyneth it with Mesopotamia and Athiopia, calling to the land of Chus Aethiopia, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And lastly, the River which watereth the Regions, (faith Aethicus) falleth into the Gulfe of Persia: which River he called Armodius, for Tigris; Tigris being but a name imposed for the swiftneffe thereof. And out of Armenia both Tigris and Euphrates have their originall: for out of Eden came a River, or Rivers, to water the Garden, both which Rivers (to wit) Tipris and Euphrates, come out of Armenia, and both of them traverse Mesopotamia. Regions first of all knowne by the name of Eden for their beautie and fertilitie. And it is very probable, that Eden contained also some part of Armenia; and the excellent fer? tilitie thereof in divers places, is not unworthy the name of Eden. For in some part o thereof (faith Strabo) the leaves are alway green, & therefore therein a perpetuall Spring. Also Stephanus deurbibus, mentioneth the Citie of Adana upon Euphrates: and the. name of Eden was in use in Amos time, though he speake not of Eden in the East, but of Eden in Caloffria. But to the end I may not burden the Readers patience with too long a Discourse, it may suffice to know, that Euphrates and Tigris (once joyned together: and afterward separate) are two of those foure heads, into which these Rivers which are faid to water the Garden of Paradife, were divided: whose courses being knowne. Eden (out of which they are faid to come) cannot be unknowne. Now that Hiddekel and Perath were Tigris and Euphrates, it is agreed by all: for the Seventie and all others. convert Perath by Euphrates : & Hiddekel Tigrim omnes exponunt : & all men understand To Hiddekelby Tigris (faith Vatablus.) And because that which I have faid of the Ile of Eden shall not be subject to the censure of selfe-invention, I have heere-under fer downer the words out of the two generall Epiffles of the Nefterians, as Mas ius (ad verbum). hathconverted them into Latine. The occasion of those Letters and Supplications to the Pope, were, that the Nestorian Christians, which inhabit Mesopotamia, Asyria, Persia. Babylonia, and have to this day (at least in Queen Maries time they had) fifteene Churches in one Cirie called Selencia Parthorum, or Mosel upon the River of Tigris; having no sufficient authoritie to choose themselves a Patriarch (which cannot be done without foure or three Metropolitane Bishops at least) sent to the Bishop of Rome, in the yeare of Christ 1552. (as afore-said) a Petition to obtaine allowance unto such an Election as themselves had made: having three hundred yeare before that upon the like defect. fent one Marius thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made knowne to the Bishop of Rome the state of the Christian Church in those parts: for upon the death of their Patriarch (who of a covetous defire to enrich himselfe had forborne to institute Metropolitane Bishops, when the places fell voide) they all assembled them-Selves together to consult of the Church-government. And because all the Patriarchs for an hundred yeares had beene of one House and Family to the prejudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Bishop of the same Stocke and Kindred, who aspired to the same dignitie which his Predecessors had held, the rest of the Professors refused to allow him. Upon which occasion, and for the choice of a Governour more fufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches affembled themselves. The words of the generall Epistle to the Pope are these about the middle of the said Epistle. Verum nos non acceptavimus neq; proclamavimus ipsum, sed subito convenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Civitatibus & Pagis qua sunt circum Civitatem Mosel (hoc est) Attur, in vicinia Nineves, ex Babylonia, ex Charra, ex Arbella, ex Insula qua est in medio Tigris fluminis Eden ex Tauris Persia, ex Nisibi, &c. which is: But we did neither accept of this man neither pronounced him : but suddenly we assembled our selves out of all parts of the East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about Mosel (or Attur) neighbouring Nineve, or out of Babylon, Carrha, Arbella, and out of the Iland which lyeth in the middle of Ti-

De fiepras

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gris, a River of Eden, or rather, out of the Ile of Eden, which lyeth in the River Tigris. And in a second Epistle at the same time sent, they use these words: Neq; supersimit apudnos Metropolita, quorum est ordinare Catholicum, sed soli pauci, Episcopi, Episcopus Arbela, Episcopus Salmasti, Episcopus Adurbeigan; en evestigio convenimus in Insulam, qua est intra Iigrim slumen, Eden, secimus q, compactum internos, &c. (which is) Neither are there remaining among us any Metropolitan Bishops, to whom it belongs to ordaine a Patribere remaining among us any Metropolitan Bishops, to whom it belongs to ordaine a Patriber or but onely a sew Bishops, as the Bishop of Arbela, the Bishop of Salmassus, and the Bishop of Adurbeigan. but lo, we assembled speedily in the Iland Eden, which is in Tigris, and agreed betweene our selves, &c.

Now this Iland of Eden Masius describeth with other places; which being well conceived, the Nestorian Epistles, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (faith he) the better understood. And after he hath distinguished the foure forts of Christians in those parts of the World, and in the South part of Africa, which hee calleth Nesterians, Jacobites, Maronita, and Cophti, he goeth on in these words: Mox audita illius morte, concurrisse aiebant tumultuario in illam quam modò dixi Tigris Insulam, qua duodecim circiter passuum millibus supra Mosal posita, decem ferè millia passuum suo ambitu continet, muris undiq, cineta, & apancis aliis quam Christianis hominibus habitata: which is, Now bearing of the death of the Patriarch, (as those that came to Rome reported) they ran sumultwoully together into that Iland of Tigris or Eden before spoken of, which Iland is situated about twelve miles above Mofal, containing very neere ten miles in compasse, and every 20 where invironed with a wall, inhabited by few other menthan Christians. And afterward he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest hee addeth the Ile of Eden by the name of Geferta, Infula Tigris: five Geferta. Furthermore, describing the Citie of Hosan-cepha, or Fortis Petra, he placeth it supra pradictam Tigru Insulam rupi aspera impositam; Above the aforesaid Iland of Tigris, being seated on a steepe Rocke Of this Iland of Geserta, Andrew Thevet maketh mention in his tenth Booke of his generall Cosmographie in these words : Geserta ou Gestre est au milieu de la Riviere du Tigre. & pense que c'est une terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie; Geserta or Gesire is in the middle of Tigris, the Soyle the most fertile of all Asia.

By this we see that the ancient name of *Eden* liveth, and of that *Eden* which lyeth Eastward from *Arabia Petraa*, and the Desart where *Moses* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Charran* according to *Ezechiel*, and that *Eden* which is seated according to the affertion of the said Prophet, & joyned with those Nations of *Reseph, Canneh*, and *Charran*, and the rest which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Assignment* and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelassa* were garrisoned to resist the *Assignment*, whose displantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as above written;) and lastly, the same *Eden*, which embraceth *Tigris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the

knowne Rivers of those foure, which are by all men ascribed to Paradise.

6.X I.

Of the difficultie in the Text, which seemeth to make the foure Rivers to rise from one streams.

It it may be objected, that it is written in the Text, That a River went out of Eden, and not Rivers in the plurall; which scruple Matthew Beroaldus hath thus answered in his Chronologie: The Latine Translation, saith hee, hath these words: Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde dividebatur in quatuor capita: Qua verba melius consentient cum rei narratione, & ejus dem explicatione, si it a reddantur. Et fluvius erat egrediens ex Edene, (hoc est) fluvii procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium; & inde dividebatur, & erat in quatuor capita: which is, And River went out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was divided into foure heads: Which words (saith Beroaldus) doe better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated: And a River was going forth of Eden (that is) Rivers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard; and from thence it was divided, and they became four heads. The Tigurine differs from the Vulgar or Latine; for it converts it thus: Et sluvius egrediebatur de delicisi; And a River went out of pleasure, in stead of Eden; and the Latine addeth the word logus, or place, Et sluvius egrediebatur deloco voluptatis; And a River went out of the place

of pleasure: and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to Eden, which was (of all other) a Region most delightfull and fertile; and so also the word (inde) and thence, was divided, hath reference to the Country of Eden, and not to the Garden it selfer

And for the word (River) for Rivers, it is usuall among the Hebrewes: for it is written: Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herbe that feedeth Seede, the fruitfull Tree, &c. Gental Here the Hebrew useth the Singular for the Plurall, Herbe and Tree, for Herbes and Trees; and againe, We cate of the fruit of the Tree, in stead of (Trees:) And thirdly, the man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of God; In medio ligni Paradis; In the middle of the tree of the Garden, for (Trees.) And of this opinion is David Kimeth, and Vatablus, who upon this place of Genesis say, that the Hebrewes doe often put the Singular for the Plurall, as illud, for unumquodq; illorum, and he giveth an instance

in this question it selfe, as, A River (for Rivers) went out of Eden.

And this answer out of divers of the Learned, may, not without good reason, bee given to the objection, That Moses speaketh but of one River, from which the heads should divide themselves. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, we may expound the four heads, to be four notable passages into samous Countries. And so we may take the word (River) Verse the tenth for one River, (to wit) Euphrates, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this River, (after he is pass the place, where we suppose Paradise to have beene, divides it selse, and we get long yeeldeth soure notable passages into severall Countries, though not all the way downess thereof, this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the River downward, there is conveiance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to Assyria) were up Tigris.

To this end the Text speaking of Hiddekel, as it riseth from the River of Eden, doth not fav it compasseth or washeth the whole Region of Assyria, (as it had used this phrase of Pison and Gehon) but that it runneth toward Assyria. The first branch Pison, is Nahar-malcha, (by interpretation) Bafilius, or flumen regium, which runneth into Tigris under Apamia; whence ariseth the name of Pasi-tigris, (as it were) Piso-tigris. This leadeth to the Land of Havila or Susiana. The fecond branch Gehon, is that which o in Historians is Nabarfares or Narragas; for Nahar-ragas: both which names signific flumen derivatum (a River derived,) also Acracanus, quasi Ranosus, by reason of the froggie Fennes which it maketh: this Gehon leadeth to the first seate of Chus, about the borders of Chaldaa and Arabia, and it is lost at length in the Lakes of Chaldaa. The third branch Hiddekel, may be expounded the upper streame of Pison, or Basilius which runneth into Hiddekel, properly so called (that is, into Tigris) above Seleucia, where it sheweth a passage up Tigris into Assyria: where, because at length it is called Hiddekel or Tigris, having before no knowne proper name, the Text in this place callethit Hiddekel from the beginning. The fourth Perath, or Euphrates, fo called perexcellentiam, being the body of the River Euphrates, which runneth through Babylon & Otris. But, be it a River or Rivers, that come out of Eden, feeing that Tigris and Euphrates are noted in the Text, there can be no doubt, but that Paradife was not farre from these Rivers: for that Perath in Moses is Euphrates, there can be no question; and (indeede) as plaine it is that Hiddekel is Tigris. For Hiddekel goeth (faith Mofes) Eastward towards Affur, as we find, that Tigris is the River of Affyria proprie dicta, whose thiefe City was Nineve, as in Genesis the tenth it is written: That out of that Land(to wit) Babylonia, Nimrod went into Affur, and builded Nineve, which was the chiefe City of Affyria.

And as for the kind of speech here used in the Text, speaking of sourcheads thought the heads of Rivers be (properly) their Fountaines, yet here are they to be understood, the heads of Rivers be (properly) their fountaines, yet here are they to be understood, to be spoken of the beginning of their division from the sirft streame. Caput squa (saith ULFIANUS) illude est, unde aqua no scitur, siex fonte na scatur, fons, siex stumine, yet existen, prima initia, &c. If the beginning of the water be out of a Fountaine, then is the Fountaine taken for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake; and if from a maine River any branch be separate and divided, then where that branch doth suff bound it selse with new bankes, there is that part of the River, where the branch for saketh the maine

streame, called the head of the River.

Of the strange fertilitie and happinesse of the Babylonian Soile, as it is certaine that Eden was such.

The first Booke of the first part

T may also be demanded, whether this Region of Eden, by us described, be of fuch fertilitie and beautie, as Eden the feate of Paradife was: which, if it be denied, Then must we also consider, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertilitie and pleasure, that it had before the curse : neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulnesse to any part of the Earth, nor the same vertue to any plant thereon growing, that they had before the floud; and therefore this Region of Edenmay be now no to fuch flourishing Countrey, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet Hood cliadis. this I finde written of it: First, in Herodotus, who was an eye-witnesse, and speaketh of the very place it selfe; for the Ile of Eden is but twelve miles or thereabout from Nineve, and so from Mosal. Ex Euphrate extens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, juxta quod Urbs Ninus sita erat. Hæc regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est, &c. Where Euphrates runneth out into Tigris, not farre from the place where Ninus is feated. This Region of all that we have seene, is most excellent : and he addeth afterward; Cereris autem fruit procreando adeo ferax est, ut nunquam non fere ducenta reddat, &c. (that is) It is so fruitfull in bringing forth Corne, that it yeeleth two hundred fold: The leaves of Wheate and Barley being almost foure fingers broad. As for the beight of Millet and Sesame, they are 20 even in length like unto Trees; which although I know to be true, yet I forbeare to speake bereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulnesse, will seeme very incredible to those, which never were in the Country of Babylon. They have commonly in all the Country Palme Trees growing of their owne accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both Meates, and Wine, and Honey, ordering them as the Figge Trees.

Thus farre Herodotus. To this Palme-tree, so much admired in the East India, Strabo and Niger adde a fourth excellency, which is, that it yeeldeth bread; Ex quibus panem, & mel, o vinum, & acetum conficient , Of which these people make Bread, Wine, Honey, and Vineger. But Anto. nius the Eremite findeth a fift commodity, not inferior to any of those foure, which is, that? from this selfe-same Tree there is drawne a kinde of fine Flaxe, of which people make their garments, and with which in East India they prepare the cordage for their ships. And that this is true, Athanassus in the life of Antonius the Eremite, confesseth, saying: That hereceived a Garment made thereof from the Eremite himselfe, which he brought with him out of this Region. So therefore those Trees, which the East Indies so highly esteeme and so much admire (as indeed the Earth yeeldeth no Plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this upper Babylon, or Region of Eden, as common as any Trees of the Field. Sunt etiam (faith STRABO) passim per omnem Regionem Palma sua sponte nascentes; There are of Palmes over all the whole Region, growing of their own accord. Of this place Quintus Curtius maketh this report: Euntibus à parte leva A. rabia (odorum fertilitate nobilis) regio campestris interest inter Tigrim & Euphratem, access tam ubere & pingui solo, ut à pasture pelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat; (that is) As you travaile on the left hand of Arabia (famous for plentie of sweets Odours) there lyetha Champaine Countrey placed betweene Tigris and Euphrates, and so fruitfull and fat a soile, that they are (aid to drive their Cattell from pasture, left they should perish by fatiety. Bis in anno segetes Babylonii secant; The Babylonians cut their Cornetwice ayeare (faith Niger.) And as Countries generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, than in the Northerne parts: fo we may judge the excellency of this by that report which Strabo maketh of the South parts of America, which is the North border of Eden, or a part thereof. His words be these in the Latine: Tota enim hac regio frugibus & arboribus as bundat mansuetis, itemq; semper virentibus; This Region aboundet hwith pleasant fruits, & Trees alwayes greene: which witneffeth a perpetuall Spring, not found elsewhere butin the Indies onely, by reason of the Sunnes neighbourhood, the life and stirrer up of Nature in a perpetuall activity. In briefe, so great is the fertility of the ground, that the people are constrained twice to mow downe their Corne fields, and a third time to eate them up with Sheepe: which husbandry the Spaniards wanting in the Valley of Mexico, for the first forty yeares, could not make our kind of Wheate beare feed, but it grew up as high as the Trees, and was fruitlesse. Besides, those fields are altogether without weedes

(faith Pling) who addeth this fingularitie to that foyle, That the fecond years the Pling Not bill. very stubble (or rather falling downe of the seedes againe) yeeldeth them a harvest of 68.8.27 corne without any further labour : his words are these, Ubertatis tanta sunt, ut sequenti anno (bonte restibilis fiat seges.

> 6. XIII. Of the River Pison, and the land of Havilah.

Fter the discoverie of Eden, and the testimonies of the fertilitie thereof, it restets to prove that Pison and Gehon are branches of Tigres and Euphrates: For that the knowledge and certaintie of these two Rivers should trouble so many wise men, ir is strange to me, seeing necessitie it selfe (Tigris and Euphrates being knowne) findeth them out: for Euphrates, or Tigris, or both, be that River or Rivers of Eden, which was ter Paradife; which river or rivers Mofes witneffeth afterward divided into foure heads. whereof the one is called Pifon, the other Gehon &c. Could there be a stranger fancie in the world, than when we find both thefe (namely) Tigris and Euphrates in Affyria and Mesopotamia, to seeke the other two in India and Egypt, making the one Ganges, and the other Nilus! Two rivers as farre distant as any of fame knowne or discovered in the world: the Scriptures making it so plain, that these Rivers were divided into source branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason, and Experience bearing witnesse. There is no errour, which hath not some slipperie and bad foundation, or some appearance of probabilitie, refembling truth, which when men (who studie to be singular) finde out. straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention and jangling; not doubting but in the variable deformitie of mens minds, to find some partakers or sectators, the better by their helpe to nurse and cherish such

weake babes, as their owne inventions have begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the River of Fifon) seemeth to have growne out of the not-diffinguishing of that Region in India, called Havilah, from Havilah which adjovneth to Babylonia, afterward known by the name of Susiana. For Havilah upon Tigris to tooke name from Havilah the Jonne of Cush; and Havilah in India, from Havilah the fonne of Tottan; the one remembred by Moses in the description of Paridise, the other Genzonia where Moses setteth downe the generations of Noah, and his sonnes after the Floud. For the fonnes of Cush were Seba, Havilah, Sabtah, and Raamah; and the fonnes of Tottan were Ophir, and Havilah &c. of which latter (to wit) of Ophir and Havilah the fonnes of Jostan, that Iland of Ophir, (whence Salomon had gold) and Havilah adjoyning, had 10.29 their names. Now because Ganges is a great and a famous river of the East India, and Havilah a Country of the fame, and is fituated upon Ganges, hence it came that Ganges was taken for Pifon, which river is faid by Mofes to water the land of Havilah. Or per- 2.256 haps it was supposed that those foure rivers named by Moses, must of necessitie be foure of the greatest in the world; whence (supposing that Ganges was the next great and famous river after Tigris and Euphrates) they chose out this River to make one of the foure. And yet certainly there is another River, whom in these respects they should rather have chosen than Ganges: for the River Indus on this fide India, for beauty, for necreneffe, and for ability, giveth no way place to Ganges, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceive, that Ganges can be one of the source heads, seeing Indus commeth betweene it and Tigris? and betweene Tigris and Indus is all that large Empire of Persia, confisting of many Kingdomes. And againe, farther towards the East, and beyond Indus, are all those ample Dominions of India intra Gangem, which lie betweenethose two proud Rivers of Indus and Ganges, now called the Kingdome of Mogor. So as if Indus be not accounted for any of the foure, because it is removed from Tigris by all the breadth of Persia, then how much lesse Ganges, which falleth into the Ocean, little leffe than fortie degrees to the Eastward of Indus? Surely, who loever readeth the Storie of Alexander, shall finde, that there is no River in Asia, that can exceede Indus. For Hydashis was of that breadth and depth, as Alexander thereon in great Gallies transported himselfe, and the greatest part of his armie, and in sayling downe that branch of Indus, found it so large and deepe, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleet, which was ready to be fwallowed up therein: Hyda-Dis (as aforefaid) being but one of many branches of ludus, comparable to it, and as

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great as it, having befides this, the Rivers of Coas, of Suaftus, Acefines, Adris (otherwife) Hirotis, Hispalis, and Zaradus, all which make but one Indus, and by it are swallowed up with all their Children and companious, which being all incorporated and made one streame, it crosseth athwart Asia, and then at Cambaia visiteth the Ocean Sea.

The first Booke of the first part

Gen. 2 15.

Bur because Pison, which compasseth Havilah, as also Gehon, which watereth Cush, must fome-where be joyned with the rest in one body, or at least be found to proceede out of the same Country of Eden, out of which the other two heads doe proceede; out of doubt they cannot either the one or the other, be Ganges, or Nilus: for Nilus rifeth in the uttermost of the South, and runneth Northward into the Mediterran Sea; and the River Ganges riseth out of the Mountaine Imaus, or (as others will have it) Caucasus, to which divides the Northren Scythia from India, & runneth from North to South into the Indian Ocean. And as for Perath and Hiddekel (that is, Euphrates and Tigris) the one of them is begotten in Armenia, neere Georgiana or Iberia, the other is not farre off in the fame Armenia, by the Gorgiean Mountaines; fo as Ganges, who onely travaileth in her owne India, and Nilus through Athiopia and Egypt, never faw the land of Eden, or joyned themselves in one channell, either with themselves, or with either of the other ; and therefore could not at any time from thence be separated, or divided into source heads or branches, according to Moses.

Gen. 2. V.12.

Therefore the River Pilon, which enricheth Havilah, is the fame which by joyning it selfe with Tigris, was therefore called Pig-tigris, or Pifo-tigris, of Pifon and Tigris, which 20 River watereth that Havilab, which Havilab the sonne of Culh gave name unto, and not Havilah of India, so called of Havilah the Sonne of Jottan, who inhabited with his brother Ophir in the East. And this Havilah of the Culhites had also Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx stone. This Bdellium is a Tree of the bignesse of an Olive, whereof Arabia hath great plenty, which yeeldeth a certaine Gum sweet to smell to, but bitter in taste, called also Bdellium. The Hebrewes take the Load-stone for Bdellium. Beroaldus affirmeth, that Bdela in Hebrew fignifieth Pearle: fo doth Eugubinus; and Hierome calls it Oleaster: be it what it will, a tree bearing Gum or Pearle: Havilah or Susiana hath plenty of both. Now this Countrie of Susiana or Havilah stretcheth it selfe towards the North as far as the Altars of Hercules, and from thence imbraceth all the Tract of Land 30 Southward, as farre as the Persian Gulfe, on the East side thereof : from which East side had the Shebans (which traded with the City of Tyre according to Ezekiel) their great plenty of gold; which Strabo also wirnefleth, as was shewed before. The Greekes had a conceit, that Pison was Danubius : the Rabbins take it for Nilus.

Hopk.de.Par.

Aben-EZra (faith Hopkins) out of Rabbi Saadia, translateth Pifen into Nilus: But Nilus findeth the same impossibility that Ganges doth : and Danubius hath the Sea of Hellespont and all Asia the lesse betweene it and Tigris. Now Pison, which runnerh through Hawildh or Susiana, doth to this day retaine some signe of this name; for where it and Tigris embraceth each other under the Citie of Apamia, there doe they agree of a joynt and compounded name, and are called Pifo tigris. And it is strange unto me, that from p fo great antiquitie there should be found remaining any resembling sound of the first name: for Babylon it selfe, which dwelleth so neere these Rivers, is by some writers knowne by the name of Bandas, as, by Postellus: by Castaldus, of Balduch: by Barius, of Bagdad; and of Boughedor, by Andrew Thever; and yet all those that have lately feene it, call it Bagdet. To this River of Pifon, Ptolomie indeede with many others give the name of Basilius or Regius, and Gehon they terme Mahar-sares, and Marsias, and Baarsares. So is Euphrates, neere the Spring and Fountaine, by Strabo and Plinie called Pixirates: by Junius, Puckperah, out of the Hebrew (that is) The profusion, or comming forth of Euphrates: where it breaketh through, the Mountaine Taurus, it takes the name of omy ra. Plutarch calls it Medus and Zaranda: the Hebrewes Parath, (faith Ar. Montanus:) 50 Pagninus, Perath: Josephus, Phorab; Eusebius, ZoZimus: Ammianus, Chalymicus: Gifilanus, and Colinatius terme it, Cobar: which Ezechiel calleth Chebar; but this is but a branch of Euphrates. The Affirians know it by the name of Armalchar, or Nahor Malcha: but now commonly it is called Frat.

Plin.lib.5.6.24.

Afice tab.4.

The same confusion of names hath Tigris, as Diglito, and Diglath, Seilax, and Sollax: of the Hebrewesit was called Hiddekel: now of the inhabitants Tegil.

But Mercer upon Genesis conceiveth rightly of these Rivers: for Euphrates and Tigris (faith he) streame into soure branches; two of which keepetheir ancient names, and the

other two are called Pison and Gehon. The reason, why these two rivers joyned in one (below Apamia) lose their names and are called Pisteries, and the memorie of Euphrates extinguished, is, because the best part of Euphrates running through the channell of Gehon, finketh into the Lakes of Chaldren not farre from Ur, the Citie of Abraham and fall not intirely into the Perfian Sea, as Tigris, accompanied with Pifon doth.

This errour that Pilon was Ganges, was first broched by Josephus, (whose fields. though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weedes) and other men(who take his authoritie to be fufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For Epiphanius. Augustine, and Hierome, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as Pison was transported into the East India, to find out Havilah: so was Gehon drawne into Africas to compasse Æthiopia. But if Havilah, whereof Moses speaketh in the description of Paradife, befound to be a Region, adjoying to Babylon on the one fide, and Cuffi (which is falfly interpreted Æthiopia) fastened to it on the other side, we shall not need then to worke wonders (that is) to impose upon menthe transportation of rivers from one end of the world to the other, which (among other uses) were made to transport men Now it was in the Valley of Shinar, where culb the some of Ham first sate downer with his fonnes Shebah, Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, Nimrod, &c. and of Havilah, the fonne of Culb, did that Region take name, which Pison compasseth; and the land (called Cust) which Gehon watereth, tookename of Cush himselfe. For as the sonnes of Jostan Ophin and Havilah, feated themselves as neere together as they could in India, so did the sons of Culb in Shinar, or Babylonia, where Nimrod built Babel: for Havilab or Chavilab was first Chusea of Cush; then Chusa, Susa, and Susana.

From this Havilah unto the Defarts of Sur, did the Ifraelites and Amalekites poffeffe all the interjacent Countries: for Saul fmote the Amalekires from Havilah to Sur: 1 Samis 5. which Sur, the Chaldwan Paraphrast converteth Hagra, and Hagra bordereth the red Sea, But this was not meant from Sur upon the Red Sea, to Havilah in the East India: for Sanl was no fuch travailer or Conquerour, and therefore Havilah must be found neerer home, where the fonnes of Ismael inhabited, and which countrie Saul wasted: for Amalec and the Amalekites possest that necke of Countrie, betweene the Persian Sea, and the Red Sea; Havilah being the extreme of the one towards the East, and Sur of the other, towards Egypt and the West, leaving that great body of Arabia falix towards the South, and they spread themselves with the Midianites and Edumæans, from the East part, or backefide of the Holie Land, to the bankes of Euphrates; compri-

fing the best part of Arabia Petraa and Deserta.

S. XIIII.

Of the River Gehon and the Land of Cush, and of the ill translating of Athiopia,
for Cush, 2 Chino N. 21.16.

TOw, as Havilali in the East India drew Pilon so farre out of his way thither, so I say did Cush (being by the Seventie translated Æthiopia) force Gehon into Africa. For Cushbeing taken for Æthiopia by the Greekes, whom the Latines followed, Gehon consequently was esteemed for Nilus. But Æthiopians are as much as blackeor burnt faces, whose proper Countrie called Thebaides, lyeth to the Southward seemore of of all Egypt. And although there be many other Regions of Æthiopians, and farre this point, South in Africa, yet those of Thebaides are those so often remembred in the Egyptian 67.5.14. stories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of Egypt: all which Athiopians are very neere, or else directly under the Equinochall line, which is very far from that land inhabited by the Chusites; who are neither black of colour, nor in any fortneighbouring Torrida Zona. But this translation of the Septuagint, Pererius doth qualifie in this manner: There are (faith he) two Æthiopia's, the East, and the West: and this division he findeth in Strabo, out of Homer. Now because there is no colour to make Chus Æthiopia in Africa, Pererius will make Chush and the land of the Chusites (which is Arabia Petras, and a part of Arabia the Happy, with the Region of Madian) to be the East Æthiopia.

Now if it be granted, that Chushand the land of the Chusites be that tract from Sur to Havilah, according to the Scriptures: Habitavit Is MAII ab Havilah ufg; Sur, qua refricit Genzia) Ægyptum

C H A P.2. \$.14;

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Ver 1.16.

Gen.10.V.II. E.20d.17.8. Gen,26.1.

Plin.1.5.c.8.

C.2.7.182

\$\um.12.I.

Agyptum introcuntibus Affyrios; Ismael dwelt from Havilah unto Sur, that is, towards Egypt, as thou goest toward Affyria. The same sufficeth to prove that Gehon cannot be Nilus, but a River which watereth Cush, and not Æthiopia. But this place of Scripture, Habitavit Ismael, &c. hath this sense: Ismael dwelt from Havilah, which is the way of Affyria, or the Countrey bordering Affyria; and Sur, which lyeth toward Egypt, which is as much to fay, as, The iffues of Ismael (whereof there were twelve Princes) whom God had promifed to make a great people, inhabited allthose Regions betweene the border of Egypt and Assyria. And that they were (according to the Word of God) fo increased and multiplyed, it well appeared, when Zearab the Chusite, which others call Tharantha, brought an Armie of ten hun- 10 dred thousand against Asa King of Juda. Which Armie came not out of Æthiopia beyond Egypt; for that had bin a strange progresse for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, having so mightie a King as the King of Egypt, betweene Pa-Læstina and Æthiopia. But these were the Chusites, Amalekites, Madianites, Ismaelites, and Arabians. For it is written, that after Afa (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his victory tooke some of the Cities of King Zearah round about, as Gerar. Now that Gerar is a Citie of the Æthiopians, it cannot be suspected: for these be the wordes of the Scripture disproving it: And ABRAHAM departed thence toward the South Countrey, and dwelt betweene Cadesh and Sur, and sojourned in Gerar: Now Sur is that part, upon which Moses and the Israelites 20 first set their feete after they passed the Red Sca, where the Amalekites in Rephidim set on them, supposing that they had beene wearie, and unable to resist. Againe, in the Rory of Isaac it is written: Wherefore Is A A C went to A B I M E L E C H, and the Philistims unto Gerar: and I am sure Abimelech and the Philistims were no Æthiopians. And lastly, Moses himselfe, where he describeth the bounds of Canaan, hath these words: Then the border of the Canaanites was from Sydon, as thou commest to Gerar: for Sydon was the frontier of Canaan towards the North, and Gerar by Gazah towards the South But indeed, how foever Pererius doth with an honest excuse salve his translation of Chus for Æthiopia, yet it appeareth plainely, that the Septuagint and Josephus did altogether misunderstand this place. And first, for Homers East and West Æthiopia, 30 they are both found elsewhere: For Plinie in his fift Eooke and eight Chapter, citeth Homer for an Authour of these two Æthiopia's. But the East Æthiopia is that which compasseth Nilus to the South of Egypt, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the Abysfines, under Prester John; And the West Æthiopia is that, which joyneth it selfe with the River Niger, which we call Senega & Gambra : tor thereabout are these Æthiopians called Perorsi, Daratites, with divers other names, which Plinie numbreth. But all thefe are in Affrica, and beyond the Defarts thereof, faith Plinie out of Homer, Agrippa, and Juba: which Regions indeede (I meane that of Niger, and that of Prester John; and the Troglodytes) lye due East and West. But as for Cush and the Region of the Ismaelites, &c. they are extended direct. Iv North from that Æthiopia, which is beyond Egypt. Now, that Fofephus was exceeding groffe herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which he hath of Moles when he Served Pharao, in the warres against the Æthiopians : for in that (to make Chus, Æthiopia) he transporteth Madian by miracle over the Red Sea, and beyond all Egypt, and setteth it in Æthiopia, as shall be shewed more at large in the Chapter of the Worlds Plantation. Againe, that Gehon was improperly translated Nilus, Pererius confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the Greeke Copie, than otherwise And whereas the Septuagint have converted this place of the Prophet Hieremie; And what hast thou now to doe in the way of Egypt, to drinke the water of Nilus ? Quid tibi vis in via Egypti, ut bibas aquam Gebon? to this faith Pererius, profecto Hebraice ibi non est vox Gehon, sed Sicher, qua significat nigrum & turbidum; Truely (faith Pererius) the word Gehon in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but Sichor, which fignifieth blacke and troubled water. Ex.2.21.6.2.

Furthermore, this is a manifest and unanswerable argument, that Chus was ill taken for Æthiopia. Moses married the daughter of Jethro, Prince and Priest of Madian, whom both the Greeke and Latine call a Madianite, and not Ethiopiffam, as (with Josephus) the Geneva converts it, though it helpe it a litle with a marginall note. Now it is without dispute, that Zipporah was of the Country of Madian, which is that part of

Arabia Petraa, bordering the Red Sea; for it is written in the fecond of Exodus; that Mos Es fled from Pharao into the Land of Madian, and fat downe by a Well, or and perfect againe in the third of Exodus; When Moses kept the sheepe of JETHRO his father in law, Version Priest of Madian, &c. Indeede, these foure nations are every where mixt in the Scriprures, because they dwell confusedly together (to wit) the Madianites, the Ismaelites, the Amalekites and the Chusites, which were all in one generall word, Arabians, and in the Scriptures fometimes called by one of these names, and sometimes by another; as in Gen. 27. v. 25. 27. & 28. that Joseph was fold to the Ismaelites; and in the same Chapter v. 26. it is written, that the Madianites fold Joseph to Potiphar, Pharao's Steward. The Genevians, in a marginal note (to avoid this confounding of the Nations) fave that Moles wrote according to their opinion, who tooke the Madianites and Ismaelites to be all one. But Moles wrote not after any mans opinion; he wrote the truth, and these were all Arabians: & so in this very place it appeareth by their merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought Joseph: for their Camels were loden with Spicery, and Gen. 37. 25 Balme, and Myrrhe, which are the trades of Arabia fælix: from whence chiefly, and from the East India, all the World is ferved with Myrrhe and Frankincense; and their fpices they received from the East fide of the Arabian Gulfe, as aforesaid. And in the 39. Chav.it is faid: That Potiphar bought Joseph of the Ismaelites; which the Chaldwan Paraphrast in the same place calleth Arabians. Now, to make this the more mainfest, it is Vessas written in the fixt of Judges, That when Ifrael had fowne, then came up the Madianites. and the Amalekites, and they of the East, and came upon them: they of the East, were Vol3: Arabians of the Defart; fo as where before in the buying of Joseph, the Madianites and the Ismaelites were confused, here the Madianites and Amalekites are made one nation. For in the profecution of the Story of Gedeon, the Madianites onely are named, as com- cap.7, prehending both Nations; and in the eight Chapter, v. 24. these Nations are all called Timaelites, and neither Madianites nor Amalekites. As when Gedeon defired, that every man would give him the golden eare-rings, which they had taken after the victory apainst Zebah and Zalmunna, Kings of Arabia, amounting to 1700. shekles of gold, it is written: For they had golden eare rings, because they were Ismaelites. And these Ismae cs. v. 24: elites were a great and valiant Nation, and ever in action of warre. Manus ejus contra Guacage omnes, or manus omnium contra eum; His hand (faith God of Ismael) shall be against all men, and every mans hand against him. Of these Ismaelites come the Mahometan Arabians, though fome Writers thinke Mahomet to be of the Schenita. And these Ismaelites. which inhabite chiefly in Cedar, and the Defarts of Sur and Pharan (faith Josephus) use poyfon upon their Arrowes, as the Indians doe. Towards the South-east are the Madianites, and Chusites: and beyond them, towards the Desarts of Arabia, the Amalekites; and all are one Nation, and all Arabians. Lastly, the ill translation of Æthiopia for Chus, is among other places, made most ap-

parent, in the second of Chronicles, in these words. So the Lord stirred up against JEHORAM 2010,21,25. the first of the Philistines, and the Arabians, which confine the Athiopians; so Hierom reades it: the Geneva translation hath it, which were besides the Æthiopians. Now how farre it is off betweene the Philistines and the Negro's or the Æthiopians, every man that looketh in a Map may judge. For the Philiftines and Arabians doe mixe and iovne with the Land of the Chufites, and are diffant from Æthiopia about two and thirtie, or three and thirtie degrees, and therefore not their next neighbours, but all Egypt, and the Defart of Sur and Pharan, are between them. So as this place of the second of chronicles, should have beene translated in these words: So the Lord stirred up against Jehoram, the spirits of the Philistins, and the Arabians, which confine and border upon the Chusites, Who indeed are their next neighbours. * Nulla superest dubitatio quin Libiopia in Sacris "Steuch Eno literis sit Arabia propinqua There remaineth no doubt (faith Steuchius) but Æthiopia in gubin Gen. 6,24 the Scriptures is taken for that Countrey, which joyneth to Arabia.

Now, may we thinke, is it probable, or possible, that Moles could be ignorant of Ni-No he knew it, no living man so well, and therefore would never have named Gehon for Nilus, or Nilus, for Gehon- Surely, if Moles had meant Nilus, when hee named Gehon, he would have called the River (into which he was cast upon Reeds, and preserved by God, working compassion in the Daughter of Pharas)a River of Egypt, where-Egota: in he was borne and bred, and wrought fo many miracles. Befides, the River of Nilus is often named in the Scriptures, but never by the name of Gehon. And if Mofes had told the

Tiraelites,

Plin.l.S.C.I. C.23.V.3. C.z.v.18.

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Ifraelites, that Nilus had beene a River of Paradife, they might justly have thought, that he had derided them: for they had lived there all dayes of their lives, and found no fuch Paradife at all nor any memory, or speech thereof; except we shall believe the Paradise of Hesperides, where (faith Plinie) there was nothing found in his time, but wilde Olives in stead of golden Apples. But Nilus is twice called Sichor, once in Isay, and once in the Prophet Jeremie; and yet in those places it is not said to be a River of Athiopia, but of Egypt. For in a word, the Israelites had never any communion or affaires with the Æthiopians, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond Egypt, to the South; but the Enemies which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the Chufites, Philiftines, Ifmaelits, Amalekites and Madianites: who being often governed to by many little Kings, or Reguli, were diffinguished in names, according to the Fathers or heads of those Nations; but in one generall name were all Arabians. On the North fide of Canaan, they were afflicted with the Coelofyrians, with the Magogians, Tubalines, and others their adherents, and thirdly within themselves, the Nations, which remained of the ancient Canaanites, held the strongest Cities upon the Sea-coast (as Tyre, Sidon, Acon, Gaza, and many others: yea, Jerufalem it selfe was with-held from Ifrael (from the dayes of Moses, even unto the time of David) by the Jebusites.

That which now remaineth of most difficultie, is, that it doth not appeare, that any part of Gehon watereth that part of Arabia the stony, which the Chusites inhabited in the times of the Kings of Israell: and in this Defart it was that Matt. Beroaldus loft himselfe, in feeking out Paradife: for he was driven (to my understanding) to create two Rivers, and call them Gehon, and Pifon; to the end that the one might water Chus, and theother Havilah; for I find none such in rerum natura, as he hath described: by which Rivers

he also includeth within Paradise, even Arabia the Defart.

And as he well proved that Pifon was not Ganges, nor Gehon, Nilus; fo where to find them else-where it feemeth he knew not. Certainely this River of Gehon, which he maketh to fall into the Mediterran at Gaza, and whose Springs he findeth farre East in Arabia, is but imaginary: for the Current by Gaza is but a small streame, rising betweene it and the Red Sea, whose head from Gaza it selfe is little more than twentie English miles, as shall appeare hereafter. But questionlesse, hence it comes that many were mis-19 taken. They all confidered of the habitations of the Chusites, as they were planted when the state of Israel stood, and when it flourished, being then their neere Neighbours, and never looked backe to the first seates and plantation of Chus. For after the Floud, Chus and his Children never refted, till they found the Valley of Shinar, in which, and neere which himselfe, with his sonnes, first inhabited. Havilab tooke the River-side of Tigris chiefly on the East, which after his owne name he called Havilah, (now Susiana:) Raamah, and Sheba farther downe the River, in the entrance of Arabia foelix. N I M R O D feated himselfe in the best of the Valley, where he built Babel, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of Babylonia. Chus himlelfe and his brother Mizraim first kept upon Gehon, which falleth into the Lakes of Chaldra, and in processe of time, and as as their people increased, they drew themselves more Westerly towards the Red or Arabian Sea: from whence Mizraim past over into Egypt, in which Tract the Chustes remained for many yeeres after. Now because there could be no such River sound in Arabia the stonic, which they might entitle Gebon, they translated Chus, Athiopia; and Gehon, Nilus. And if we doe examine this mistaking by example, we shall the better perceive it as it was. For let us suppose, that Brute, or whosoever else that first peopled this Iland, had arrived upon the River of Thames, and called the Iland at ter his name Britannia, it might be faid that Thames or Tems was a River that watered Britannia: and when afterwards in processe of time, the same Brite had also difcovered and conquered Scotland which he also intituled by the same name of Brian-5. mia, after ages might conclude that Scotland was no part thereof, because the River of Tems is not found therein. Or let us suppose that Europa, the Daughter of the King Herotline 4. Of Tyre in Phanicia, gave the name to Europe, according to Herodotus, and that the first discoverers thereof arrived in the mouth of the River in Thrace, which then watered as much of Europe, as he first discovered, shall we in like fort resolve that France, Spaine, and Italie, &c. are no parts of Europe, because that River is not found in them, or any of them ! in like manner was it faid by Moses in his description of Gehon, that it watered the whole Land of Chus; but not the whole Land

which the Chalites should or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabit, seeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) have beene Masters in time, (as the Saracens, which came of them, were) of a great part of the world. For, though the Babylonian Empire, which tooke beginning in Nimrod the some of Chus, confisted at the first but of soure Cities, (to wit) Babel, Erech, A. cad, and chalne; yet we find, that his Successours within a few yeares after, commanded all the whole World in effect: and the fame of Babel confirmed the memorie of Chusea. For of this Tower of Confusion did all that Land take the name of Babylonia: and the greatnesse of that Empire, founded by Nimroda yonger sonne, obscured the name and nation of his father Culb in those parts untill they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the Babylonian Empire, where the Chusites retained their names, which also they fastned to the Soile and Territorie by themselves afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not thinke, that Chus or any of his, could in hafte creepe through those defart Regions, which the length of 130 yeares after the Floud had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted every Bush and Bryar, Reede and Tree to joyne thermselves (as it were) into one maine body and Forrest. For if we looke with indgement and reason into the Worlds plantation, we shall finde, that every Family seated themselves as neare together as possible they could; and though necessitie enforced them after they grew full of people, to spread themselves, and creepe out of Shinar or Babylonia, yet did they it with this advice, as that they might at all times refort and fuccourone another by River, the fields being then (without all doubt) impaffable. So Nimred, who out of wit and strength usurped dominion over the rest, sate downe in the very confluence of all those Rivers, which watered Paradise : for thither it was to which the greatest troupes of Noahs children repayred; and from the same place whence Mankind had his beginning from thence had they againe their increase. The first Fatherof Men Adam, had therein his former habitation. The second Father of Mankind Noab, began from thence his dispersion.

Now as Nimred the youngest, yet strongest, made his choice of Babel (as aforefaid) which both Tigris and Euphrates cleansed and enriched; so did Havilah place to himselfe upon Pifo-Tigris: Rasmah and his sonne Sheba farther downe upon the fame River, on the Sea-coast of Arabia: Chus himselfe upon Gebon, the fairest branch of Euphrates. And when they began to spread themselves farther off, yet they alwayes fastened themselves to the Rivers sides: for Ninive, Charran, Resept, Cannet, Urin Chaldaa, and the other first-peopled Cities, were all founded upon these navigable Rivers, or their branches, by which the one might give fuccour and affiftance to the other.

as is already often remembred.

&XV. A conclusion by way of repetition of something spoken of before.

Dut now to conclude this dispute, it appeares that ome by the testimonies of the Scriptures, that Paradise was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, seated in the lower part of the Region of Eden, afterward called Aram fluviorum, or Mesopotamia, which taketh into it also a portion of Shinar and Armenia: this Region standing in the most excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35. degrees from the Aquinoctiall, and 55. from the North-pole: in which climate the most excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Graine of all forts, are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proveth the excellency of this faid foile and temper, than the abundant growing of the Palme-trees, without the care and labour of 50 man. For wherein foever the Earth, Nature, and the Sunne can most vaunt, that they have excelled, yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their workes: this Tree alone giveth unto man whatsoever his life beggeth at Natures hand. And though it may be faid, that these Trees are found both in the East and West Indies, which Gountries are also blessed with a perpetual Spring and Summer, yet, lay downe by those pleasures and benefits the fearefull and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venimous Beasts and Wormes, with other inconveniences; and then there will be found no comparison betweene one and the other.

Whatother excellencies this Garden of Paradise had, before God (for mans ingratitude and crueltie) curfed the Earth, we cannot judge; but I may fafely thinke, that by how much Adam exceeded all living men in perfection, by being the immediate workemanship of God, by so much did that chosen and particular Garden exceede all parts of the Univerfall World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees of Life, of Knowldge; Plants onely proper, and becomming the Paradife, and Garden

of fo great a Lord.

The fumme of all this is; That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture have beene dimme-fighted (some of them finding Paradise beyond our knowne World: some, above the middle Region of the Ayre: some, elevated neere the Moone: others, as 10 farre South as the Line, or as farre North as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the reader will be fufficiently fatisfied, that these were but like Castles in the Aire, and in mens fancies, vainely imagined. For it was Eastward in Eden (faith Moses) Eastward, in respect of Judæa, that God planted this Garden; which Eden we find in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in some part) remaineth to this day. A River went out of Edento water this Garden, and from thence divided it felfe into foure branches; and we find that both Tigris and Euphrates swimming through Eden, doe joyne in one, and afterward taking wayes apart, doe water Chus and Havilah, according to Moses, the true feats of Chus and his Sonnes then being in the Valley of Shinar, in which Nimrod built Babel. That Pison was Ganges, the Scripture, Reason, and experience teach the 20 contrary: for that which was never joyned, cannot be divided; Ganges, which inhabiteth India, cannot be a branch of the Rivers of Eden. That Gehon was Nilus, the fame distance maketh the same impossibilitie; and this river is a greater stranger to Tigris and Euphrates, than Ganges is: for although there are betweene Tigris and Ganges above foure thousand miles, yet they both rise in the same quarter of the World; but Nilus is begotten in the Mountaines of the Moone, almost as farre off as the Cape of good hope, and falleth into the Mediterran Sea: and Euphrates distilleth out of the Mountaines of Armenia, and falleth into the Gulfe of Persia: the one riseth in the South, and travaileth North: the other riseth in the North, and runneth South, threescore and three degrees the one from the other. In this leafe following, I have added a Chorographicall de-30 scription of this terrestrial Paradise, that the Reader may thereby the better conceive the preceding Discourse; and this is the reward I looke for, that my labour may but receive an allowance suspended, untill such time as this description of mine be reproved by a better.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the two chiefe Trees in the Garden of Paradise.

6. I.

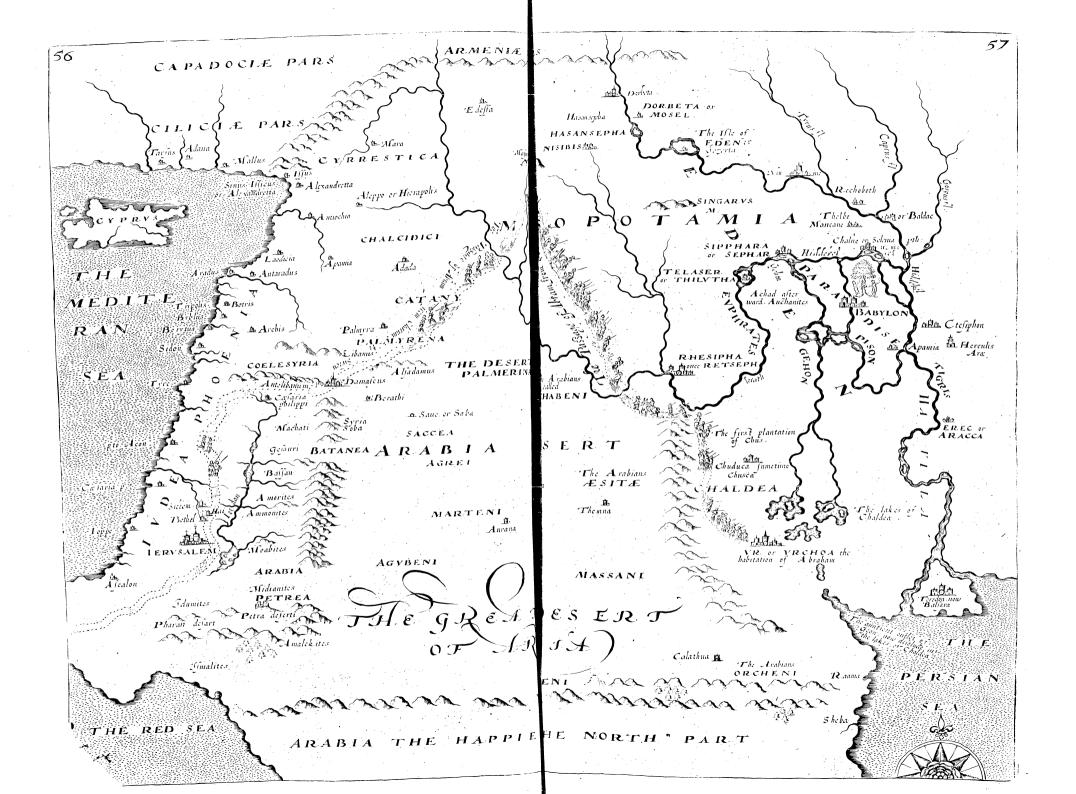
That the tree of Life was a materiall tree: and in what sense it is to be taken that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made subject to death.

Or eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of Knowledge was Adam driven out of Paradife, in exilium vita temporalis, into the banishment of temporal life, faith Beda. That these Trees of Life and Knowledge were material Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Gospell) it is not doubted by the most religious and learned Writers: although the wirs of men, which are so volatile, as nothing can fixe them, and fo flipperie, as nothing can fasten them, have in this also delive-s

red to the World, an imaginarie doctrine. The Tree of Life (fay the Hebrewes) hath a plurall construction, and is to be understood, Lignum vitarum, The Tree of lives, because the fruit thereof had a propertie, to preserve both the growing, sensitive, & rationall life of man; and not only (but for Adams transgression) had prolonged his owne dayes, but also given a durefull continuance to all

posteritie; and that, so long, as a body compounded of Elements could last. And although it is hard to thinke, that flesh and bloud could be immortall, but that it must once perish and rot, by the unchanged Law of God imposed on his creatures,

Bart . fept. 2.1.1.



Man(notwithstanding) should have enjoyed thereby a long, healthfull, and ungreived life: after which (according to the opinion of most Divines) he should have bin tranflated, as Enoch was. And as before the Floud, the dayes of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred yeares; and soone after the floud, of two hundred yeares and upwards, even to five hundred: foif Adam had not disobeyed Gods first and easie Commandement, the lives of men on Earth might have continued double, treble: or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men have conceived. Chryfostome, Rupertus, Tostatus, and others were of beleefe, that (but for Adams falland transgression) Adam and his Posteritie had been immortall. But such is the infinite Wisedome of Godas he foresaw that the earth could not have contained Mankind; or elfe, that millions of foules must have bin ungenerated, and have had no being, if the first number, wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for ever: and therefore that of Chrysoftome must be understood of immortalitie of bodies. which should have bin translated and glorified.

But of what kind or Species this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which respect many have conceived, that the same was not materiall, but a meere Allegorie, taking their strength out of Salomon, where Wisedome is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also Christ is called the Tree of Life: and Out of the Apocalypsis, I will give to him that overcommeth, to eate of the Tree of Life which Apocala; is in the Paradise of God. But to this place Saint Augustines answer may suffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terreftriall Paradife. fothere was a celestiall. For although Agar and Sara were Figures of the Old, and New Teffament, yet to thinke that they were not Women, and the Maide and Wife of Abraham were meere foolishnesse. And so in this place the sense of the Scripture is manifest. For Godbrought out of the earth every Tree faire to the fight, and sweete to take : the Tree also of Life in the midst of the Garden : which sheweth, that among the trees, which the Earth by Gods commandement produced, the rree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or Chaos, Hesiodus, Homer, Ovid, and others. ofteale the invention of the created World; so from the Garden of Paradise they tooke the Plat-forme of the Orchard of Alcinous, and another of the Hesperides: and from the Tree of Life, their Nettar and Ambrofia; for Nettar, according to Suidas, fignifieth making young, and Ambrosia, immortalitie; and therefore said to be the meate and drinke of the gods.

6. II.

Of Becanus his opinion, that the Tree of knowledge was Ficus Indica.

TOw for the Tree of Knowledge of good and evill, some men have presumed farther, especially Goropius Becanus, who giveth himselfe the honour to have found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could ever gheffe at, whereat Goropius much marvaileth. But as he had an inventive braine, so there never lived any man, that believed better thereof, and of himselfe. Surely, how foever his opinion may be valued, yet he usurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the invention beat that price at which he fetteth it. For Moses Bar-Cephas fastened on this conjecture above fixe hundred yeeres before Becanus was borne: and Bar-Cephas himselfe referreth the invention to an antiquitie more remote, citing for his Author Philoxenus Maburgeniis, and others, whose very words Goropius useth, both conterning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other men to that beliefe. For Moses Bar-Cephas in this Treatise of Paradise (the first Part and fol. 48.) faith, That the Tree of Knowledge was Ficus Indica, The Indian Fig. Tree; of which the Breatest plentie (faith Becanus) are found upon the bankes of Acesines, one of the Rivers which falleth into Indus, where Alexander built his Fleete of Gallies, in or neere the Kingdome of Porus.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bignesse of a great Peaze, or (as Plinie reporteth) some - Plinie reporteth) fome - Plinie reporteth) what bigger; and that it is a tree, fe semper ferens; alwaies planting it felfe; that it spreadethit felfe so farre abroade, as that a troope of horsemen may hide themselves under it. Strabo faith, that it hath branches bending downewards, and leaves no leffethan a thield. Like capa

Aristobulus

CHAP.2. S.4.

Aristobulus affirmeth, that fiftie Horsemen may shadow themselves under one of these Trees. One sicritus ray seth this number to four hundred. This tree (faith Theophrastus) exceeded all other in bignesse, which also Plinie & Onesicritus confirme: to the trunke of which, these Authors give such a magnitude, as I shame to repeate. But it may be, they all speake by an ill-understood report. For this Indian Fig-tree is not so rare a plant, as Becanus conceiveth, who because he found it no where else, would needes draw the Garden of Paradise to the Tree, and set it by the river Acesines. But many parts of the world have them, and I my felfe have seene twenty thousand of them in one Valley, not farre from Paria in America. They grow in moift grounds, and in this manner: After they are first shotup some twentie or thirtie foot in length (some more, 10 fome leffe, according to the foile) they spread a very large top, having no bough nor twigge in the trunke or stemme: for from the utmost end of the head branches there is fueth out a gummy juyce, which hangeth downeward like a cord or finew, and within a few moneths reacheth the ground; which it no fooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then being filled both from the top boughes, and from his owne proper roote, this cord maketh it felfe a Tree exceeding haftily. From the utmost boughes of these young Trees there fall agains the like cords, which in one years and leffe (in that World of a perpetuall Spring) become also trees of the bignesse of the neather part of a Lance, and as straight as art or nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making fuch a kind of Grove, as no other Tree in the world can doe. Now, one of these Trees 20 confidered with all his young ones, may (indeed) fhrowd foure hundred or foure thoufand Horsemen, if they please; for they cover whole Vallies of ground where these Trees grow neare the Sea-banke, as they doe by thousands in the inner parts of Trinidado. The cordes which fall downe over the bankes into the Sea flooting alway downeward to finde roote under water, are in those Seas of the Indies, where Ovfters breede, intangled in their beds, so as by pulling up one of these cordes out of the Sea, I have feene five hundred Oy fters hanging in a heape thereon; whereof the report came, that Ovsters grew on Trees in India. But that they beare any such huge leaves, or any fuch delicate fruit, I could never finde, and yet I have travailed a dozen miles together under them: but to returne to Goropius Becanus. This Tree (faith he) was good for meate and pleasing to the fight, as the Tree of knowledge of good and evill is described to be.

Secondly, this Tree having so huge a trunke (as the former Authors report, and Becamus believeth) it was in this Tree that Adam and Eve hid themselves from the presence of God; for no other tree (faith he) could contain them. But first it is certaine. that this Tree hath no extraordinarie magnitude as touching the trunke or stemme, for among ten thousand of them it is hard to finde any one bigger than the rest, and these are all but of a meane fize. Secondly, the words of Moses translated, in medio ligni, are by all the Interpreters understood in the plurall number (that is) in the middelt of the Trees. But his third argument (or rather the argument of Moles Bar-Cephas, word for A word) is. That when Adam and Eve found themselves naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaves; which proveth (indeed) that either the tree it selfe was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew neare it: because Adam being possest with shame, did not run up & downe the Garden to seeke out leaves to cover him, but found them in the place it selfe; and these leaves of all other were most commodious by reason of their largenesse; which Plinie avowethin these words; Latitudo foliorum pelta effigiem Amazonia habet; The breadth of the leaves hath the shape of Amazonian shield: which also Theophrass confirmeth; the forme of which Targets Virgil toucheth:

Gen.3.74

Plin.l.12.c.5.

Virg. Acral. 1 494

Ducit Amazoni dum lunat is agmina peltis PENTHESILAEA furens. The Amazons with Crescent-formed shield PENTHESILAE A leades into the field.

Here Becanus defireth to be beleeved, or rather threatneth us all that reade him, to give credit to this his borrowed discoverie, using this confident (or rather cholericke) speech: Discrit tamimpudenter obstinatus, si hac à nobis de ficu has ex antiquis scriptoribus cum Mo I s I s narratione comparet ut audeat dicere aliam arborem inveniri posse, qua cum illa magis quadret? Who will be so impudently obstinate, if he compare these things which

we have reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers delivered, with the narration of Moses as to dare to avow, that any other Tree canbe found, which doth more properly and fiver, or agree therewith? But for my felfe, because I neither find this Tree, forting in body in largenesse of leaves, nor in fruit to this report, I rather incline to the opinion of Phila: That the Earth never brought forth any of these trees neither before nor after; but I leave every man to his owne beliefe, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kinde: onely thereby, and by the easie Commandement by God given to Adam, to forbeare to feedethereon, it pleased God to make triall of his obedience: Prohibita, non Augustide Civili propter aliud, quam ad commendandum pura ac simplicis Obedientia bonum; Being forbidto den, not for any other respect than thereby to commend the goodnesse of pure and simple Obe-

6. III.

Of BECANUS his not unwitty allegorizing of the story of his Ficus Indica.

Ut in this I must doe Becamus right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it selfe to be true. The effects whereof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I have gathered in these few words. As this Tree (faith he) so did Man grow straight and upright towards God. untill fuch time as he had transgressed and broken the Commandement of his Creator : and then like unto the boughes of this tree, he began to bend downeward, and stooped toward the earth, which all the rest of Adams posteritie after him have done, rooting themselves therein, and fastning themselves to this corrupt world. The exceeding umbragiousnesse of this tree, he compareth to the darke and shadowed life of man, through which the Sunne of justice being not able to pierce, wee have all remained in the shadow of death, till it pleased Christ to climbe the tree of the Crosse for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruite which it beareth, and which is hard to find among for many large leaves, may be compared (faith he) to the little vertue, and unperceived knowledge among so large vanities, which obscure and shadow it over. And as this fruit is exceeding fweet, and delicate to the tafte and palare: fo are the delights and pleasures of the world most pleasing, while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellistuous, are soonest changed into choler and bitternesse: so are our vanities and pleasures converted into the bitterest forrowes and repentances. That the leaves are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaves) exceeding little, in this, by comparifon we behold (faith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their follicitude, their outward shewes, and publike oftentation, their apparent pride and large vanities; and if we feeke for the fruit, which ought to be their vertuous and pious actions, we find it of the bignesse of the smallest peaze; glorie, to all the world apparent: goodnesse, to all the world invisible. And furthermore, as the leaves, body and boughes of this Tree, by fo much exceede all other Plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly abilitie furpassethe meanest: so is the little fruit of such men, and such trees. rather fitting and becomming the unworthieft Shrub, and humbleft Bryar, or the poorest and basest Man, than such a flourishing statelinesse, and magnitude. Lastly, whereas Adam, after he had disobeyed God, and heheld his owne nakednesse and shame, sought for leaves to cover himselfe withall: this may serve to put us in minde of his and our finnes, as often as we put on our garments, to cover and adorne our rotten and mortall bodies: to pamper and maintaine which, we use so many uncharitable and cruell practices in this world.

§. IIII.

Of the name of the tree of Knowledge of good and evill: with some other notes touching the storie of ADAM's sinne.

TOw, as touching the fense of this tree of Knowledge of good and evill, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propertie of the Tree it felfe, Moses Bar-Cephas an ancient Syrian Doctor (translated by Mafius) giveth this judgement: That the fruit of this Tree had no fuch vertue or qualitic, 60

as that by the tasting thereof, there was any such knowledge created in Adam, as if he had beene ignorant before ; but as Junius also noteth : Arbor scientia boni & mali(idesi) experientia boni & mali ab eventu; The Tree of knowledge of good and evill (that is) the experience of good and evill by the event. For thus much we may conceive, that Adam being made(according to the Hebrew phrase) by the workmanship of Gods owne hand, in greater perfection than ever any man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whose seed, all men living, have growne up; and having received immortalitie from the breath or spirit of God; he could not (for these respects) be ignorant, that the disobeying of Gods commandement was the fearefullest evill, and the observation of his precepts the happiest good. But as men in perfect health do(not-10 withstanding) conceive, that sicknesse is grievous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering & experience in themselves they afterwards witnesse: so was it with Adam, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the proofe thereof in himselfe, another terror than he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glaffe of his owne guiltie foule, he beheld therin the horror of Gods judgements, to as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had triall of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased evill, which could not be exprest. He then saw himselfe naked both in body and mind; that is, deprived of Gods grace and former felicitie: and therefore was this tree called the tree of Knowledge, and not because the fruit thereof had any such operation, by any selfe qualitie or a effect: for the same phrase is used in many places of the Scriptures, and names are given to Signes and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In fuch fort, as this tree was called the tree of Knowledge, because of the event, as is aforesaid: so was the Well of contention therefore called Efek, and the Well of hatred Sitnath, because the Heardsmen of Isaac and Gerar contended for them: and the heape of Stones called the heape of witnesse, betweene Jacob and Laban; not that the stones bare witnesse, but for a memorie of the covenant. So Jacob called the house of God Bethel; and Hagar, the Well in the Defart, Viventis, & videntis.

But Adam being both betrayed and mastered by his affections, ambitious of a farther knowledge than he had perceived in himfelfe, and looking but flightly (as all his iffues doe) into the miseries and forrowes incident, and greatly affecting the supposed glory which he might obtaine by tafting the fruit forbidden, he was transported and blowne forward, by the gentle winde of pleafing perswasions, unawares; his progession being ftrengthened by the subtile arguments of Sathan, who laboured to poison mankind in the very root, which he moistned with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himselfe

perished for ever.

But what meanes did the Divell find out, or what instruments did his owne subtilty present him, as fittest and aptest to worke this mischiefe by even the unquiet vanity of the woman; fo as by Adams harkning to the voyce of his wife, contrarie to the expresse commandement of the living God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subject of labour, forrow, and death: the woman being given to man for a comforter and companion, but not for a counsellor. But because thou hast obeyed the voyce of thy wife &c. (faid God himselfe) Cursed is the earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eate of it all thy life. It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted, even by the most ugly and unworthy of all beafts, into whom the Divell entred and perswaded.

Secondly, what was the motive of her disobedience: even a defire to know what was most unsitting her knowledge; an affection which hathever since remained in all the posteritie of her sexe. Thirdly, what was it that moved the man to yeeld to her perswasions : even the same cause which hath moved all men fince to the like consent; namely, an unwillingnesse to grieve her and make her sad, lest she should pine and be overcome with forrow. But if Adam in the state of perfection, and Salomon the sonne of David, Gods chosen servant, and himselfe a man endued with the greatest wisedome, did both of them disobey their Creator, by the perswasion and for the love they bare to a woman, it is not fo wonderfull as lamentable, that other men in fucceeding ages have beene allured to fo many inconvenient and wicked practices, by the persuasions of their wives, or other beloved darlings, who cover over and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfeit passion of dissimulate forrow and unquiernesse.

CHAP. V.

Of divers memorable things betweene the fall of ADAM, and the Floud of NOAH.

of the cause and the revenge of CAINs sinne: and of his going out from God. He same Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward possess Adam, Cain also inherited: for Cain (envious of the acceptation of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) flew him, making himselfe the first Manflayer, and his Brother the first Martyr: the revenge of which unnaturall

Murther, although it pleafed God to mitigate, when Cain cryed out that his punishment was greater than he could beare. For the same offence chiefely (wher with the Sonnes of Adam, as it were, urged and provoked God) hee destroyed all Mankinde, but Noah and his Family: for it is written, The Earth also was corrupt before God: of which Gensonity? inthe same place Moses giveth a reason; for saith he, The Earth was filled with cruelty: and anon after, God himselfe made the cause knowneunto Noah, saying; An end of all flesh is come beforeme, for the Earth is filled with cruelty through them, and behold, I will destroy them with the Earth, or from the Earth. Neither was this cruelty meant to have beene in taking away the lives of menonely, but in all forts of Injustice and Oppression. After this Murther of ABEL, CAIN went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the East-side of Eden: in which words, The going out of Cain from the presence of the Lord, is not to be understood after the literall sense, God being wholly inall parts of the World: Totus in calo est, totus interra, non alternistemporibus, sed urumq; simul; God (faith S. Augustine) is wholly in Heaven, and wholly in Earth, not by Augustine. interchanged times, but all at once; And that this is true, David witnesseth: If I be in Heaven Del 12.2.19 faith David) thou art there; in Hell, thou art there also. But what is meant thereby: Exitt Plata39.81. facie Dei (faith Chrysostome) Cain went out from the presence of the Lord (that is) chyofin ewas left of God, disfavoured and bereaved of his protection.

Of CAINS dwelling in the Land of Nod: and of his City Enoch.

His word Nod or Naid, S. Hierome and many others understand to signific wan- normal Help dring or uncertaine habitation: vexation or agitation, faith Junius; but the Seventy convert it otherwise, and take Nod for the proper name of a Countrey, and so doth fosephus. But it seemeth to me, that Cain was rather a Vagabond or Wande- Josephia ag er in his cogitations, than any thing else, and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in regard of the Murther committed, justly searing (by his owne words) the likeviolence: And who seever findet h me (faith CAIN) shall stay me. Now that Nod or Naid Gen4.14. was a Region wherein Cain inhabited, appeareth by the word (dwelt) for dwelling fignifieth an abiding: and we call those people Wanderers and Vagabonds that have no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling and abiding more manifest, Moses teacheth in Genale. what part of the Earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the East-side of Eden. Secondly, it is faid by Moses, that after Cain departed from the presence or fayour of God, he built a City, and called it by the name of his first-borne, Enoch; which heweth that he feared to wander, and rather fought to fortifie himfelfe against revenge. Cyrillus faith, that Cain and Abel were figures of Christ, and of the Jewes; and that as Cain after that he had flaine Abel unjustly, had thence-forth no certaine abiding in the World: fo the Jewes after they had crucified the Sonne of God, became Runnagates: and it is true, that the Jewes had never fince any certaine Estate, Common-weale, or Prince of their owne upon the Earth. Now this Land of Nod, Junius taketh to be in Arabia Deferta, a Region of Nomades, but Arabia the Defart is not Eastward, or on the East Part of Eden, neither are these Nomades any particular People or Nation. For all these, awhat part of the World foever, which in old time lived by Pastorage, and sed (as

Bart. [em. 2.1.2.

Num.20.13.

Cap. 31.48.

Cap.16.14.

Gen. 26.20.21

Gen. 3.17.

Verse 23.

we call it in Ireland) upon white meate, without tilling of the ground, are called by the Greekes Nomades, and by the Latines Pastores vagi, as the Northren Tartarians, the Getulians, and Numidians in Africa, the ancient Brittans, and the Northren Irish: yea, fuch were the Inhabitants of Italy it felfe, till fuch time as Italus (who gave them that name) taught them the Husbandry of tillage, used at this day. But the Region Eastward from Eden is that part of Affyria, called by Ptolomy Calena, which also might be denved of Carena, the country of Cain. And that Cain inhabited in those parts, it may begathered by the first possession of his Father Adam; for thus it is written, Genes. There. fore the Lord God fent him forth from the Garden of Edento till the Earth whence he was taken: and in the Verse following: Thus he cast out man, &c. and at the East side of the Gar. w den of Eden be fet the Cherubins: which sheweth that the entry into Paradise was from the East, by which entrance Adam was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that sideof Paradife which was Eastward, according to the Text. Cain also in the same Region fought his dwelling place. Now, if the word Nod or Naid doe fignifie profugue, that is a fugitive, we can give no longer time to this uncertaine habitation of Cain, than till he built the City of Enoch, the first of the World, which he inclosed, either for his own defence. or (as fosephus writeth) to oppresse others thereby. So as for mine own opinion, I am refolved with the Septuagint, that Nod was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (Vagabond) which Cain useth of himselfe, it seemeth by the perclose of the same Verse. that (Vagabond) is therin understood for such an one as travelleth in fear of revengement: for who foever findeth me (faith CAIN) shall flay me; or else (Vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the favour of God.

The first Booke of the first part

And because these Henochians, so called of the City of Henoch, were the first societie & civill affembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of these people (either for cruelty, strength, or other actions) lived in the memory of Noah and his Sonnes: so that after the Floud(as there were of all forts of natures, some vertuously, some impiously dispofed, and every active mind fetting before it whom to follow or imitate) those people, which delighted in cruelty and oppression, tooke on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these Henochians were not the least. Perchance the place it felfe where Henoch stood before the Floud, and whereof the Monuments might remain (as the Pillars or the foundation of Joppe did) gave occasion to the Plan ters of that place to call themselves by the same name: for of those Henochians there Qualidicaliquid were many Nations in the borders of Pontus, & Colchis in Iberia, Segdiana, & Bactria: in hoc magno orbe of the same name many Mountaines, as those which are otherwise called Coraxici. And mutatur, nova ur-bium fundamenta feeing that it is hard to finde out the truth of these things, which the most aged Time jacinatur, nova hath covered over or defaced, we may (according to the counsel of Place) exceedingly re-Gentium assing joyce, and therewith fatisfie our felves, if of fo great annd almost worn-out Antiquity, bus prioribus) pris of the eldest peoples names & nations, there remain any print or foot-steps to Posterity

In * Pliny P. Mela, Strabo, Valerius Flaccus, Lucan, Stephanus, wee finde those He nochei described, though diversly written; as in Pliny, sometimes Heniochi, in Mela Enio. chi, in Flaccus Heniochi, in Lucan Enochii, all which inhabit upon the Sea Euxinus, but yet none of these are on the East-side of Eden, or (according to Moses words) East ward from Eden. For Moses in all places where he describeth any Region, was so exceeding precife, as fometime he useth the word East or South without borrowing or addition, at o ther times with a borrowing, as Eastward or Southward, or towards the East or South In the place of Genesis the eleventh, hee writeth the word (East) simply and directly. And as they went from the East, they found a Plainein the Land of Shinar; but in this of Cain he addeth the word (towards) as, in the Land of Nod towards the East fide of Eden; which may bee taken, as inclining fome one point or two either to the North or to the South of the East.

But as we may conjecture that these Nations took ename of Henoch the City of Cain. or of the Region wherein it stood, when the same was repeopled after the Floud: soit is probable that these Henochis of Colchis, & other parts adjoyning, were not the first o that name, after the Sons of Neab began to fill the World againe: because, had this He nochthe City of Cain stood in any of these parts, it had then bin seated North. & not East or Eastward from Eden. But as Pliny findeth their habitation towards Pontus, so after wards he goeth on Eastward, till he track them or trace them out to their original. Forh Ptolsab. Afie. 3. calleth these of Colchis, (now Mengrelia) Sanni Heniochi , Ptolomy, Zani ; beyond which

an hundred and fifty mile Eastward he findeth another Nation of them about Iberia and Albania; and beyond these he againe discovereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest rooke beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the Mountains of Paro-panisus: berweene them and the great River of Oxus, which bordereth Bactria on the North fide: and these Henochii are due East from the Region of Eden, and Eastward from the very Garden it selfe.

And although we cannot be affured that these Henochii tooke name from the memory of the City of Enoch directly; yet because they inhabited due East from Paradise, and afterwards spred themselves Westward (as all Noahs Sons did that came into Shinar) the conjecture is farre more probable, than that of Annius the Frier, who fets Henoch in Phoenicia, quite contrary to Moses word: Phoenicia from all parts of Eden being directly West.

And befides these severall Nations of the Henochii, Stephanus findeth a Region called stephacorti Henochia, and the fame also in the East, with divers Mountains about Bactria and Sogdiana, of the fame name. Only the Grecians (according to their fabulous inventions of all things else) out of the word (Heniochi) which fignifieth Carts or Coach-men, make these Nat. Comes call Nations to have forung from the Waggoners of Caffor and Pollux (to wit) Amphires and leth them Rhetean Telebius, who attended them in the enterprise of Jason into Colchis. And though I doe Nat.com.18.6.9 notdeny, but that Jason with other Greekes ranged the Coasts of Asia the lesse in an o- studier.

*In the second pen Boat or kind of small Galley, *of whom I shall speake in his owne time: yet no man Bookeofthis doubteth but that the Tale of the Golden Fleece was for the most part Poeticall; and first Part, Cap. withall that in fuch an open Boat, which could hardly carry their owne Rowers, being 13.85. 34. there was no place, and leffeuse of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

6. III.

Of Moses his omitting fundry things concerning CAINS Generation.

But of the remembrance and terminal fuffice: Now it followers to answer to the prophane Story, thus much may fuffice: Now it followers to answer to the few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of few Objections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of few Objections against the few Obj Ut of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the City of Henoch in no other affiftance than his Sonne Heroch) to performe fuch a Workeas the building of a City, feeing there is thereto required fo many hands, and fo great a maffe of all forts of Materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of Cain (because he was the Parent of an impious Race) Moses useth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his divine Reason, seeing that he containeth the whole Story of the first Race, which wasted by the least account, 1656. yeares, in five short Chapters. Yet thus much may every man borrow of his owne weakest reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of mens lives so long a measure, as 800 and 900. yeares, that in fuch a space Cain had not want of leifure and means to build many such Cities as Henoch, be the capacity answering to what other of the World soever: for in what Age of Cains life he built it, the Scriptures are filent: as of whose times, and the times of his Issues Moses had the least care. And, as it was faid of Cain, that he built a City: so it was faid of Noah, that his three Sons peopled all the World, but in both, the processe of time required to be understood: which advice seeing Moses useth where the space lesse requireth it, as knowing that he writ the Scriptures to reasonable men, we may eafily understand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference betweene the Birth of Abel, and Oblation of Cain, he spake it in this fort, Fuit autempost dies multos or a fine dierum (that is) in processe of time, it came to paffethat CAIN brought an Oblation. And therefore it is in like fort to be understood of Cain, that many yeares fore-gone, and when his people were increased the built the City 2 King 6 of Enoch or Henoch.

And where it is written, as of Cain, that he built Enoch, so of Solomon, that hee built the Temple of Jerusalem; yet it is well knowne of Solomon, that he employed in that Worke, 150000 Labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selves to say, The King invaded, when he caused an invasion to be made: & he built, when he commanded fuch a building. And therefore feeing we find that Mofes had no regard to the ages, to the birth, or to the death of any of Cains Issues, it is not to be marvelled at, why he also passeth

Senega ad Albi-

num. * Plin.l.6.04.

11.**&** 16.

Mel.i. 1.c.8.

Strabelib.II.

Val.Flare 1.K.

Lucan 1.3.v.37

Sen.4.170

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paffeth over in a word the building of Enoch, without addition of any circumstance: for of Cain, Moses writeth in this manner: CAIN also knew his Wife, who conceived and bare HENOCH, and he built a Citie, and called the name of the Citie after the name of his some HENOCH. And to HENOCH was borne IRAD, and IRAD begat MEHUJAEL, and MEHU-IAEL begat Methusael, and Methusael Lamech.

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Now of Seth, Moses writeth farre otherwise, and in this manner. And SETH lived an hundred and five yeares, and begat Enoch, and Seth lived after he begat Enoch 807. yeare, and begat Sonnes and Daughters: fo as all the dayes of Strh were 912. yeares, and he dred: as for the yeares & times of the wicked, they were not numbred in libro viventium, faith Cyril. But in Seth was the Church of God established, from whom Christ descended, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and worke Moses walked in, and finished it with care, passing over the Reprobate Generation (as aforesaid.) Of the Line of Adam by Cain, Moses remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning Adam for one; and of the Line of Adam by Seth ten, counting Adam also therein, as followeth:

I. ADAM.

3 4	Cain. Henosh: Irad. Mehniael	7 8	Lamech, who by 5 2 Ada had Jubal & Tubal, & 3 by Silla, Tubal-	Enosh. Çainan	8 9	Henoch: Methusalem. Lamech, and	
5	Mebujael. Metbulael.		by Silla, Tubal-	Mahaleel. Fared.	10	Noah.	

These be the Generations of Adam by Cain, which the Scriptures mention: but Jose phus giveth unto Lamech threescore and seventeene Sonnes and Daughters, by his two Wives Ada and Silla: and to the fethree fonnes of Lamech, Mofes afcribeth the Invention of Pastorage, of Musique, and the working in Metall; for it seemeth that Jubal first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were untamed, and brought Gen.4.20, 17,22. them into Heards and Droves: Tubal invented Musicke, and Tubalcain the working in Braffe and Iron: the one being addicted to Husbandry, the other was Mechanicall, the third given to Idleness and Pleasure. In whom began these three meaner degrees of Shepheards, Handy-crafts-men, and Musicians. And in the Issues of Seth began the Services of God, Divinity, Prophecy, and Astronomy: the Children of the one beheld the Heavens, the other the Earth.

§. IV.
Of the diversities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.

Second scruple hath beene made, How it came to passe that the Patriarchs begat their Children at fo divers Ages, as Cainan or Cenan at feventy yeares, Mahaleel and Enoch at threescore and five yeares, whereas Jared begat not any of his a untill he was 162. yeares old: Methusalem begat at 187. Lamech at 182. and Noahat 500 yeares. Now this difference hath bin the more enforced, because it cannot be conjectured, that either Jared, Methusalem or Lamech abstained from Marriage out of the religion of Abstinence, seeing that Enoch, who was translated by God for his singular Sanctities, begat children before he was threefcore and ten yeares old.

The apparent difference hereof ariseth in this, that Moses did not number the Generations before the Floud precifely, according to the first begotten and eldest somes of the Patriarchs, but he drew downe the Line of Noah from Seth, and afterward from Noah to Abraham, by their true Ancestors, were they elder or younger, as he found them: for it is likely that Henoch was not the eldeft of Jared, nor Lamech the first-borne of Ma-5 thusalem, nor Noah of Lamech; neither is there any thing knowne to the contrary, but that Noah might have had many Sonnes before Shem, Ham, and Japhet, though these three were only named, and furviving, & which by God were referved to be the Fathers of Mankind after the Floud; and therefore when we finde Mahaleel to be begorten by Kenan at threescore and ten yeares, who was the first Sonne of Kenan, and then reckon that Methusalem begat Lamech in the 187. year of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where Lamech is taken for the eldeft. But Moses rejecteth all the other sonnes of Meshufalem but Lamech only, because he was the Father of Noah as aforesaid. Of this

Saint Augustine hath fomewhat else in his twentieth, and one and twentieth Chapters, De Civitate Dei.

But as Moses counted the Generations of the first Age, and so to Abraham, and the children of the promise after him; so doth Saint Matthew recite the Geneology of Christ. norby the eldeft fonnes, but from those whom God had chosen and bleffed, without refibect of the first-borne, who have hereby the prerogative in Estates, worldly and transitory only; and therefore the Evangelist nameth Isaac, and not Ismael, though Ismael were Matical first in time : so doth he take Jacob the younger, and not Esau the elder; neither is Christ derived from any of the three eldest Patriarchs, Reuben, Simeon, or Levi, but from Juda a fourth Brother, and so from David a younger sonne of Jessai, and lastly, we find, that the kingdome it selfe of Juda was not given to the Heir in Nature, but to the Heire of Grace, 1 Kington namely Salomon.

6. V. Of the long lives of the Patriarchs, and some of late memory.

He third Objection is, that the great difference of yeares betweene those of the first Age, whereof some of them had well neere seene a thousand yeares, makes it disputable, whether the account of times were of the same measure as in after-Ages, feeing, that foone after the Floud, men lived not a third part of that time, and in fuc-

ceeding Ages and to this day, not the tenth.

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They that have hereon resolved that those yeares were but Lunary years, (to wit) of a Sal Polifica? Monethorthereabouts, or Egyptian yeares, are easily consuted. For whereas Seth begat Macrob Satura Enosh in the yeare of his life an hundred and five; if those years be taken but for Moneths, Plindrages. then had Seth lived but eight yeares, and one Moneth when he begat Enolh: and if the time of Enosh have the same allowance, when he begat Kenan, then could Enosh at that time have beene but fix yeares and forty eight weeks old; and fo it may be gathered of the rest, excepting only Adam, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the Trees in their kinde, bearing fruit and feed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine. For to give an ability of Generation at fixe, seven or eight years, agreeth with the short lives of the Pigmies, and not with the constitutions of our first Fathers, who being descended from Adam, the workmanship of Gods hands, and begotten and borne in the strong youth of the World. and length of dayes and ability of body agreeable. Againe, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary yeares, then there would follow this extremity, that those which lived longeft, and upwards of nine hundred yeares, had by that account but the time of fourescore and ten and odd yeares, which were not only leffe by farre than the Patriarchs lived after the Floud, but short of many mens lives in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein mamy exceed fourescore, and some a hundred yeares. Further (if need be) to disprove this reckoning, whereas it is written, Gen. 25. That Abraham dyed in a good Age, an old man, and of great yeares: all which (if the former account were of Lunary yeares) makes but seventeene and an halfe of our yeares.

And if wee seeke for a cause of this long life in Nature, then is it reasonable, that the fiftman, created in highest perfection, should also beget children of equal strength or littlediffering: for of the first and purest feed there must of necessity spring up the fairest and fruitfullest plants. Secondly, the Earth it felf was then much lesse corrupt, which yeeldedher increase, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any fuch mixture of harmefull quality, as fince that time the Curse of God, for the cruelty of mans heart, brought on it and Mankinde: Neither had the Waters of the Floud infused such an impurity, as thereby the naturall and powerfull operation of all Plants, Herbes, and Fruits upon the Earth received a qualification and harmefull change. And as all things under the Sunne have one time of strength, and another of weakenesse, a youth and beautie, and then age and deformity: so time it selfe (under the deathfull shade of whose wings all things decay and wither) hath wasted and worne out that lively vertue of Nature in Man, and Beafts, and Plants; yea, the Heavens themselves, being of a most pure and Plants; clenfed matter, shall waxe old as a garment; and then much more the power generative in inferiour Creatures, who by the ordinance of God receive operative Vertue from the fuperiour.

But besides the old age of the World, how farre doth our education and simplicity

of living differ from that old time: the tender bringing up of Children, first fed and nourished with the Milke of a strange Dugge; an unnaturall curiosity having taught all Women (but the Beggar) to finde out Nurses, which necessity only ought to commend unto them: The hasty Marriages in tender yeares, wherein, Nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her and replant her branches, while her felfe hath not yet any root sufficient to maintaine her owne top; and such halfe-ripe seedes (for the most part) in their growing up wither in the bud, and waxe old even in their Infancy. But above all things the exceeding luxuriousnesse of this gluttonous Age, wherein we presse Nature with over-weighty burdens, and finding her ftrength defective, we take the worke out of her hands, and commit it to the artificiall helpe of ftrong Waters, hot Spices, and pro-10 voking Sawces; of which Lucan hath these elegant Verses:

Pharfal 4.

_O prodigarerum Luxuries nunquam parvo contenta paratu: Et quasitorum terra pelagog : ciborum Ambitiofa fames, & laut a gloria menfa.

Discite quam parvo liceat producere vitam: Et quantum Natura petat. Non auro myrrhâg: bibunt : sed gurgite puro Vitaredit: (atis est populis fluving; Ceresq:

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O wastfull Riot never well content With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious Of Cates by Land and Sea far fetcht and fent: Vaine glory of a Table sumptuous, Learne with how little life may be preserved. In Gold and Myrrhe they need not to carouse, But with the Brooke the peoples thirst is served: Who fed with Bread and Water are not sterved.

Pier. Hierog.l.z.

Plin.1.7.6-19.

The Egyptians affirme, that the longest time of mans life is a hundred yeares, because the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to strength fifty yeares, and afterwards by the same degree decayeth and withereth. Epigenes findeth in his Philosophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty yeares, and Berosus to a hundred and seventeene yeares. These opinions Pliny repeateth and reproveth, producing many examples to the contrary. In the last taxation, number and review of the eighth region of Italy, there were found in the Roll (faith Pliny) foure and fifty persons of an hundred yeares of age: feven and fifty of an hundred and ten: two, of an hundred and five and twenty: foure, of an hundred and thirty: as many that were an hundred & five & thirty, or a hundred and feven and thirty yeares old: & laft of all, three men of an hundred and forty: and this fearch was made in the times of Vespasian the Father and the Son.

The simple dyet and temperate life of the Essans gave them long account of many years: so did it to the Secretaries of Egyptian Ceremonies, to the Persians Magicians & Josandia Brachmans. The Greeks affirme out of Homer, that Neftor lived three Ages, & Tirestas six, Sybilla three hundred years, Endymion of the lesse Asia, little less: Also Masanista of Numidia lived very long, & Dando of Illyria. Among the kings of Arcadia many lived three hundred yeares (faith Ephorus.) Hellanicus affirmeth of the Epeians, that someof them live full two hundred years; and fo doth Diodorus Siculus of the Egyptians: & that these reports are not fabulous, Josephus bringeth many witnesses with himselfe, as Manthon, Berofus, Mochus Estius, Hieronymus, Agyptius, Hecataus, Ephorus, and others. And Anthony Fume, an Historian of good reputation reporteth, that in the yeare 1570 there was an Indian presented to Solyman, Generall of the Turkes Army, who had out-lived three hundred years. I my felfknew the old Countess of Desmond of Inchiquin in Munfter, who lived in the yeare 1589. & many yeares fince, who was marryed in Edward the Fourths time, and held her Joynture from all the Earles of Defmond fince then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Munster can witnesse: Strozzius Cicogna, out of Torquemada Maffaus, and the like Authors, telleth of some that have not onely far exceeded the terme prescribed by Epigenes; but been repaired from the withered estate of decrepit Age to fresh Youth. But for length of life, if we note but the difference betweene the ability of men in those dayes wherein Galen the Physician lived, it may easily prove unto us what Reeds we are in respect of those Cedars of the first Age. For Galett did ordinarily let bloud fix pound weight, whereas we (for the most part) from at fix our ces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Confeditions) which are the naturall causes of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) strong Parents, a pure

and thin Ayre, and temperate use of dyet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring stone, cannot stand long upright; on Ayre we feed alwayes and in every instant, and on meates but at times: and yet the heavie load of abundances wherewith we oppresse and overcharge Nature, maketh her to fink unawares in the midway; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure Ayre, and a temperate use of those things which nature wanteth, are the onely friends and companions of a long life.

of the History of the World.

S. VI.

Of the Patriarchs delivering their knowledge by Tradition: and that Enoch
writ before the Floud.

Fourth scruple hath been made, How the certaine knowledge of the Creation came to Moses, seeing there was no Story thereof written; and if any such had beene, yet it is conceived, that all memory of Antiquity perished in the Uni-

But if we confider the curiofity and policy of elder ages, we shall find that knowledge was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also covered and hid from the vulgar fort, as Jewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreverent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: fo as whatfoever was attained unto concerning God, and his working in nature, the same was not left to publike dispute, but delivered over by heart and tradition from wife mento a posterity equally zealous; Ex animo in animum fine li- Dion Arcope teris medio intercedente verbo: From minde to minde without Letters, by way of Tradition or word of mouth. And it was thought by Efdras, origen, and Hilarius, (as Mirandula con-Folias. ceiveth) that Moses did not onely upon the Mount receive the Law from God, but withall. secretiorem & veram legis enarrationem: a more secret and true explanation of the Law: which (faith he, out of the fame Authors,) he delivered by mouth to Jofuah, and Jofuah to the Elders : For to teach these mysteries, which he called secretiona, to the rude multitude, were no other quam dare santtum canibus & inter porcos spargere Margaritas; than to give holy things to Dogges, and to cast Pearles before Swine. In succeeding times this understanding and wisedome began to be written in Ciphers, and Characters, and Letters bearing the forme of beafts, birds, and other creatures; and to be taught onely to fuch as served in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priests. Of the first the Cabala of the Iewes was animitation: the invention of the other is ascribed to Zoroaster, Mercurius, Cadmus, and others; but falfely.

This Cabala importer a Law, received by tradition and unwritten. Cabala in Hebrew Cabala of Vicentia is receptio in Latine, and a receiving in English. And this custome was also held by the Theologicana Druids and Bards of our ancient Brittans, and of later times by the Irish Chroniclers cal- Mirana to fol. led Rimers. If then fuch as would feem wifeft in the use of reason, will not acknowledge, that the story of the Creation, or beginning of all things, was written by inspiration, the to holy Ghost guiding the hand of Moses; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then used) be delivered unto him by a more certaine presumption. than any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquity had preserved and left to their fucceffors: which their wife men (as they terme them) did lay up and defend from the injury of the time and other hazzards. For, leaving to remember that Adam instructed Seth, and Seth his children and succeffors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest. that Methufalem lived together with Adam himselfe two hundred forty and three yeares. and Noah with Methusalem no leffe than five hundred yeares; and before Noah died, Abraham was fifty and eight yeares old-from whence this knowledge by an eafie and ordinary way might come to Ifrael, and fo to Mofes.

But befides this tradition, it is questionlesse, that the use of letters was found out in the very infancy of the world, proved by those prophecies written on pillars of stone and bricke by Enoch: of which Josephus affirmeth, that one of them remained even in his Foliage time (meaning belike some ruine or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are afcribed to Seth. But of these prophecies of Enoch, Saint Jude testifieth; and some part Jude prophecies of his Bookes (which contained the course of the Starres, their names and motions) were afterward found in Arabia swelling, in the Dominion of the Queene of Saba (saith o- Origen-Homit. rigen) of which Tertullian affirmeth, that he had seene and read some whole Pages. It is not therefore strange, that Moses came to the knowledge of the Creation, and story

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of the first Age, seeing he might receive it both by tradition and letters, had not the spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did: which also his many and strange miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifest.

The first Booke of the first part

Origen. Hol. 28. ment in Evang. Gelaf.dift.15.

Now for the Bookes of Enoch, how foever fome men make mention of them, fure I am that Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, Beda, Procopius, Gazeus, (with others) cite them in their writings: although Medina, for an argument to prove them unwritten traditions, alledgeth that Pope Gelasius among other the Apochryphall Scriptures (which he rejecteth)named not these of Enoch; but that whatsoever was remembred out of them, the fame was delivered by Tradition from the Jewes. But I rather thinke with Pererius, that fuch a Book there was, & that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostle's, and to many things added thereunto by Heretikes, who took occasion upon the antiquity therof, and out of that place of Michael contending with the Devill about the body of Mofes, to frame and add thereunto many inventions of their owne. One of the greatest arguments against these Bookes, is, that neither Philo nor Josephus (the most diligent searchers of Antiquity) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of Saint Augustine, Scripsisse quidem nonnulla divina Enoch, illum septimum ab Adam, negare non possumus: That Enoch the seventh from Adam, did write divers divine things, we cannot deny. Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the antiquity, and of fables of Giants, supposed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such Book was found amongst those Canonicall Scriptures, kept by the 20 diligence of the Hebrew Priests in Armario Judaico (faith Tertullian) who yet affirmeth that this Book might be preferved by Noah. Surely, that Enoch wrote the prophecies remembred by Jude, no man can deny; how they were delivered to posterity, I know not; whether by the Jewes Cabala, or by what other means, the fame is but mans conjecture. And (certainely) by the knowledge ascribed to Noah of the motions of the Heavens, and of the natures and conjunctions of the Starres; and afterwards to some of his sonnes, to Zoroaster, and then to Abraham, it is very probable that Noah had seene and might preferve this Book. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therin(as these men had) was fuddenly invented and found out, but left by Seth to Enoch, and by Enoch to Noah, as hath beene faid before. And therefore if letters and arts were knowne from the time of Seth to Enoch, and that Noah lived with Methusalem, who lived with Adam, and Abraham lived with Noah it is not strange (I say) to conceive how Moses came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by letters, or by Cabala and tradition, had the undoubted word of God need of any other proofe than felfe-authority.

S. VII.

Of the men of renown before the Floud.

TOw let us confider the relation of Moses, who nameth seven descents of Cains children: and of Adam by Seth ten; Seth being given by God in stead of Abel: and of Seth was Enosh begotten, in whose time men began to professe Religion, and to offer facrifice in publique. For although Adam instructed his children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the facrifice offered by Cain and Abel; yet it seemeth that after the birth of Enosh, men began publiquely to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they ferved and prayfed God by Communion and in publique manner, or calling upon the name of the Lord; and thereby were the sonnes of God or the godly distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of Enosh the sonne of Seth, to the time of Henoch the sonne of Jared, there is nothing remembred by Moses, but their owner births, the birthes of their fonnes, the length of their lives, and deaths. But of Henoch it is written. That he walked with God, and he was no more seene: for God tooke himaway. By that, that hee walked with God, was meant, that he was a just and upright man, and that he feared, loved, and obeyed God. For the same phrase Moses useth of Noah Noah was a just and upright man in his time, and Noah walked with God. The Seventy convert it, Enoch placuit Deo; Enoch pleased God. And although Aben-Ezra and others understand this place, (tulit eum Deus) scilicet, mortuus est; God tooke him away, (that is) hee dyed, which (indeede) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God tooke him away, when he dyed; yet the difference which Mofes maketh betweene the piety of Henoch, and the rest of the Pa-

rriarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which he useth to all else, makes it manifests that Henoch was not dissolved as the rest. Forto all the rest of the Patriarchs, Moses yferh these words, And he dyed; but of Henoch he spake otherwise, saying onely, He mas missing, or he was not seene, Et non inveniebatur (faith the Apostle to the Hebrewes) quia Deus eum transtulit; Andhe was not found, for the Lord tooke him away. In the same place it is expressly added, that he (am not death.

But whether this taking away of Henoch were not with the same kinde of changing. which S. Paul promifeth, when he faith, that when the end shall come, wee shall not all dye, i courses

but all shall be changed, I leave it to the learned Divines.

After Henoch, Moses passeth over to Methusalem and Lamech, remembring (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: saving that Lamech prophesied of his some Noah, faying, This same shall comfort us concerning our worke, and sorrow of our hands, as Gens. 292 touching the earth which the Lord hath curfed. Of Noah, Mofes writeth more amply than of any of the rest of Adams children by Seth, being the last of the ten generations of the Genesa first Age, whom God (with his Family) preserved, because he was an upright man in his time, and feared God.

But of the warre, peace, government, and policy of those strong and mighty men, so able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining: whose stories if they had bin preserved, and what else was then performed in that newnesse of the World, there could nothing of more delight have been left to posterity. For the exceeding long lives ofmen (who to their strength of body and naturall wits, had the experience added of 800, and 900. yeares) how much of necessity must the same adde of wisedome and undertakings : Likely it is, that their workes excelled all whatfoever can be told of aftertimes, especially in respect of this old age of the World, when we no sooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to HIPPOCRATES: Vita brevis, ars longa, tempus aphone preceps; (which is) Life is short, art is long, and time is headlong. And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of Moses; These were mighty men, which in old time were men of renowne, Gensal But these men of renowne (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of body, and cruelty of mind) trusted so much to their owne abilities, as they forgat altogether the piety of Seth, and the waies wherein Henoch walked : for all the ima- vergs quations of their hearts were evil, only evill, and continually evill. And this wickednesse was not only found in the issues of Cairs, but it was then univerfall, when the children and sons of God(or of the godly) were corrupted & mif-led by their idolatrous wives, the daughters of Cain, or of those other men, loving themselves and the world only.

That these fonnes of God were Angels, which being taken with the beauty of women, Gm 600 accompanied them and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed; namely, Lactantim, and Eusebius, missled by Josephus: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers have taken great advantage, and have troubled themselves with large answers, and very needlesse; the question being uncapable of dispute, especially since S. Chrysoftome and S. Augustine have answered it largely long agoe. For that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth every where appeare in the Scripture; and on the contrary, to thinke that Angels, who (as Christ witnesseth) behold the face of God; (that is) alwaies attend his commandements, should after a separation from the rest which fell with Lucifer, for fake the glorious presence of their Creatour, and become Incubi, or Succubia

contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more than madnesse to imagine.

S. VIII.
That the Giants by Moses so called were indeede men of buge bodies: as also divers in later times.

F thefe Giants which Mofes calleth mighty men, Goropius Becanus an Antuer-Pian (who thought his owne wit more Gigantical I than the bodies of Nimrod or Hercules) hath written a large discourse, intituled Gigantomachia, and strayned his braines to prove, that there were never any fuch men: his reasons (whosoever defires to losetime) he may finde them in the Treatises before named. It is true that Cyrillus reproves the Grecian Poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirme shamelessy Than

Tert de habite midicrum.

Heb.II.IS

Gen.5.24

6.90

GER. 14.4

Vergeati.

Amos x.

B17.2.0.2.6.

Deut.3.7.11.

CBP.14.4.

\$ Sam.17.4.

5 San 21.0.19

Num.15.34

Dent. 2. U.21.20

That the Giants have in elder times not onely cast up Mountaines upon Mountaines, but removed Ilands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that invention of casting up Hils, and making warre with the gods, no doubt but that the fame was borrowed out of the story of Nimrod, as before remembred; and even out of this Scripture: That the Sons of God faw the Daughters of Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of orpheus and Hesiodus. That Giants were the sons of the Heaven and the Farth; meaning by the Heavens the fonnes of God, and by the Earth the daughters of Men: which verses of orpheus are by John Cassam (who hath written a witty discourse of this fubject) thus changed into Latine:

Nomine calestes illos dixere Gigantes, Orti quod terra fuerint & languine cali.

The first Booke of the first part

From the Earth, and from thy bloud, O heaven, they came, Whom thereupon the gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opiniators and felfe-beleeving men dispute of, and make doubt of, if they cannot conceive that there were in the first Age such kind of men; and of which there have beene in all times fince; feeing the Scriptures avow the one manifestly, and

common experience the other?

And for that superlative strayning of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was given to Oppressors and Tyrants, and not to strength of body and eminent. stature: such men might with better reasoncall them Oppressors, because they were Giants: and therefore had ability to oppresse, than fay, That they were called Giants only. because Oppressors. For first, Moses himselfe calleth them mighty men; which sheweth a strength surpassing others: and afterwards men of renowne, (that is) of great undertaking and adventerous action. And if the same stature of body, and ability had not been found among divers Nations after the generall floud, then might this place of Moles have more willingly hearkened to a dispute, and yeelded to interpretation.

But befides all these famous Giants found in prophane Histories (which I wil reserve to accompany the Giants of Albion, in the story of Britanie) the Scriptures doe cleerly and without all allegoricall construction avow, That, besides Nimrod, there were found of these Giants in the time of Abraham, of Moses, of Josuah, and of David; namely, the Rephaims in Afteroth; the Zuzzi or Zanzummims in Ham, and the Émims which dwelt anciently in the Land of Moab: whom Moles (for stature) compareth with the Anakims which dweltin Hebron; for they also were taken for giants as the Anakims. Like wife where Moles speaketh of the Land of Ammon he useth these words: That allows taken for a land of Giants for Giants dwelt therein afore-times: & whom the Ammonites call Zanzummims: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims. And these Giants called Rephaims in Afteroth and Karnaim, and the Zuzæi or Zanzummims, Chedorlaoma king of Elam overthrew, affifted by other kings his affociates. Alfothe Prophet Anni found among the Ammonies men of giant-like stature, whom he compareth to the Cea dar, and whose strength to the Okes: and the Prophet Baruc H, These were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of 60 great stature and 60 expert in warre. Particularly ! is written of og, king of Bafan, that his bed of yron was nine cubits long, and foure at bits broad : for only og king of Basan remained of the remnant of the Giants, who commanded the Kingdome of Basan, source hundred yeares after the Expedition of Chedor-Lapmer. Moreover, those Discoverers and Searchers of the Land of Promise (sent by Man les from Cadesbarne in Paran) made report at their returne of the great stature of those people in generall, and especially of the sonnes of Anak, in these words: All the people which we faw in it are men of great stature : for there we faw Giants, the sons of Anak, which come of the Giants, so that we seemed in our fights like Graffe-hoppers, and so we were inther fight (that is) the Searchers found in their owne judgements a marvellous difference betweene the Anakims and themselves: insomuch that the Israelites were so stricken with feare, as they rather fought and defired to return again into Egypt, and were more willing to endure their former flavery, than to fall by the strokes of those fearefull Nations Furthermore, the Scriptures, put us out of doubt, that Goliah the Philistine of Gath, was 1

Giant of fixe cubits and a span long: the Armour which he wore weighed five thousand

shekles of brasse: the shaft of his speare was like a Weavers beame, and his speare-head weighed fix hundred shekles of yron. Also in Samuel there is mention of another 60

of another Goliah, furnamed Getheus, because he was of Gath: and of three other Giants; of which the first was slain by Jonathan, Davids Nephew, who had twelve fingers, and 1 chron 2017. as many toes:a man of great stature, and his fingers were by fixes, even foure & twenty.

Also that Sampson was of surpassing strength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion as it Juditate. had been a Kid, and after flue thirty of the Philistines, and (after that) a thousand more of them with a Jaw-bone of an Asse: And lastly, he tooke the gates of Azzah, and the two Posts, and lifted them away with the barres, and put them upon his shoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountaine before Ebron. If then it be approved by every judgement, that both Nature and the Heavens waxe old, and that the great age of Time o hath (with it felfe) infeebled and almost worne out the vertue of all things, then, I say, That as in all other kindes the Earth (before that Sinne had increased the cuire and corruption) brought forth her young ones more ftrong and beautifull, than it did in afterages: so also those Giants, those mighty men, and men of renowne, as far exceeded the proportion, nature, and strength of those Giants, remembred by Moses of his own time. and after him their fucceffours, as the ordinary proportion of all men in generall, foone after the floud and in times farre off, exceeded the bulkes and bodies of men which are now borne in the withered quarter and Winter of the World. If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the first slourishing youth and newnefle of the world.

But the wickednesse (especially incruelty and oppression) of these men was such, as God therfore by the floud gave end to all flesh, but to the just Noah and his Family. And God repented him that he had made man: which S. Augustine thus expoundeth; Neg; enim Gone. sicut hominem ita Deum facti sui panitet, cujus est de omnibus omnino rebus tam sixa senten. De Civil Dela Control Senten de S tia, quam certa prescientia. Sed sinon ni atur Scriptura talibus verbis; non se quodammodo familiarius insinuabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consultum: ut et perterreat superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat querentes, & alat intelligentes, God faitly he) doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done (as menufe to doe) : but if the Scripture did not use those words or the like, it should not (in a sort) insinuate it selfe familiarly to all forts of men, for whom it would provide: that it might terrifie the proud, firreup the negligent, exercise the searchers of the truth, and nourish those that under stand

CHAP. VI.

Of idolatrous corruptions, quickly rifing, and hardly at length vanishing in the world: and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient times, obscurely appearing in Fables and old Legends;

S. I. That in old corruptions we may finde some signes of more ancient truth.

Ere before wee proceede any further, the occasion offereth it selfe for us to Ere before wee proceede any further, the occasion offered it lene for us to confider how the Greekes and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inventions, and by breaking into parts the Story of the Creation, and by delivering it over in a myfficial fense, wrapping it up mixed with other their owne trumpery; have sought to obscure the truth thereof; and have hoped, that after ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receive those

inter-mixt discourses of God and Nature, for the inventions of Poets and Philosophers and not as any thing borrowed or stolne out of the Bookes or God. But as a skilfull and learned Chymist can aswell by separation of visible elements draw helpefull medicines out of poylon, as poylon out of the most healthfull hearbs & plants (all things having in themselves both life and death): so, contrary to the purposes and hopes of the Heathen, may those which seeke after God and Truth, find out every-where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Story of the first Age, with all the works and marvels thereof, amply and lively exprest.

6. II.

That the corruptions themselves were very ancient: as in the Family of NOAH, and in the old Egyptians.

Burthis defection and falling away from God, which was first found in Angels, and afterwards in Men (the one having erred but once, the other ever) as concerning Mankinde it tooke such effect, that thereby (the liberall grace of Godbeing with-drawne) all the posterity of our first Parents were afterwards borne and bred in a world, suffering a perpetual Eclipse of spiritual light. Hence it was that it produced plants of fuch imperfection and harmefull quality, as the waters of the generall floud to could not fo wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of mankinde. Yea, even among the few fonnes of Noah, there were found strong effects of the former poyson. For as the children of Sem did inherite the vertues of Seth, Enoch, and Noah; fothe sonnes of Cham did possesse the vices of the sonnes of Cain, and of those wicked Gyants of the first Age. Whence the Chaldæans began soone after the Floud to ascribe divine power and honour to the Creature, which was onely due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sunne, and then the Fire. So the Egyptians and Phoenicians did not onely learne to leave the true God, but created twelve feverall gods, and divine powers, whom they worshipped, and unto whom they built Altars and Temples. For Herodotus faith, Duodecim Deorum nomina primos Agyptios in usu habuisse, atque Gracos ab illis cepisse mutuatos, eosq; prius Aras, o primus Asyption and Diss sibierexisse; The Egyptians (faith he) first devised the names of the twelve gods, which the Greekes received from them, who first erected unto themselves Altars, Images, and Temples for the gods.

That in processe of time these lesser errours drew on greater: as appeareth in the grosse Superstitions of the Egyptians.

Ut as men once fallen away from undoubted truth, doe then after wander for evermore in vices unknowne, and daily travaile towards their eternall perdition: fo vermore in vices this low-leading to the vermore and low-did these grosse and blinde Idolaters every Age after other descend lower and lower, and shrinke and slide downwards from the knowledge of one true and very God; and did not thereby erre in worshipping mortall men onely, but they gave divine reverence, and had the fame respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowles, Windes, Earth, Water, Ayre, Fire, to the Morning, to the Evening, to Plants, Trees, and Rootes, to Passions and Affections of the Minde, to Paleneffe, Sickneffe, Sorrowes, yea to the most unworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemy, Rhodius Anaxandrides derideth in this

Nat.Com.l.1. cap.7.

Herodin Ett-

zcipe.

Carnes suillas tu caves, at gaudeo Bovem colis ego Deis matto bovem. Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas : ego | His maxime : canem colis, quem verbero Edentem ubi deprehendo forte obsenium. Obsoniorum credidi suavi simum.

I facrifice to God the Beefe, which you adore. I broyle th' Egyptian Eeles, which you (as god) implore: You feare to eate the flesh of Swine, I finde it sweet. You worship Dogges; to beate them I thinke meet, When they my store devoure.

And in this manner TuveNAL.

Porrum aut cape nefas violare aut frangere morsu: O fanctas gentes, quibus hac nascuntur in hortis

The Egyptians thinke it finne to root up, or to bite Their Leekes or Onyons, which they ferve with holy rite: O happy Nations, which of their owne fowing Have store of gods in every Garden growing ! E. IIII.

That from the relickes of ancient Records among the Egyptians and others, the first Idols and Fables were invented : and the first Jupiter was Cain, Vulcan, Tubalcain, &c.

Ut in fo great a confusion of vanities, where among the Heathens themselves there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to finde out from what example the beginnings of these inventions were borrowed, or after what ancient patternethey erected their building, were it not certaine that the Egyptians had knowledge of the first Age, and of whatsoever was done therein, partly from some inscriptions upon stone or metall remaining after the Floud; and partly from Mizraim the son of Cham, who had learnt the same of Cham, and Cham of his father Noah: for all that the Egyptians write of their ancient Kings, and date of times, cannot be fained. And though other Nations after them had by imitation their Jupiters also, their Saturnes, Vulcans and Mercuries, with the rest, which S. Angustine out of Varro; Ensebius out of many pro- Aunt 19.6.22 phane histories; Cicero, Diodorus Siculus, Arnobius, and many more have observed, Decivil. Del. to wir, the Phanicians, Phrygians, Cretians, Greeks, and other Nations; yet was Cain the English Phanicians. fonne of Adam (as some very learned men conceive) called and reputed for the first and 12.0.23, ancient Jupiter; and Adam for the first Saturne: for Jupiter was said to have invented Cic. Ladina. the founding of Cities; and the first Citie of the World was built by Cain, which he cal- Arnob Acontra aled Enoch, of whom were the Henechis before remembred. And fo much may be gathered out of Plato in Protagoras, which also Higinus in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For hesides that many Cities were founded by divers men; Tamen primam latissimam à primo & autiquissimo Jove edificatam : yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient Jupiter, seared in the East parts, or in India, according to that of Moses: And Cain dwels towards the East side of Eden, &c. where also the Henochii were found Gen. 4.16. after the Floud. And therefore was Jupiter by the Athenians called Policus, a Founder of Cities, and Herceios, an incloser or strengthener of Cities (say Phornutus and Paula-Phornide name or Cities, and that to Jupiter Herceios there were in very many places Altars and Temples Payland. 4.5. erected. And that there were Cities built before the Floud, Plato also witnesseth, as may 10. in Protago. begathered in this his affirming, that foone after mankinde began to increase, they built many Cities; which, as his meaning, he delivereth in plaine termes, in his third Booke of Lawes: for he faith, that Cities were built an exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great Floud.

This first Jupiter of the Ethnickes was then the same Cain, the sonne of Adam, who marrying his owne Sifter (as also Impiter is faid to have done) inhabited the East, where Stephanus de Urbibus placeth the Citie Henochia. And besides this Citie of Henoch, Philo Gen. 4.20.12.25 Judans conceiveth that Cain built fixe others, as, Maich, Jared, Tehe, Jesca, Selet, and Gebat : but where Philo had this, I know not. Now as Cain was the first Jupiter, and from whom also the Ethnicks had the invention of Sacrifice: so were 3nbal, Tubal, and Tubal-Cain (inventors of pastorage, Smiths-craft, and Musicke) the same which were called by the ancient prophane writers, Mercurius, Vulcan, and Apollo; and as there is a likelihood Lattilacare of name between Tubalcain and Vulcan: fo doth Augustine expound the name of Noema or Naamath, the fifter of Tubalcain, to fignifie Venusta or beautifull, Voluptas or pleasure; as the wife of Vulcan is faid to bee Venus, the Lady of pleasure and beauty. And as Adam was the ancient and first Saturne, Cain the eldest Jupiter, Eva, Rhea, and Nomes or Naamath the first Venus: so did the Fable of the dividing of the World betweene the three Brethren the Sonnes of Saturne, arise from the true Story of the dividing of the Earth betweene the three Brethren the Sonnes of Noah: fo also was the Fiction of those Golden Apples kept by a Dragon, taken from the Serpent which tempted Evah: fo was Paradife it selfe transported out of Asia into Africa, and made the Garden of the Hesperides: the prophecies, that Christ should break the Serpents head, and conquer the power of Hell, occasioned the fables of Hercules killing the Serpent of Hesperides, and defcending into Hell, and captivating Cerberus: fo out of the taking up of Henoch by God, was borrowed the conversion of their Heroes (the inventors of Religion, and such Arts as the life of man had profit by into Stars and Heavenly Signes, and (withall) that leaving of the World, and ascension of Astrea: of which ovid:

> Ultima calestum terras Astraareliquit. Astræalast of heavenly Wights the Earth did leave.

For

Gen.7.

Gen.5.22.24.

For although the Ethnickes would understand Justice it selfe to have say. Nat. com/12.6.2. For authoright the Ethinicks would understand funder a person, yet as it is led, as it is a vertue abstract, and may bee considered without a person, yet as it is usuallamong the antient Poets to describe Vertues and Vices by the persons of men and women, as Defire by Cupid, Valour by Mars, Beauty or Luft by Venus; fo doe they also the persons of Men by like Vertues and Vices : and therefore by Justice and Aftrea, Enoch; the justice and piety of Enoch being in the same manner express, as that of Noah was by Moses : for Noah was faid to bee a just man ; And Noah walked with God. And of Enoch it is written, That hee walked with God, and he was no more Gene: for God tooke him away.

The first Booke of the first part

From this story also of the first Age, and from that part where Moses remembreth the Giants begotten by the sonnes of good men upon the daughters of the wicked (whom Moses calleth mighty men, and men of renowne) did they steale those wondrous great acts of their antient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and againe their warre undertaken against the gods, from the building of the Tower of Babel by the L. de civit. Dei. Giant Nimrod, as Saint Augustine termeth him. Which warre of their Giants, Cor. nelius Severus thus describeth.

> Tentavere (nefas) olim detrudere mundo Sydera, captiviq; Jovis transferre Gigantes Imperium, & victo leges imponere calo.

The Giants did advance their wicked hand Against the Starres, to thrust them headlong downe; And robbing fove of his Imperiall Crowne, On conquer'd Heavens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that Nimrod purposed to raise the building of Babel to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deepe, nor by any conjunction of the starres, should bury them under the moisture of a second floud, but that by this building (if they had been herein victorious) they would have given the Law to Heaven it selfe. Also the making of leagues, peaceand covenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by facrifice, whereof Virgil both in the eighth and twelfth of his Aeneides hath a touch, was (as it feemeth) borrowed from Mofes, Exed. 24. who when he read the Booke of the Covenant, sprinkled the people with blood.

Foseph.l.z.contra

Wee finde also many remembrances of Seth, the paternall Ancestor of Henoch and Noah: for Amenophis, the same King of Egypt which raigned at such time as emosts carried thence the children of Ifrael (as of late some learned men, mistaking his time, supposed) called his sonne and successour Sethe, of Seth: and of the same Seth (as many men of good judgement have granted) were the Princes of Thrace, called Seuthes, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memory of Seth most manifestly preserved, that the Egyptians worshipped Seth, as their most antient parent, and of the first tradition: in honour of whom they called a principall Province Setheiri. ca. We also find in Bithynia the City of Sethia, and others of the same name elsewhere. And fure, from the Egyptians did the Gracians borrow this kind of Theologie, though they scorned to acknowledge any antiquity preceding their owne: and that they might not seeme to learne elsewhere, they gave the same names to their owne Idols, which the Egyptians did totheirs.

Plut.in Iside.

Strab.1.17.

Of the three chiefest Jupiters, and the strange story of the third.

Ut of all those armies of Jupiters remembred by the Antients, Cicero makethbut st B three, because those were of most fame: which other Writers have also done, who sought out, and laboured in their originals.

The first was Jupiter, the sonne of Aether and Dies, so called because the one hadreference to his celeftiall conditions (for ether is as much as shining or pure fire): the other discovered his naturall vertues, which dayes and times make more perfect, and arethe witnesses of mensactions.

The second was said to be the some of Calum or Heaven, for the same some respect; and this Jupiter was an Arcadian, and King of Athens.

The third, of whom all the Gracian fables were devised, was of Crete (now Candie) the sonne of Saturne and Ops. The name derived from the Latine is taken of Juvans Pater, from the Greeke word Zeus, it fignifyeth life, but somewhat strained. Boccas in his Genealogie of the gods, conceiveth, that his name was borrowed from Jupiser the Planet; but whether that starre had such a name, before the same was given to men, I know not. Jupiter is hot and moift, temperate, modest, honest, adventurous, liberall, mercifull, loving, and fairhfull (that is) giving these inclinations. And therefore those ancient Kings beautifyed with these conditions, might be called thereafter Jupiter: but howsoever they were, or were not with those vertues enriched, yet by imitation, all Kings in the eldest times assumed those Titles and Sir-names: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honour and reputation in the world, (howfoever deferved) as the worthyest, that ever were, acquired by their well deservings. Joves omnes Reges vocarunt ansiqui, The Ancients called all Kings Jupiters, as TZetZes in his waria bistoria confirmeth; Regesolim Joves vecarunt omnes; In old times all Nations called their Kings Jupiters. But where this last and most remembred Jupiter was borne, it is uncertaine. Somethere are that make him of Greee: others that he was but fent thither by his mother Ops or Nat.com. 1.6.7. Opis, to bee fostered and hidden from the fury of Titan his Uncle: because it was conditioned betweene Saturne and Titan, that Saturne being a younger brother, and reigning (for his owne life) by Titans permission, hee should put to death all his male children, o lest the Titans might bee interrupted by any of them in their succession; which agreement, because Saiurne performed in his first borne, it is fayned that Saiurne devoured his owne children. Hereof Lycophron, thus turned into Latine:

Haud fit pinguior. Saturne to be the fatter is not knownes Erndu sepulchrum quod sit ipse filiis. By being the grave and buriall of his owne. This composition betweene Titan and Saturne, Sybilla also witnesseth in these words

Conceptis verbis; Titanjurare coëgit Saturnum, de se natum ne nutriat ullum, Quo posint regnare senis post fat a Nepotes.

Things thus agreed; Titan made Saturne sweare No sonne to nourish, which by raigning might Usurpe the right of Titans lawfull heire.

But Opis the mother of Jupiter, being delivered at once both of Jupiter and June, conveyed Jupiter (first called Lysanias) into Crete, as shee did afterwards his two brothers, Neptune and Pluto: where he was brought up in Gnoffus, the chiefe Citie of that Iland, Entering by Cress the King, or by the Curetes, a people and nation thereof.

Others challenge him to bee of Thebes and a Thebane: others call him an Arcadian: others make him of Messena. The like contention is found among the Greekes touching his education and first fostering. Some affirme that hee was fed by Honi-bees: in recompence whereof hee changed their blacke coats and skinnes into yellow; a reward well fitting fuch a god: others, that he was nourished by Beares: others, by Goats: and of all these the idle Greekes have many pretty tales. But in the end when Titan had knowledge that Saturne had broken his faith, hee fet on him, and tooke him and his wife prisoners, whom Jupiter againe rescued and delivered.

But lastly, the father and the sonne equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. Saturne being the leffe powerfull, fled into Italy, and left his Kingdomes in Greece to his sonne. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many vertues, the name of Jupiter was given him: yet after hee was once setled and became potent, hee gave himselfe over wholly to palliardize and adultery, without all respect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by such as doe ascribe the actions of many to one Jupiter, that not therewith fatisfied, hee was afterwards knowneto offend in the finne of Sodome with Ganimedes and others: and did not onely begin with incest, marrying his owne fister June, but he ravished, betrayed, stole away, and tookeby strong hand all the beautifull women borne in his time, within the limits of his owne Kingdomes, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written were of greatest fame; Niebe, Laodemia, and Alemena, the wife of Amphierion, by whom hee had Pelaszus, Sarpedon, Argus, and Hercules: by Taygete he had Taygetus, of whom the Mountaine Taygetus tooke name, with another sonne called Saen, of whom Savena:

CHAP.6.5.5.

Luc.inSacrif.

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by Antiope he had Amphion and Zetus: by Lada, Caftor and Pollux, Hellen and Clyten. nestra: by Danae, Perseus; by Jordana, Deucation: by Charme (the daughter of Eubu. lus) Britomartis: by Protogenta, he had Athlius the father of Endymion: and by 10 (the daughter of Inachus) Epaphus, the founder of Memphis in Egypt: which Epaphus married Libya, of whom that Countrey tooke name, for so the Greeks afterward called Africa. He ravished Aegina the daughter of Aesopus, and carried her into the Iland Oenopia or Oenotria, afterwardcalled Aegina, on whom hee begate Aeacus: by Torrhebia hee had Archesilaus and Carbius: by Ora, Colaxes: hee had also Dardanus by Elettra, who built Dardanium, afterward Ilium or Troy. Hee begate the brothers Talici, on Thalia, and on Garamantis, Hiarhas. He had besides these (if they belye not their chiese god) Phileus and Pilumnus, inventers of the Bakers craft; and I know not how many more; 10 but I know well that hee could not be father to all these, who were borne in ages so farre differing. And of these his severall ravishments, betrayings, stealing away of mens wives, daughters, and fons, buying of virgins, and the like, came in all those ancient fables of his transformations into showers of gold, eagles, bulls, birds, and beasts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of Grecian forgeries. And yet did not the Greekes and Romanes feare to entitle this monster, Optimus Maximus, though Cicero in his second Booke, de natura Deorum, affirme, that hee deserved nothing lesse; and in his Oration, pro domo sua, reprocheth Clodius for his incest, by the name of Jupiter. His buriall was in Crete (faith Lucian.) Cretenses non solum natum apud se, & sepultum Jovem testantur, sed 20 etiam sepulchrum ejus oftendunt; The Cretians or Candians doe not onely avow that Jupiter was borne and buried among them, but they shew his grave and sepulchre: which Epiphanius also confirmeth; for in his time there remained the monuments of his tombe in the Mountaine Jasius. This Callimachus in his hymnes also witnesseth, but, as offended thereat, faith thus: The Cretians ever lyars were, they care not what they fay:

For they a tombe have built for thee, O King, that liv'st alway.

Diod.1.2.C. ..

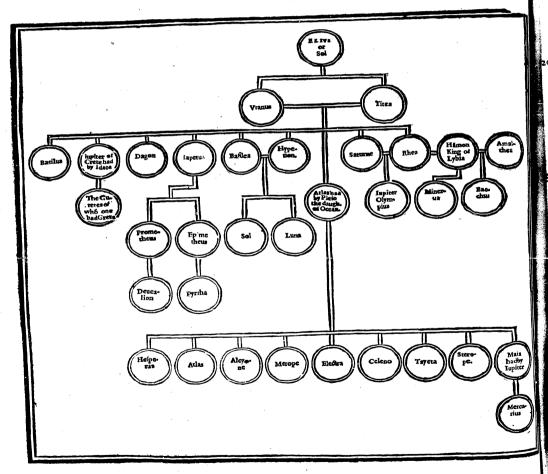
Diodorus Siculus tells by way of report from the Libyan fables, confirmed (as hee 3 faith) by some Greeke Writers, that the originall of these gods was from the Westerne parts of Africa. For there among the Atlantida reigned one uranus (which fignifieth Heaven) called so for his great skill in Astrologie; and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a god after his death. He had by many wives 45. fons; but by his principall wife Titea, hee had feventeene fonnes and two daughters, all which were called after their mothers name, the Titanes. Of Titea, likewise it is said, that she for her goodnesse was canonized as a goddesse, being dead, and called the Earth, as her husband was stiled Heaven. But of all the children of Titea, her daughter Basilea (which name founding as Queene in English, shee is by the Latine translator of Diodorus called Regina) excelling the rest as farre in vertue as in yeeres, was by generall consent of her brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as Queene after her fathers death, being as yet a Virgin. Shee tooke to husband her brother Hyperion, to whom she bare a some and a daughter, called Sunne and Moone. The beauty and towardlinesse of these children moved her brethren to envie, and bred in them a feare of being excluded from the fuccession: wherefore they tooke the boy and drowned him in the River Eridanus, now called Poe. The losse of this childe caused his fister to breake her owne necke; and the losse of both her children made the mother to play many madde pranckes, dancing with Cymbals, after a wilde fashion, in fight of all the people, before whom shee is faid to have vanished away. Ere shee died, her sonne (as the fable hath it) signified unto her in a dreame, that hee and his fifter, by the providence of God, should become immortall, that also the Sunne and Moone should be called by their names, and that their death should bee revenged upon the Murderers. According to which it is faid, that the people did so call those two Planets, and withall held her selfeasa goddesse, and termed her the great Mother, which name they had formerly given to her, for her motherly care in cherishing her brethren whilest they were young. Hyptrion and his race being extinguished, the other sonnes of uranus divided the Kingdome. Of these Atlas and Saturne were chiefe. Atlas reigned over the countries lying about the Mountaines, which afterward bare his name; a just and wife Prince, deepely skillfull in Aftrologie, and for invention of the Spheare, faid to have supported Heaven

Hee had many fonnes; but the principall of them called Hefperus, being of his Fathers qualities and studies, was faid to have beene carried away by the winde, from the top of an high Hill in the middest of his contemplations; and his name in honour of him, imposed by the people upon the morning Starre. The seven Daughters of Atlas were alfo faid to have beene excellent Ladies, who accompanying fuch as came to bee Deified. or registred among the Worthies, brought forth children, answerable in qualitie to those that begatethem. Of these it is held, that the seven Starres called Plesades tooke name. Saturne, the brother of Atlas, reigned in Sicilia, part of Africke, and Italya Aubiter, another of the Sonnes of Uranus, reigned in Crete; who had ten sonnes, which hee called Curetes; hee called that Iland after his wives name, Idea; in which Isle hee dved, and was buried. But this Jupiter must not have beene that great one, but Uncle to the great Jupiter, if these fables of the Libyans were true. Saturne (as these Libyans tell the tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortifyed strong places, the better to keepe his people in Subjection. His fifter Rhea was married to Hammon, who reigned in some part of Africke. Hammon loving others as well as his Wife, or better, got a Daughter called Minerva, neare to the river Triton, who thereupon was called Tritonia. Hee also begate on Amalihea a sonne called Bacchus, whom hee caused secretly, for feare of his life, to bee brought up at Nysa, an Iland in the river Triton, under the tuition of his Daughter Minerva and certaine Nymphs. To Amalthea hee gave in reward a goodly O Countrey, that lay on the Sea-coast, bending in forme of a horne, whence grew the tale of Amalthea's plentifull horne, famous among the Poets. When Rhea heard these newes, shee fled from her husband to her brother Saturne, who not onely entertained her as a fifter, but tooke her to Wife, and at her instigation made warre upon Hammon. vanquished him by the affistance of the Titanes, and made him flee into Crete. The Curetes Funiters children before mentioned, held the Island at that time; which was new named Crete by Hammon, after the name of Creta the Kings daughter, whom hee tooke to wife, and had with her (women, as may feeme, being very gracious in those names) the Kingdome. Backhus was growne a proper young man, had found out the making of Wine, the art of planting Trees, and many things else commodious for mankinde, before the flight of his Mother in law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had have pened, and that Saturne was comming against him with the Tirans; hee levied an Armie, to which the Amazons, living not farre from Nyla, added great forces, in love of Minerva, who was entred into their profession. So Bacchus leading the men, and Min nerva the women, they fet forward against Saturne, met him, overthrew him, and taking many of the Titans prisoners, returned to Nysa; where pardoning the prisoners, that promifed to become his true followers, he prepared for a second expedition. In the fecond expedition he behaved himselfe so well, that he wan the love of all the peopleby whom hee passed: insomuch that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of Saturns rigorous government, hee was greatly strengthened, and the enemy as o muchenfeebled by daily revolts. Comming to the Citie of Hammon, hee wan a battaile of Saturne before the very walls. After which, Saturne with his wife Rhea fled by night, fetting the Towne on fire to despight Bacchus. But they were caught in their flight. pardoned by Bacchus, and kindely entreated. Saturne had a young fonne by Rhea called Jupiter. This childe Bacehus tooke with him in a great Expedition that he made into the East Countries: and comming into Egypt, he left this Jupiter, being then a boy, Governour of the Countrey; but appointed unto him as an Over-seer, one Olympus, of whom Jupiter grew to bee called Olympus. Whilest Bacchus travailed through all Nations, as farre as into India, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the Titanes had found out his father Hammon in Crete, and began to warre upon him. But Bacchus returned out of India, with whom Jupiter from Egypt, and his fifter Minerva, together with the rest, that afterwards were held as gods. Joyning all their forces, went into Crete, overthrew the Titanes, chased them, tooke and lew them, and freed the World of them all. After all this, when Hammon and Bacchus were dead, they were deified; and the great Impiter, the fonne of Saturne, succeeding them, reigned Lord alone over all the world, having none of the Titans left alive, nor any other to diffurbe him. Betweene this tale of the Libyan gods, and the Egyptian fables of Ofiris, there is a rude refemblance, that may cause them both to bee taken for the crooked Images of some one true history. For the expeditions of ofiris, and of

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Bacchus; the warres of the Giants in the one flory, of the Titanes in the other; the Kingdome of Egypt given by Hercules Libyeus to Orus, by Bacchus to Jupiter, the rattles of Is, and the cymballs of Basiles, with many petty circumstances, neerely enough refem-Enfl. 1.2.6.7. ble each other, howfoever not alike fitted to the right persons. Sanchoniato (as Eusebius cites him) would have all these to be Phanicians, and is earnest in saying, That it is a true storie, and no allegorie. Yet he makes it sceme the more allegoricall, by giving to uraor Heaven for daughters, Fate, & Beauty, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by Dodorus, though Diodorus have enough. To the Genealogy hee addes Elius or the Sunne, as father of Uranus, and among the children of Uranus, Japetus, to Battlus, and Dogon (whom Diodorus doth not mention by their names) giving withall to Uranus the proper name of Terrenus or Indigena, and of Illus to Saturne, but omitting Jupiter of Crete. The pedigree of them is this.



§. VI.
of Cham, and other wicked ones, whereof some gate, some affected the name of Gods.

F Jupiter Belus, the fon of Saturnus Babylonicus, otherwise Nimrod, it seemerly that Cicero had not heard, (at least by that name) who was more antient than any of the former three by him remembred: for long after these times were the Greekes but Salvages, if they feeke no farther off for their Gods.

But the Egyptians, even after the floud, began (fomewhat before this Chaldean Funiter) to intitle Cham, the parent of their owne Mizraim, Jupiter Chammon or Hammon. 10 For the Etymologie of this word (Hammon) which the Greekes deduce ab arens from the lands, is ridiculous (faith Pencer;) neither yet is his owne much better, who brings it pencer de Oratio from Hammath, which fignifieth heat : because the said Temple of Jupiter Hammon was to feated in Libya, where the aire is exceeding hot and scorching. And as for the antiquitie of the latter Jupiter (among the Greeks and Romanes the most renowned) it is certain that he was borne not long before the warre of Troy, as by many of his fonnesis made manifest; namely, Castor, Pollux, Hercules, Sarpedon, and others, which lived in that age of Priamus, under whom, and with whom Troy was destroyed.

Now feeing that mortall men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortall among the Heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that Alexander Macedon, Tyberius, Nero, Calighta, and others, fought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed monsters as the rest: for by what reason could the same Deity be denied unto Laurentia and Flora which was given to Venus? feeing they were as notorious and famous harlots as the was.

6. V I I. That the wifer of the antient Heathen had farre better opinions of God-

Ut that ever Pythagoras, or Plato, or Orpheus, with many other antient and ex-Cellently learned, beleeved in any of these sooleries, it cannot be suspected, though some of them (over-busily) have mixed their owne inventions with the Scriptures: for, in punishment for their fictions, did Pythageras hang both Homer and He-Godus in Hell, where hee fained that they were perpetually stung and pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that Homer had read over all the bookes of Moles. as by places stolne thence, almost word for word, may appeare; of which Justine Martyr remembreth many in that treatise converted by Mirandula. As for Plato, though he diffembled in somethings for feare of the Inquisition of the Areopagites, vet Saint Augustine hath already answered for him (as before remembred) Et mirifice iis delectatus est, qua de uno Deo tradita fuerant; And he was greatly delighted in the dollrine of one God, faith Justine Martyr. Now howfoever Lactantius pleased to reprehend Plato, because (faith he) Plato sought knowledge from the Egyptians, and the Chaldwans, neg- Eust, prep. Evan lecting the Jewes, and books of Moses; Eusebius, Cyrillus, and Origen, find reason to be-Eus, 11. leeve the contrary, thinking that from thence hee tooke the grounds of all by him writ- Cyvil cont. Fisten of God, or favouring of Divinity : and the fame opinion had Saint Ambrofe of Py-lian.

But whether it were out of the same vanity, which possessed all those learned Phi- Ambr. ad Iven. losophers and Poets, that Plato also published (not under the right Authours names) are peo. u. r. those things which hee had read in the Scriptures; or fearing the severity of the A- musseu mons reopagites, and the example of his Master Socrates, by them put to death by poyson, hishill: a house I cannot judge. Justine Martyr (as it feemeth) ascribeth it wholly to Platots feare, whereincapitally whosewords, among many other of the same effect, are these; Plato Moss men-matters were tryed; so called tionem facere, ob id, quod unum solumque Deum docucrat, sibi apud Athenienses tutum at inchesausa non putavit, veritus Areopagum; Plato fearing the Areopagites thought it not safe Morstherein for him among the Athenians to make mention of Moles, that hee taught that there is but cause forthe one God. But for that Divinity which hee hath written in T I M & O; id ipfum de Deo dif. murder of His. Service quod & Moses; Hee discoursed and taught the same of God (faith fastine Martyr) Paulan. in Allie. which Moses did. For where it pleased God by his Angell to answere Moses, Nancom Lucy. Ego sum existens (which is) I am; and, existens misi me ad vos; I am hath sent mee unto Just. Mari. adm. you; hereindid Plato (faith Justine Martyr) no otherwise differ than that Moses used 14. mt sup. the word (qui) and Plate the word qued : Moses enim qui existit (inquit,) Plato Exad 3.14;

Delegib.1.10.

Laertins.

quod existit; for Moses saith, Heemho is; Plato, That which is. Now of Gods incomprehenfible nature, and of the difficulty either to conceive, or expresse the same, hee giveth this testimony : Genitorem Universitatis tam difficile est invenire, quam inventum imposibile digne profari; It is as hard to find out the Creator of the Universall, as it is imposi fible, if hewere found, to (peake of him worthily . And what can bee more agreeable to the Majefty of Gods Nature, than this property by Ptato acknowledged? Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus causa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non causa; God is absolutely good, and fo (affuredly) the cause of all that is good: but of any thing that is evil he is no cause at all: and againe, Charitas Des fuit causa factionis mundi, o originis omnium rerum; The love of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the original of all things. Apaleius the Platonist: Summus Deus infinitus est, non solum loci exclusione, sed etiam natura dignitate: & nihil est Deo smilius & gratius, quam vir animo perfectobonus; The most high God is also an infinite Gad, not onely by exclusion of place, but by the dignity of nature : neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to Godthan a man of a perfect heart. THALES affirmed that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most antient: Quia nunquam effe capit; Because he never had any beginning. ZENO, that God beheld even the thoughts of men. Athenodorus, that therefore all men ought to be carefull in the actions of their life, because God was every where present and beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to Moles story of the Creation, than this opinion and description of the Worlds beginning in Europides, Scholler of Anaxagoras?

Cælumterrag; unius formæ fuit: Sed cum fuissent abjuncta amplexu mutuo, Emersit omnis in lucem res progenita; Arbores, aves, fera, quasq; affert mare, Genusq; mortalium. Heaven and Earth one forme did beare: But when dif-joined once they were From mutuall embraces, All things to light appeared then; Of trees, birds, beafts, fishes, and men

The still-remaining races.

And as in Pythagoras, in Socrates, and in Plato: fo we finde the fame excellent understanding in Orpheus, who every where expressed the infinite and sole power of one God; though he use the name of Juniter, thereby to avoide the envie and danger of the time: but that hee could attribute those things to the sonnes of men, and mortall creatures, which hee doth to this Jupiter, there is no man who hath ever heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (faith MIRANDULA) quos ORPHBUS canit, non decipientium demonum, à quibus malum & non bonum provenit; sed naturalium virtuium divinarumg; sunt nomina; The names of those Gods whom Orpheus doth sing, are not of deceiving Devils, from whom evill comes, and not goodnesse; but they are the names of natural and divine vertues. Yea, that he yet reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himselfe, this his instruction to Museus and the Hymne following, teach us: Respiciens vero ad divinum hunc sermonem ei diligenter animum adverte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem ascende viam, & solum aspice mundiregem. Unus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt: ipsevero in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus om an eximuterum.

Then marking this my facred speech, but truely lend
Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend,
And see the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one,
Begotten of himselfe, from whom is borne alone
All else; in which hee's still: nor could it ere befall
A mortall eye to see him once, yet hee sees all.

And againe the fame Author,

Jupiter omnipotens, & primus & ultimus idem;
Jupiter est caput & medium: Jovis omnia munus.
Jupiter est fundamen humi & stellantis Olympi.
Jupiter & mas est, & samina nescia mortis.
Spiritus est cunctis, validi vu Jupiter ignis.
Et pelagi radix, Sol, Luna est Jupiter isse.
Rex & origo simul rerum est, & terminus idem.
Nam prius occuluit, magno post numine, sacrum
Correserans bonus in dulcem dedit omnialucem.

The first of all is God, and the same last is he.
God is the head and midst, yea from him all things be.
God is the Base of earth, and of the starred skie.
He is the male and semale too, shall never die.
The spirit of all is God, the Sunne and Moone, and what is higher.
The King, th'originall of all, of all the end.
For close in holy breast hee all did comprehend,
Whence all to blessed light, his wondrous power did send.

of the Historie of the World.

Now befides these former testimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not fo stupid and ignorant, as the Egyptians, Græcians, and other Nations by them infected were, I will onely repeate two or three other opinions, and leave the Reader to those large and learned Collections of Justine Martyr, Clemens, Lactantius, Eusebius, Eugubinus, Peucer, Plesis, Danaus, and others. For Cleanthes the Stoick, being demanded of what nature God was, described him by these attributes and properties: Bonus, justus. Canctus, feipfum possidens, utilis, speciosus, optimus, severus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, charitas, &c. Good, just, holy, possessing bimselfe, profitable, beautifull, best. fevere, free, alwaies doing good, safe without fcare, glorious, and selfe-charity. Epicharmus affirmed that God who beheld all things, and pierced every nature, was onely and eve-20 ry where powerfull : agreeing with Democritus: Rex omnium iple folus: Hee is the onely King of kings: and with Pindarus the Poet, Deus unus, Pater, creator summus, atque optimus artifex, qui progressus singulis diversos secundum merita prabet; One God, the Father. the most high Creator, and best artificer, who giveth to every thing divers proceedings according to their deferts. This God (faith Antisthenes) cannot bee resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere knowne; Nisi in patria illa perenni, cujus imaginem nullam habes : Save onely in that everlasting Countrey, whose image thou hast none at all. Hereof also Xenophanes Colophonius : Unus Deus inter deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus similis . There is one God among gods and men most powerfull neither corporally nor mentally like unto mortals: and Xenophon, Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quief-30 cere facit, magnus potensque quod omnibus pates: qualis autem forma sit, nemini pates, nihipsi foli, qui luce sua omnia perlustrat; God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rell, is great and mighty; as is manifest to all : but of what forme he is, it is manifest to none? (ave onely to himselfe, who illuminateth allthings with his owne light. Finally, Plato faith. Totius rerum natura caufa, & ratio, & origo Deus, summus animi genitor, aternus animantium Cobitator, assiduus mundi sui opifex, fine propagatione genitor, neque loco, neq temporeullo comprehensus, eog. paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis; God is the cause, ground, and oginall of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the soule, the eternal preserver ofliving creatures, the continuall framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation. comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceive him in thought. 40 none can expresse what he is. Therefore was it said by Saint Hierome, Si enim cunctos Phi- Hieronin com.

losophorum revolvas libros, necesse est utin eis reperias aliquam partem vasorum Dei, ut a- in Danin princip; pud Platonem, fabricatorem mundi Deum : apud Zenonem, Stoicorum Principem, in eros Emmortales animas, &c. If thou consider all the bookes of the Philosophers, thou canst not but finde in them some part of the Vessels of God, as in Plato, God the Creatour of the world: in Zeno, Prince of the Stoickes, Hell and immortall foules, &c. And this is certaine. that if we looke into the wisedome of all Ages, wee shall finde that there never was man of folid understanding or excellent judgement: never any man whose minde the Art of education hath not bended; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterward blinded: whose apprehensions are sober, and by a pensive inspection advised; but that hee hath o found by an unrefiltable necessity, one true God, and everlasting being, all for ever caufing, and all for ever fultaining; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reverence acknowledged, or more learnedly exprest, than that Egyptian Hermes, howfoever it fayled afterward in his posterity: all being at length by divellish policie of the Egyptian Priests purposely obscured; who invented new gods, and those innumerable, best forting (as the Devill perswaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keepe in awe and order their common people.

4. VIII

6. VIII.

That Heathenisme and Judaisme, after many wounds, were at length about the same time under Julian miraculoully confounded.

D Ut all these are againe vanished: for the inventions of mortall men are no lesse mortall than themselves. The Fire, which the Chaldwans worshipped for a god, is crept into every mans chimney, which the lacke of fuell starveth, water quencheth, and want of ayre furfocateth: Jupiter is no more vexed with Junoes Jealousies; Death hath perswaded him to chastity, and her to patience; and that time which hath devoured it selfe, hath also eaten up both the Bodies and Images of him and his : yea their stately Temples of Stone and durefull Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to Baal, canno where bee found upon the earth, nor any monument of that 10 glorious Temple consecrated to Diana. There are none now in Phoenicia that lament the death of Adonis; nor any in Libya, Creta, Thessalia, or elsewhere, that can aske counfaile or helpe from Jupiter. The great god Pan hath broken his Pipes, Apolloes Priests are become speechlesse, and the Trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Devills telling mens fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfait Egyptians, and couzening Aftrologers.

But it was long ere the Devill gave way to these his over-throwes and dishonours: for after the Temple of Apollo at Delphos (one of his chiefe mansions) was many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repay-20 red, and re-edifyed againe, till by the hand of God himfelfe it received the last and utter fubversion. For it was first robbed of all the Idolls and Ornaments therein by the Eubæan Pyrates: Secondly, by the Phlegians utterly fackt: Thirdly by Pyrrbus the fonne of Achilles: Fourthly, by the armie of Xerxes: Fiftly, by the Captaines of the Phocenses : Sixtly, by Nero : who carried thence five hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein againe fet up at the common charge. But what soever was gathered betweene the time of Nero and Constantine, the Christian armie made spoile of, defacing as much as the time permitted them: notwithstanding all this, it was againe gloriously rebuilt, and so remained till such time as Julian the Apostata sent thither to know 30 the successe of his Parthian enterprise, at which time it was utterly burnt and consumed with fire from Heaven, and the Image of Apollo himselfe, and all the rest of the Idols herein, molten downe, and lost in the earth.

The like successe had the Jewes in the same fulians time, when by his permission they affembled themselves to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem: for while they were busied to lay the foundations, their buildings were overthrowne by an earth-quake, and many thousands of the Jewes were overwhelmed with the ruines, and others slaine, and scattered by Tempest and Thunder: though Am. Marcellinus report it more favourably for the Jewes, ascribing this to the nature of that Element. For, saith hee, Allypius and the Ruler of the province of Judæa, being by Julian busied in the re-edifying of this Temple, flaming Balls of fire iffuing neere the foundation, and oft confuming the Worke-men,

made the enterprize frustrate.

§. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Devill to maintaine his Kingdome.

Ow the Devill, because hee cannot play upon the open Stage of this World, (as in those dayes) and being still as industrious as ever, findes it more for his advantage to creepe into the mindes of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, works them to a more effectuall adoration of himselfe than ever. For whereas he first taught them to sacrifice to Monsters, to dead stones cut into faces of 50 Beafts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; he now fets before them the high and shining Idoll of glory, the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. Heetels them that truth is the Goddesse of dangers and oppressions, that chassity is the enemie of Nature, and lastly, that as all vertue (in generall) is without tafte; so pleasure satisfieth and delightethevery sense for true wisedome (faith hee) is exercised in nothing else, than in the obtayning of power to oppresse, and of riches to maintaine plentifully our worldly delights. And if this Arch-Politician finde in his pupils any remorfe, any feeling or feare of Gods future judgement, hee perswades them that God hath so great neede of mens soules, that

hee will accept them at any time, and upon any condition: interrupting by his vigilant endeavours all offer of timefull returne towards God, by laying those great blockes of rugged poverty and despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his divine presence. But as the minde of man hath two Ports, the one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other defolate and over-growne with graffe, by which enter our charitable thoughts and divine contemplations: fo hath that of death a double and twofold opening, worldly mifery paffing by the one, worldly prosperity by the other: at the entrance of the one we find our fufferings and patience to attend us: (all which have gone before us to prepare our joyes) at the other our cruelties, coverousnesse, lio centiousnesse, injustice, and oppressions (the Harbingers of most fearefull and terrible forrow) flaying for us. And as the Devillour most industrious enemy was ever most diligent: fo is he now more laborious than ever, the long day of Mankind drawing fast towards an evening, and the Worlds Tragedy and time neere at an end.

CHAP. VII.

Of NOAHS Floud.

6. I.

Of Gods fore-warning: and some humane testimonies: and some doubting touching the truth of Noahs Floud.

F this destruction it pleased God to give warning unto Noah: who (saith Josephus) fearing to perish among the rest, Secedens cum suis in aliam regio- Topphlic. nem migravit: He departed with his children, and travailed into another region. And of these Giants from whom Noah withdrew himselfe, Berofus writeth in this manner; That they exceeded in all forts of inhumane and un-

naturall wickednesse, and that they were contemptores or religionis of deorum: contemners of religion and of the Gods: among which mighty men (faith Berofus) unus erat qui deorum venerantior & prudentior cunitie Gr. huic nomen erat Noah: There was one more wife and reverencing the Gods than the rest, whose name was Noah: who with his three sonnes. Sem, Taphetus, and Cham, and with their Wives, and the Wife of Noah, (namely Tited the great, Pandora, Noela, and Noegla) preserved themselves in the Arke. This Arke God General commanded Noah to prepare: And God (and unto Noah, Make thee an Arke of Pinetrees: thou shalt make Cabines in the Arke, and Shalt pitchit within and without with Pitch. For God made Noah to know, that arrend of all flesh was at hand, and that the graves of the

to rebellious and cruell Generations were already fashioned in the Clouds, which soone after should swallow up and cover all living creatures which breathed in the aire, Noah and his family excepted.

But this univerfall grave of waters, and generall Deluge hath not beene received by all: for divine testimonies doe not perswade all naturall men to those things to which theirown reason cannot reach: Dum obvoluta in obscuro veritas latet : Whill the truth li- Latinpresta ethorapt up in obscurity. Many there are who have disputed against the universality of falfareig. this overflowing, and have judged that this floud of Noah fell but in some particular places and kingdomes: moved fo to thinke, because in elder ages there have bin many other flouds (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof Nicholas Damascenus writeth in this manoner, as his words are cited by Josephus. Est super Minyadam excelsus mous in Armenia, qui Josan. Lit. 4. Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes fermo est diluvii tempore liberatos, & quendam Euflb. depropile Simul in Arca devettum in hujus vertice hasisse, lignorumq; reliquias multo tempore conser-Vatas, qui fortasse is fisit de quo etiam Moses Judaorum legislator scribit : thus far this Author. There is (faith he) above Minyada (or the country of Minya) an exceeding bigh mountaine in Armenia called Baris:on which it is reported, that many having fled thither, were faved in the time of the deluge: and that one was carried in an arke, and rested upon the top of the mountaine, whereon there remained a long time after certain pieces thereof, and this might be the same of which Moses the Law-giver of the Jewes makes mention. And of this opinion

Ovid.Metama

116.15.3032

were the Thalmudists (faith Annius) that many Giants faved themselves upon Mount

The first Booke of the first part

But Berofus (who, after Moses, was one of the most antient, howsoever he hath been fince deformed and corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with Moses as touching the generall Floud, taking from thence the beginning of his History in these words: Ante aquarum cladem famojam, qua universus persit Orbis, &c. Before that famous destruction on of Waters, by which the World univerfall perished : witnessing withall, that Noah with his wife Titea, and his three fons with their wives (in all eight persons) were only saved.

Of the Floud in the time of Ogyges: and that this was not Noahs Floud.

Ut from the vanity of the Greekes, the Corrupters of all truth (faith Lastantius) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquity, came the errour first of all: who therein flattering themselves also, sought to perswade the world that there was no Floud preceded the Floud of ogyges, King of the Thebans in Bæotia, or rather of Attica; and therefore (faith Rhodiginus) Ogygumid appellant Poeta, tanquam pervetus dixeris, ab Ogyge vetustisimo : The Poets gave the name of Ogygia to things ex-1 ceeding ancient, as of Ogyges the most ancient.

But let Ogyges be as ancient as those mencan make him, yet it is manifest that hee lived but in Jacobs time (though Eufebius makes him later, and in Mofes time) and was born 67. yeeres after him. There is also an opinion that Ogyges was Cadmus (and then was he farre later) as Rhodiginus in the ninth booke of his Antiquities remembreth: Sunt tamen qui in Aegypto regnasse autumant bunc : unde sit Cadmus qui in Graciam profectus Thebas condidit à bove jugulato sic nuncupatas; quoniam Syrorum lingua Bos dicitur Thebe. There are (faith hee) who thinke that this Ogyges did reigne in Egypt, whereby he should be Cadmus, whotravailing into Greece built Thebes, sonamed of a Beefe slaine : because inthe Sqrian Language, a Beefe is called Thebe.

But this Floud of Ogyges fell in the yeere of the World, 3440. according to Eufebius, who followed the account of the Septuagint: and the Floud of Noah in the yeere 2242. after the same account: and so there came 1200. betweene these Flouds, wanting but two, though herein Eusebius was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his Chronologie. Now although the very yeere and time of this overflowing in Achaia, or rather Attica, bee not precisely set downe, but that there is a great difference among Writers; yet who soever makes it most ancient, findes above 500, yeeres difference betweene that

For Paulus Orosius affirmes that this tempest fell upon the Athenians, but 1040. yeers before Rome was built. Bucholz erus fairh, it was 1043. elder than Rome; which was founded (according to the same BucholZerus) in the worlds yeere 3219. though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will give my reasons in the Story of Abraham) it was built in the Worlds yeere, 3280. Now the generall Floud preceded the building of Rome (faith Buchalzerus) 1563. yeeres: and the Floud of Ogyges (as before) 1043 Hence it followeth by easie calculation, that (if hee place Ogyges in his true age) the difference betweene the set wo. Flouds must bee 520. yeeres, to which wee (allowing 600 Xenophor Anni- more) find 5 80. And that this of Ogyges was not the same of Noah (except we call Noah, Ogyges Prisess, as some doe) it appeares by this, that the Floud of Ogyges then King of Attica or Ogygia, did not extend it selfe any farther than the bankes of Archi-pelago, or the Aegaan Sea. For whereas Mela, Pliny, and Solinus witnesse, that the City of Joppe in Judæa was founded before the Floud; and that (notwithstanding the waight of Waaniquisimum or-ters) there remained on certaine Altars of stone, the Title of the King, and of his Brother beroio, utpote an- Phiness, with many of the grounds of their Religion: fure it is no where found among prophane Historians, nor in the Scriptures, that ever the Floud of ogyges spred it selferver any part of Syria, much leffe over all the earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of Attica about Athens, and that of Achaia in Peloponnesus, it is very probable. For it feemeth that at that time it was, when Helice and Bura were swallowed up (Cities feat

ted on the North part of Peloponnesus): of which ovid:

Lib.1.c.7.

Melalib.z. Plin.lib.s.

Sol.cap.47 te inundationem terrarum conditum. Sol. ibid. Ovid. Metam.

16.15.30.3.

Si quaras Helican & Buran Achaidos urbes. Invenies sub aquis.

Bura and Helice, on Achaian ground Are fought in vaine, but under Sea are found.

Of this Floud of Ogyges was invented the Fable of Apollo and Diana. For Latone, the Mattendian daughter of Caus, the sonne of Titan, being beloved and forced by Jupiter, and by him gotten with child, Juno thereat enraged, permitted her (as they fay) no part of the Earth to be delivered on; and withall, caused the monstrous Serpent Python to follow & affright her, where foever the travelled still at length arriving at the Ile of orthgia, the was there received; in which she was delivered, first of Diana, and then of Apollo, being Twins: whereof Barlaam makes this exposition: That at such time as the Deluge (which happened in Ogyges his reigne) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the Earth (heat by putrefaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled fuch thicke mifts and fogges, that in Attica, and along the Coasts of the Aegean Sea, neither the beames of the Sunne by day, nor of the Moone by night, could pierce the ayre, or be perceived by the inhabitants: fo as when at length (the Earth being dryed, and these vapours dissipated) the ayre began to be cleare, the people of Ortygia espyed the light of the Moone somewhat be- Plint 4.11 fore day, and in the fame morning the Sunne also appeared : fabulously (because Diana represented the Moone, and Apollo the Sunne) they were reported to be borne in the Ile of Ortreia, thereof afterwards called Delos; which fignifieth manifestation.

And furely it is not improbable, that the Floud of Ogyges, being fo great, as Histories have reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayre, sensibly discerned in those parts, and some unusuall face of the Skyes. Varro in his Bookes de gente popule Romani (as he is cited by Saint Augustine) reporteth out of Castor, that so great a mi- Augusticities racle happened in the Starre of Venus, as never was seene before, nor in after-times: For the colour, the greatnesse, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out, as Adrastus Cy Zicenus, and Dion Neapolites, farnous Mathematicians, affirmed, in the time of Ogyges.

Now concerning the course of that or any other Planet, I do not remember, that I have any where read of fo good Astrologers, flourishing among the Greekes, or elsewhere in those dayes as were likely to make any calculation of the revolutions of the Planets, so exact, that it should need no reformation: Of the colour and magnitude. I see no reason, why the difference found in the Starre of Venus, should be held miraculous; confidering, that leffer mifts and fogges than those which covered Greece with so long darkneffe do familiarly present our senses with as great alterations in the Sunne and Moone. That the figure should varie, questionlesse it was very strange: Yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it stands well with good reason, that the side of Venus which the Sunne beholds, being enlightned by him, the opposite halfe should remaine shadowed; whereby that Planet would, unto our eyes, descrying onely that part whereon the light falleth, apmare to be horned, as the Moone doth feeme ; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension of our senses.

A worthy Astrologer now living, who by the helpe of perspective Glasses hath found in the Starres many things unknowne to the Ancients, affirmeth so much to have beene ill covered in Venus, by his lare observations. Whether some watrie disposition of the wre might present as much to them that lived with Ozyges, as Galilaus hath seen through his Instrument; I cannot tell: fure I am, that the discoverie of atruth formerly unknown, both rather convince Man of ignorance, than Nature of error. One thing herein is worthy be noted, that this great, but particular Floud of Ogyges, was (as appeareth by this of Saint Augustine) accompanied with such unusuall (and therefore the more dreadfull though naturall) fignes, testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Floud of Noah, which was generall, and altogether miraculous, may feme to have had no other token, or fore-flewing, than the long preaching of Noah

himselfe, which was not regarded : for they were eating and drinking, when the Floud Luke 17.00.17 ame fuddenly and tooke them all away.

H

A. IIIa

Of Deucations Floud: and that this was not Noans Floud: nor the Umbii in Italie a remnant of any univer (all Floud.

Second Floud of great fame, and of which the time is more certaine, was that of Deucalion in Thessalia; of which S. Augustine out of Varro: His temporibus (ut AVARRO (cribit) regnante Athenien libus CRANAO, successore CECROPIS (ut autem nostri, Eus e e ius & Hieronymus) adhuc eodem Ce crope permanente, diluvium fuit, quod appellatum est Delicationis : (that is) In thefe times (as VARRO reporteth) CRANAUS the successor of Cecrops governing the Athenians, or (as our Eusebius and HIEROME (ay) CECROPS yet living, that Floud (called Deucalions) happened.

And in the beginning of the eleventh Chapter of the same eighteenth Booke, he useth these words :Eduxit ergo Mos Es ex Egypto populum Dei novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensium Regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret Ascatades, apud Sicyonios Marathus, apud Argivos Tripas: Mos Es led the people of God out of Egypt about the later time of Cecrops King of the Athenians, Ascatades raigning over the Assyrians, over the Sicyonians Marathus, and over the Argives Triopas. So as leaving the curiofitie of a few yeeres, more or leffe, it appeareth, that this Floud of Deucalion was either at the egreffion of the children of Ifrael out of Egypt, or neere it: and then after Noah 753. yeers, according to Functius, who makes Cecrops to live in the yeere of the World 2409. or if we follow Mercator, then 739. yeeres after Noah, and in the yeere of the World 2395. But if Deucation wereborne in the age of the World 2356. according to Code. man; then giving unto Deucation 40. yeeres of age when this Floud happened, it falleth within one yeere of Mercators account. But Deucalion by all approved Historiansis faid to have beene 82 yeeres old at that time. Now Clemens Alexandrinus dates the time of this Floud of Dencalion, and the conflagration and burning in Phaetons time, by the reigne of Crotopus, King of the Argives; but Crotopus lived King of the Argives fixe yeeres after Israel departed Egypt, which makes twenty yeeres difference, according to Functius, who will have this Floud and Burning to have fallen 14 yeeres before Most left Egypt: for he gave of the Worlds yeeres to the Floud and Burning the yeere 2440 and to Moses his egression the yeere 2434. And yet Cedrenus thinkes that Moses was more ancient, and lived with Inachus; but that cannot be true: for then had the Flow of Deucation, and the burning of Phaeton, preceded the Floud of Ogyges, which is denyed by all: for that of Thessalie (called Deucations) followed that of Attica (called Ogygia) at least 250 veeres, or thereabouts. Eusebins in his Chronologie makes it 230. & so doth P. Orolius: Eufebius about the 50. yeere of Moses life, and Cyrillus about the 67. and both after Noahs Floud 770 veeres: for these be Clemens Alexandrinus his words: Fut autem in Gracia tempore quidem Phornei, qui fuit post Inachum, inundatio que sui tempore Ogygis: There happened in Greece in the time of Phorneus, who lived after Inachus, the Floud of Ogyges. Now if the Floud of Ogyges in Attica were 1020. 01 1016. yeeres before the first Olympiad, according to Eusebius and Orosius; (as before)than is it manifest, that taking 763 out of this number of 1020 it fals out, that Ogyges Floud happened before the Hebrewes left Egypt 250. yeeres, or 260. yeeres, according to the difference betweene the opinions of Eusebius and Orofius. And for my selfe (who rather follow those Chronologers, which give 60 yeeres more to Abraham after the Flond, than the rest) I reckon the times which come betweene these Flouds in this fort. The generall Floud was in the yeere of the World 1656. Jacob was borne in the yeere of the World 2169 so as from the beginning of the Floud to Jacobs birth, there were confirmed 513. yeeres. Ogyges Floudhappened 100. yeeres after Jacob was borne; and there fore after the generall Floud 613. yeeres. Now Deucation was borne in the yeere of the World 2356 and had lived 82 yeeres, when his Kingdome of Thessale was overwhelmed; (which added to 2356.make 2438.) his Floud was after Noahs Floud ended, 782. yeeres. And hereto Annius his Xenophon agreeth, who makes 700. yeeres betweene the generall Floud and Deucalions birth; to which adde 82. yeeres of his Age (as before) and then the Floud of Thessalie followed the generall 782 yeeres. The words of that bout 306 yeeres before the Warre of Troy, Lyraon then governing Arcadia: who being Kenophon are these: Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum Deucalionis, secundo anni Sphaeri, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus annos duos & octoginata The saliam vidit inundatam: From the drowning of the World to the birth of Deucalien, in the second

geere of Sph ERUs, are numbred 700. yeeres, and when Deucalion was 82. yeeres olds besaw Thessalia drowned. This Floud happened in the Winter time about Parnasses: witnesse Aristotle in the first of his Meteors. And Varro (whom Saint Augustine so often city) citeth for his excellent Learning, especially in Antiquities) findeth this Floud of Deucation to have happened in the time of Cranaus, who fucceeded Cecrops: Orofias thinkes it somewhat later, Amphytrion reigning in Athens, the third from Cocrops: Onely this of Deucation was very great, and reached not onely over The salie it selfe, and the Regionsadjoyning Westward, but it covered the greatest part of Italie: and either the sime, or some other particular Floud then happening, oppress Egypt, saith Eusebius. And therefore did the Greekes eyther thinke it, or faine it to be universall; and Deucalion then King, faving himselfe and some others on the Mountaine of Thessalie (of all other the highest, saith Solinus) was by reason thereof (as Strabo witnesseth) said to be the solinities preserver of Mankind. That this Floud covered a great part of Italie, Plinie and Solinus Strable, make it probable, who affirme, that the peoplethen inhabiting Italie, were therefore Pinia 3.6.14. called once quia ab imbribus diluvii superfuissent; and therefore also were they esteemed Plinibid, the most ancient Nation, as Strabo confirmeth in his first Booke, and Trezenius in his second: which umbri these Authors make the parents of the Sabines, and the Sabines to bethe Parents of the Samnites, Piceni, Lucani, Brutii, and all others inhabiting anciently the bankes of the Mediterrane Sea. But that these umbri were not the Inhabiters of Italie before the Floud of Noah, and so tooke name by faving themselves upon the Appenine Mountaines, the Scriptures teach us; shewing who, and who onely then were preserved, which is sufficient. Report hath adventured further, telling us, that the first Atherna dip. peterved, which after the generall Floud inhabited Italie, were the Camelenes; (so named noppolisone people which after the generall Floud inhabited Italie, were the Camelenes; (so named noppolisone of Draw Corey) com Camese, whom C a ro in originibus, another of Annius his Authors, names for a news saith, that confort of Janus) which people lived altogether a favage life; till fuch time as Saturne cample was the priving on those Coasts, devised Lawes to governe them by: the memorie of whose wife and fifter Acts in that Region, Diodor and Thallus among the Greekes, Nepos Cassius and Varro a- Lastinas, nong the Latines, have preserved; and of whom Virgil:

> Primus ab athereo venit SATURNUS Olympos Arma Jov 1 s fagiens & regnis exul ademptis. Is genus indocile, ac difer sum montibus altis Composuit, Legesq; dedit; Latiumq; vocari Maluit_

SATURNE descending from the Heavens high, Fearing the Armes of Jupite Rhis Sonne His Kingdome loft, and banisht thence, doth flies Rude people on the Mountaine tops he wonne To live together, and by Lawes: which dones He chose to call it Latium.

adafterward in the Verses following he speaketh of the Ausones, and after them, of the iani: Nations, which againe fought to dif-plant the ancient Inhabiters:

Tum manus Ausonia, & gentes venere Sicani. Then came th' Aufonian Bands, and the Sicanian Tribes.

Of these Sicani (which left Spaine, and fat downe in Italie) Thurydides and Plinie give Thurydles flimonie: who were againe expelled by the Ligit, faith Thucydides. After all these lantations & replantations; came the umbri, descended of the Gaules (faith Annius,) not of Annius ex Sal lose Gaules of France; but of those of Segthia, who commanded a great part of Italie, dulla venall Hetruria and Campania; as Herodotus; Plinie; and Diony sins have affured us: & ther-Herodics. ore this Floud of Deucalion was long after that of Noah. For all those Nations were plan-Dividio 13 din Italie, & dispossest of Italie again, before the Umbri were ever heard of or had being Othat Kingdome was first called Camasene, then Latium or Saturnia, then Ausonia, then icania; before the umbri (in whose time Deucations Floud happened) posses the same, lefather of two and twenty sonnes, the youngest called Oenotrius invaded Italie, who Paulandriad aveit the name of Oenotria. This name it held untill Italias of the same Nation changed lib.8. into tealie, after his owne name, about 250. yeeres before the fall of Troy. After thefe, different

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Clem.Alex.1. firo.ex Ctef.

Eufeb.in.Chron.

came

Herod 1.2. Plin.1.3.C.4.

88

came the Pelassi, of whom Plinie in his third Booke and fifth Chapter, and Strabo in his fifth, Thucydides in his fixt, speake at large: and after them the Lydi, under Tyrrhenus their Captaine, that gave name to the Tyrrheni; who casting thence the Imbri, tooke from them three hundred Castles, and built therein twelve Cities; to which (after they had possest and past over the Appenine Mountaines) they added divers others, whereof Telfina (afterward Bononia) was one.

Now that there was not anciently fuch a Nation as these Umbri in those parts, I doe not affirme; having respect to the testimonies before repeated. And Stephanus thinkes, that the name was derived from the Greeke word Ombros; but that these umbri of Italie were descended of the Nation of Scythians (called Galli) it shall be shewed hereafter.

Of some other Records testifying the universall Floud and of two ancient Deluges in Egypt : and of some elsewhere.

Aint Augustine out of Varro affirmeth, that the Greekes and Latines made not any mention of the Universall Floud, because they had nothing of Antiquitie foregoing that of Ogyges; and therefore (according to Rhodoginus, before remembred) were all things among the Greekes (which antiquitie had worne out of knowledge) called ogygia, which we in English commonly call (worme-eaten) or of defaced date. But as all the parts of the Earth were successively planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did every Familie, which afterward became a great People, with whom the knowledge of divine Letters was not received, finde no Parent of more antiquitie, than fuch as they had themselves, nor allow of any before their owne, and as the Gracians, so did others vaunt themselves to be Indigena, and growing out of the Earth, or invent some other prophase or ridiculous beginning. But the Chaldeans had certaine knowledge of Noahs Floud, & Berosus witnesseth; and Nicolaus Damascenus maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid though he also affirme by heare-say, that some Giants saved themselves upon the Mountaines Baris in Armenia, but speaketh not thereof as from any authoritie ap proved: using the word Sermo eft; That fuch a speech there was. And Enfebius remembred a place out of the ancient Historian Abydenus . who writteth, that Sissibrus, to preserv himselfe from a Floud fore-told him by Saturnus, fled to the Hils of Armenia by ship ad Armeniam navigio confugiebat : who the third day (after the Waters were fallen) for forth birds, that finding no land to rest on, returned againe; which he also did a secon time, but at the third returne the birds feet were covered with mudde and slime. Total effect are Eusebius words out of Abydenus, which may seeme a true description (thou in other termes) of Noabs Floud.

Cyrillus alfo affirmeth, that Alex. Polyhiftor maketh mention of this generall Flow And Plato in Timao produceth an Egyptian Priest, who recounted to Solon out of the tholy Bookes of Egypt, the storie of the Floud universal, which (faith he) happened log before the Gracian inundations. Fryer Annius his Xenophon remembreth a third Flow which also Diodorus Siculus confirmeth, somewhat more ancient than that of Ogygui Attica. For he named the generall Floud for the first, which happened (faith he) unit the old OGYGES: Sub prifeo Ogyge, which was Noah; he calleth the second Niliaca:Hocules and Prometheus then living; 44-yeere before that of Attica, in the 34. yeere of Blb chus King of the Affyrians, though I doe not beleeve him as touching the time. But Floud covered a great part of the nether Egypt, especially all the Region subject to Pro metheus; & hereof came the fable of the Vulture on Prometheus his Liver, afterward by Hercules of Egypt: which fiction Diod. Siculus delivereth in these words: Fluvium pro pter cursus velocitatem, profunditatemq; aquarum, Aquilam tunc appellatum, HERCHLE cum confilii magnituaine, tum virtute, volunt è vestigio compressisse, & aquarum impetut ad priorem cur sum convertisse: Unde & Graci quidam Poetarem gestam in fabulam verto tes, HERCULEM tradunt Aquilam PROMETHEI jecur depascentem occidiffe ; This Flow (meaning of Nilus) for the swiftnesse of his course, as also for the depth, was in thesi day called the Eagle: but HERCULES by his great judgement and vertue did againe compr and straighten this River, so far extended and over-spred, turning it into the old channels

Whence certaine Greeke Poets (converting this labour and worke of HERGULES

table) devised, that Hercules slew the Eagle which fedon Prometheus Liver; meaning that he delivered Prometheus of that forrow and torment, which for the loffe of his Peonle and Countrey (by the Waters destroyed and covered over) he suffered

A fourth Floud chanced about Pharus in Egypt, where Alexander Macedon built Alexandria, as Annius conceiveth out of his Xenophon, who in this briefefort writeth of all these Inundations: Inundationes plures fuere: prima novimestris inundatio terrarum sub Xenop.de gauin. prisco Ogyge : fecunda Niliaca, & There were many Inundations (faith the same Xeno- Commercan plon:) the first, which was universall, of nine Moneths; and this happened under the first OGYGES: the fecond was Niliaca, & of one Moneths continuance, in the time of Hercules and Prometheus, Egyptians: a third of two Moneths, under Ogyges Atticus: the fourth of three moneths, in Thesalia, under Deucalion: and a fifth of the like continuance (called Pharonica) under Proteus of Egypt, about the time of Helens rape. Diodorus in his fifth Booke and eleventh Chapter, taking the Samothraces for his Authors, remembreth a Floud in Asia the lesse, and essewhere, of no lesse destruction than any of the other particular Inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of Deucalion; the Sea of

Pontus and Hellespont breaking in over the Land.

But there have bin many Flouds in divers times, and ages, not inferior to any of these two last remembred, Niliaca and Pharonica in Egypt: as in the yeere of our Redemption 190. when in October of the same yeere, Gregory then being Bishop of Rome, there happeneda marvellous overflowing in Italy, and especially in the Venetian Territorie, and in Lieuria, accompanied with a most fearefull storme of thunder and lightning after which followed the great Plague at Rome, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast up and left upon the Land, after the Waters decreased and returned. And in the yeere 1446. there perished 10000 people, by the breaking in of the Sea at Dordroch in Holland: of which Muniter, kind I take that Floud to be of Achaia or Attica. Before that, and in the yeere 1238. Trithemius speaketh of an Earthquake, which swallowed many thousands and after that Echypsis were manuscontinuis of a Floud in Friseland, in which there perished 100000 persons. Strozius Sigog. in his muta bominuo Magia omnifaria, telleth of an Inundation in Italie, in the time of Pope Damafus, in milia opposition which also many Cities of Sicil were swallowed: another in the Papacie of Alexander quagger manifestation. the fixt:also in the yeere 1515. Maximilian being Emperor. He also remembreth a peril- mos fluctus tota the fixt: also in the yeere 151). oxux omican octug Lington people perished. Likewise penesunga lous over-slowing in Polonia, about Cracovia, by which many people perished. Likewise fuit, & perienunga fuit, & perienunga fuit, & perienunga fuit of the fuit of Visinier a French Historian speaketh of a great Floud in the South part of Languedoc, plusuum which fell in the yeere of our Lord 1557 with fo dreadfull a tempest, as all the people 1000000 attended therein the very end of the World, and Judgement Day; faying, That by the violent descent of the Waters from the Mountaines, about Nismes there were removed divers old heapes and mountures of ground, and many other places torne up and rent: by which accident there was found both Coyne of Silver and Gold, divers pieces of Plate, and Vessels of other Mettall, supposed to behidden at such time as the Gothes invaded that Province in the yeere 1156.

5. V. That the Floud of NOAM was supernaturall, though some say it might have beene foreseene by the Starres.

TOw how foever all these Flouds, and many other, which have covered at several! times severall Regions, not onely in these parts of the World, but in America alfo.(as I have learned of fome ancient Southfayers among them) may be aferibedto naturall causes and accidents; yet that universall Floud (in the time of Noab) was poured over the whole face of the Earth by a power above Nature, and by the especial! commandement of God himselfe, who at that time gave strength of influence to the Starres, and abundance to the Fountaines of the Deepe: whereby the irruption of Waters was made more forcible, than any ability of nature could effect, or any fecond causes, by what foever union, could performe, without receiving from the Fountaine of all power trength, and faculties supernatural. Henricus Mechliniens a Scholler of Albertus Magnus In his Commentaries upon the great conjunctions of Alba Masar, observeth, that before the Floud of Noah, the like conjunction of Jupiter and Saturne happened in the last de-Bree of Cancer, against that constellation since called the Ship of Argos; by which the Floud of Noah might be fore-told because Cancer is both a watrie Signe, and the House

Evang.1.9.6.4.

Alfo de Concordia Theolog. Gen 7.11.

* The word fieth any place of stoppage, a gainst which the force of the waterbeing naturally carryed downwards,dasheth and breaketh; of allidoor frango.Hence because Winalfothut, the

of the Moone, which is the Ladie of the Sea, and of Moysture, according to the rules of Astronomie, and common experience. And this opinion Petrus de Aliaco upon Genesis confirmeth, affirming, that although Noah did well know this Floud by divine revelation, yet (this conjunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the fecond causes thereof. for those were not onely signes, but also working causes, by strength received from the first cause, which is God himselfe : and further, that by * Catarratta Caeli, Englished the Windowes of Heaven) Moses meant this great and watrie conjunction; the word (Ca. tarratte) fignifying flowing downe or comming downe. Now (faith P. de Aliaco) it pleased God to ordaine by the course of the Heavens such a constellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby for sake those wicked waves wherein they walked, and call unto God for mercy.

Of this judgement was Gul. Parisiensis, who understood, that the words Catarracta Cæli, or Windowes of Heaven, were to be taken for the former conjunction, or for thele watrie Signes, Cancer, Pifces, Pleiades, Hyades, and Orion; and of the Planets, Mars, Venus and the Moone: which are the forcible causes of the greatest Inundations. His owne words arethese: Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebraorum Catarractas Cali vocasse, nist partes illas Cali, qua generativa sunt Pluviarum & Inundationum Aquarum, quales sunt figna aquatica, ut Cancer, co.as aforcfaid. As yet (faith he) I perceive not what the Proonely open, but phet of the Hebrewes meaneth by those words (Catarracta Cali, or Windowes of Heaven) unlesse be thereby understanding those Celestiall powers, by whose influences are engendred the word nath beene expoun- Raine, and Inundations of Waters, such as are the watrie Signes of Cancer, &c.

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his unsearchable Wisdome this conjunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) adde vigor and faculty, and gave to every operation encrease of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs and Fountaines, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and heape of their waters; taking retention from the Clouds, and condensing ayre into water by the ministerie of his Angels, or who foever else best pleased his All-powerfulnesse.

That there was no need of any new Creation of Matter to make the universall Floud: And what are Catarracta Cali. GEN.7. VERS.II.

TOw if it be objected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God reffeth the seventh day: (that is) he did not then after create any new species) which granted, it may feeme that then all the Earth and Ayre had not waters fufficient to cover the habitable World fifteene Cubits above the highest Mountaines. Of this proposition, whether God hath so restrayned himselfe, or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the World had want of water to over-cover the highest Mountaines, I take that conceit to be unlearned and foolish: for it is written, that the Fountaines of the great Deepe were broken up (that is) the waters for sooke the very bo wels of the Earth; and all whatfoever was difperft therein, pierced and brake throughthe face thereof. Then let us confider, that the Earth had above one and twentie thousand miles, the Diameter of the Earth, according to that circle, seven thousand mile, and thou from the Superficies to the Center some three thousand five hundred miles. Take thenthe highest Mountaine of the World, Caucasus, Taurus, Olympus, or Atlas, the Mountaines of Armenia or Scythia, or that (of all other the highest) in Tenuerif, and I doe not finds, that he that looketh highest, stretcheth above thirtie miles upright. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the Earth three thousand five hundred miles deepe, should not well helpe to cover the space of thirtie miles in height, this thirtie miles upright being found in the depths of the Earth 50 one hundred and fixteene times: for the Fountaines of the great Deepe were broken #p, and the waters drawne out of the bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we confider what proportion the Earth beareth to the extension of the Ayre over and above it, we shall finde the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased God to condense but so much of this Ayre, as every where compaffeth and embraceth the Earth, which condensation is a conversion of Ayre into Water, a change familiar in those Elements; it will not seeme strange to men of judgement, yea but of ordinary understanding, that the Earth (Godso pleasing) was covered over with Waters, without any new Creation. Laftly:

Lastly, for the opinions of Gulielmus Parisiensis, and Aliacensis, to which I may adde Berofus and others, That fuch a conjunction there was fore-shewing that destruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word Catarracta Cali, or Windowes of Heaven was meant this conjunction; there needes no other answer than that observation of Ludovicus Vives, who affirmeth, That by the gravest Astrologian it was observed that in the yeere 1524. there should happen the like conjunction as at Noah's Floud; than which (faith he) there was never a more faire, drie, and feafonable yeere: the like deftrution was prophecied of the yeere 1588. But Picus Earle of Mirandula proveth, that there could not be any fuch conjunctionat that time.

To conclude, I find no other mysterie in the word Catarratta Cali, than that the clouds were meant thereby : Moses using the word Windowes of Heaven (if that be the sense of the word) to expresse the violence of the Raynes, and powring downe of Waters. For whosoever hath seene those fallings of water, which sometimes happen in the Indies, which are called the Spours, (where clouds do not breake into drops, but fall with a refiftlesse violence in one body) may properly use that manner of speech which Moses did: That the Windowes or Flud-gates of Heaven opened: (which is) That waters fell contrarie to custome, & that order which we call naturall. God then loofened the power recentive in the uppermost ayre, and the waters fell in aboundance: Behold (fayth Job) Job and visit bewithholdeth the Waters, and they drie up (or better in Latine, Et omnia siccantur : And all things are dryed up) but when he sendeth them out they destroy the Earth . And in the 26. Chapter: Hebindeth the Waters in the Clouds. But these Bonds God loosed at that time of the generall Floud, and called up the Waters which flept in the great Deepe; and these iovning together, covered the Earth, till they performed the worke of his will: which done, he then commanded them to return into their darke and vast Caves, and the rest $G_{02,0,0}$ (by a winde) rarified againe into ayre, formerly condensed into drops.

%VII.

Of some remainder of the memorie of NOAH among the Heathen. TO A H, commanded by God, before the fall of those Waters, entred the Arke which he had built, withhis owne Wife, and his Sonnes, and his Sonnes Wives, taking with them of every Creature which tooke life by generation, feven of

the cleane, and of the uncleane, two. Noah, according to Philo, fignifieth quietneffe: after others, and according to the prophecie of his Father Lamech, ceffation; to whom afterimes gave many Names, answering his antiquitie, zeale, vertue, and other qualities: as, Thefirst Ogyges, because in the time of the Grecian Ogyges there was also a great Floud of Athaia: Saturne they called him, because he was the Father of Nations: Others gave limthe Name of Prometheus, who was faid to steale away Jupiters fire in that place being taken and understood for the knowledge of God and heavenly things. Others thinke, that he was so called for his excellent wisedome and foresight. He had also the Name of Janus, (ideft) vinofus, because Jain signifieth Wine in the Hebrew. And so Intullian findes him written in Libris Ritualibus, in the Bookes of Ceremonies, preceding both Saturne, Uranus, and Jove: which three enjoyed an elder time than all the other ancientest fayned gods. And this Name Jain is taken from the Hebrew and Syrian; and to from the Latine : for it was in use before there was any Latine Nation, or any Kingdome by that Name known. Of the antiquitie of Janus, Fabius Pictor giveth this testimo-Mani etate nulla erat Monarchia, qui a mortalibus pectoribus nondumba ferat ulla regnand inditas &c.Vinum & Far primus populus docuit JANUS ad sacrificia: primus enim Aras Glomeria & facra docuit; In the time of Janus (faithhe) there was no Monarchie: for the after of rule had not then folded it selfe about the hearts of men. JANUS first taun the people to sacrifice Wine and Meale: he first set up Altars, instituted Gardens and Marie Groves, wherein they used to pray; with other holy Rites and Ceremonies. Agraer testimonie than this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agreet so well with the Scriptures. For first, whilest Noah flourished, there was not any his or Monarch; Nimrod being the first that tooke on him soveraigne authority. Second, Noah after the Floud was the first that planted the Vine, and became a Hus- Geng. 207 banding and therefore offered the First-fruits of both (to wir) Wine and Meale. Thirdy he was the first that rayled an Altar, and offered sacrifice to God; a thanks giving Gons 20;

Arn.cont.Gent.

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for his mercifull goodnesse towards him. Noah was also signified in the Name of Bifrons (which was given to Janus) because he beheld the times both before & after the Floud. Quia praterita noverit, & futura prospexerit, faith Arnobius: Because he knew what was past, and provided for what was to come. He was also in the person of fanus shadowed by the Name of Chaos, and Semen Orbis, The Seed of the World: because as out of that confufed Heape was drawne all the kinds of Beafts and Plants: fo from Noah came all Mankind. Whereof ovid in the person of Janus:

Ovid.de Fastis lib.x.

Nat.Com.L.5.

C.13.

Calins.

Gen.9.20.

Stuck in libris

Me Chaos antiqui (nam (um res prisca) vocabant, Aspice quam longi temporis acta cano.

The ancient call'd me Chaos: my great yeeres By those old-times, of which I fing, appeares.

He was also intituled Calum and Sol, Heaven and the Sunne, for his excellent knowledge in Aftronomie: Vertumnus, Bacchus, and Liber Pater; not that latter, which Diod, Siculus and Alex. Aphrodiseus so call, because he was the restorer of the Greekes to their former libertie but in respect of the Floud. For the Greekes called Liber 28, and his Nurses Hyades, of Rayne, because Noah entred the Arke when the Sunne joyned with the Starres Hyades, a conftellation in the Brow or Necke of Taurus, and ever after a Monument of Noahs Floud. He was also by others furnamed Triton, a Marine god, the sonne of Neptune; because he lived in safetie on the Waters. So was he knowne by the name. of Dionysus, quasi Stardown, mentem pungens, Bite-braine, or Wit-stinger; though Diodorus conceive otherwise, andderive that name à Patre & Loco Ofhis Father, and the place of his Birth, (to wit) of Jove, and Nifa, a Towne of Arabia falix, faith Suidas out of or. pheus. He had also the by-name of Taurus, or Taurophagus; because he first voked Oxen, and tilled the ground: according to that of Moses; And Noah became an Hus bandman. Now how soever the Grecians vaunt of their Theban Bacchus, (otherwise Dia. wyfus) it is certaine, that the Name was borrowed, and the Invention stolen from Noah But this Name of Bacchus, more ancienty Boacus, was taken (faith Gul. Stuckius, and out of him Danaus) from Noachus, (N) being changed into (B); and it is the more probamamundi atate. ble, because it cannot be doubted but that Noah was the first planter of the Vine after the Floud: and of Noah (the first and ancient Bacchus) were all those fables devised, of taines of Ny a jovne with those of Paropanisus, and those other Easterne Mountaines, on which the Arke of Noah rested after the Floud.

as to himselfe. Notwithstanding all which, we find the Citie of Noah upon the banks Prolomie, Danus; dividing Illyria from Panonia. Thus much for the Name.

Steph.de Vib. Herod 14.

Of fundry particulars touching the Arke : as the place where it was made, the matter, fashion, and name.

Ow in what part of the World Noah built the Arke, it doth not appeare in the Scriptures, neither doe I find any approved Author that hath written thereof: red in the building of the Arke; to which also he addeth the conveniencie of Rivers, t transport the Timber which he used, without troubling any other Carriages.

Onely this we are fure of, that the Arke was built in some part of the Easterne World; and to my understanding, not far from the place where it rested after the Floud. For Noah did not use any Mast or Sayle(as in other Ships) and therefore did the Arke no otherwise move, than the Hulke or body of a Ship doth in a calme Sea. Also, because it is not probable, that during these continual and downe-right Raines there were any Windes at all, therefore was the Arke little moved from the place where it was fashioned and fet together: for it is written, God made a Wind to passe upon the Earth, and the God so Waters ceased. And therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters, there was not any Storme or forcible winde at all, which could drive the Arke any great distance from the place where it was first by the Waters listed up. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the Arke had fundum planum, aflat bottom, and not rayled in forme of a Ship, with a sharpenesse forward, to cut the waves for the better speed.

This kind of Vessell the Hebrewes call Thebet, and the Greekes Larnax, for so they termed Deucalions Ship: and some say, that the Hill Parnassus, to which in eight dayes he arrived, was first called Larnassus, and by the change of (L) into (P) Parnassus, but Pau-supplements thinkes that it tooke name of a Sonne of the Nymph Cleodora, called Parnassus, the Inventor of Auguration.

Peucerus findes the word (Parnassus) to have no affinitie with the Greeke, but thinkes De Oratul. Mg. t derived from the Hebrew word Nahas, which fignifieth Auguration and Divination or 94. from Har or Parai, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the Leafe before cited.

Fofephus calls the Arke Machina, by the generall name of a huge Frame; and Epiphanius Epiphin Amor; but of the Hebrew, Aron: but herein lyeth the difference betweene Aron and Thebet, That Aren fignifieth properly the Arke of the Sancturie, but Thebet fuch a Veffell, as fwimmeth, and beareth it felfe upon the Waters.

Lastly, this Arke of Noah differed from the fashion of a ship in this, that it had a Cover and Roofe, with a Crest in the middest thereof, and the sides declining like the Roofe of an House : to the end, both to cast off the Waters, and that thereunder Noah himselfe and his children might shelter, and separate themselves from the noysomnesse of the many Beafts, which filled the other roomes and parts of the Arke.

without

Of what Wood the Arke was built, it is uncertaine. The Hebrew word Gopher once which Diodorus complayneth in his fourth Booke and fifth Chapter. This first Bacchin Land in this place onely used, is diversly understood: and though the matter be of little (to wit) Noah was furnamed Nysius, of the Mountaine Nysa in India; where the Grecian importance, yet this difference there is, That the Geneva Translation calls it Pine-tree; Bacchus never came, what soever themselves faine of his enterprises: and these Moun the Rabbine, Cedar; the Seventie, square Timber; the Latine, simooth Timber. Other will have it Cypres Trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypres is worne at Fune rals. But our of doubt, if the word Gopher fignifie any special kind of Timber, Noah obey-Furthermore, to the end that the memorie of this fecond Parent of Mankind might edthe voyce of God thereingif not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or many the better be preferved, there were founded by his Issues many great Cities, which bare aure of the wood, having the promise of God, and his grace and mercie for his defence: his Name, with many Rivers and Mountaines; which oftentimes forgat that it was done. For with Noah God promised to establish his covenant. Plinie affirmeth, that in Egypt it views in his regard, because the many Names given him brought the same confusion to places, was the use to build ships of Cedar, which the wormes eate not; and he avoweth, that he Plantices are faw in Utica, in the Temple of Apollo, Cedar beames, laid in the time of the foundation of of the red Sea, and elsewhere the River of Noas in Thrace, which Strabo calleth Noarm, the Citie, and that they were still sound in his time, which was about 1188; yeares after: proving thereby, that this kind of wood was not subject to putrefying or mould ring in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carrie, and of a fweete sayour, lafting also better than any other wood, and because neere the place where the Arke rested there are found great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the Mountaines of the East. besides those of Libanus, it is probable enough that the Arke might be of that wood: which hath, befides the other commodities, the greatest length of Timber, & therefore fittest to build ships withall. Pererius conceiveth, that the Arke had divers forts of Time ber, and that the bottome had of one fort, the decke & partition of another; all which may onely Goropius Becanus in his Indo Soythia conceiveth, that Noah built his Arke be true or false, if Gopher may be taken for Timber in generall. True it is, that Cedar will neerethe Mountaines of Caucajus, because on those Hils are found the goodliest Cedars: serve for all parts of a Ship, as well for the body, as for Masts and Yards. But Noah had for when alex. Macedon made the warre among the people, called Nyfei, inhabiting the most respect to the direction received from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and other fide of Caucafus, he found all their Burials & Sepulchers wrought over with Cedar to the partitions of the Arke; and to pitch it, and to divide it into Cabines: thereby To this place (faith Becanus) Noab repaired, both to separate himselfe from the reprobate to sever the cleane beasts from the uncleane, and to preserve their severall sorts of food. Giants, who rebelled against God & Nature, as also because he would not be interrup and that it might be capable of all kind of living creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when Noab had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God; who by his Angels steered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed in

Fererilla.

De Civit Dei.

6.15.C.26.

without the helpe of a Compasse, or the North star. The Pitch which Noah used, is by some supposed to have bin a kind of Bitumes, whereof there is great quantitie about the Valley of Sodome and Gomorah, now the dead Sea, or Asphaltes, and in the Region of Babylon, and in the West India: and hereinit exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sunne, but by the fire onely, after the manner of hard Waxe.

\$. IX. That the Arke was, of sufficient capacities.

He Arke according to Gods commandement, had of length three hundred Cu-i bites, fifty of bredth, and thirtie deepe or high: by which proportion, it had fixe parts of length to one of bredth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which S. Augustine : Proculdubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc seculo Civitatis Dei, (hoc est) Eccleiae, que lis (alvaper lignum, in que pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Jesu made a difference of Species, then were the Negro's, which we call the Blacke-Mores. Christus: nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinis, ejus significat corpus won animalia rationalia, not Men, but some kind of strange Beasts: and so the Gyants humanum in cujus veritate ad homines pranunciatus est venturus, & venit, &c. Without of the South America should be of another kind, than the people of this part of the doubt (faith he) it is a figure of the City of God travailing in this World as a stranger, World. We also see it daily, that the natures of Fruits are changed by transplantati-(that is) of the Church, faved by the Tree, whereupon the Mediator between God and Man, on, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Clymate. Crabs may the Man Telus Christ did hang: for even the very measure of the length, height and bemade good Fruit by often grafting, and the best Melons will change in a vector or breadth, answereth the shape of Mans body, in the truth whereof the comming of Christ was two to common Cowcummers, by being set in a barren Soyle. Therefore taking the fore-told and performed.

mong the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these: The first kind of liciently capacious to containe of all according to the number by God appointed: For Cubit (called the Common) containeth one foot and a halfe, measured from the sharpe of we adde but halfe a foot of measure to the common Cubit, which had a foot and a of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The fecond (the Palme-Cubit) which halfe of Giantly stature (and lesse allowance we cannot give to the difference between taketh one handfull more than the common. The third is called Regius Cubitus, or the hem and us) then did the Arke containe 600 foot in length, and 100 foot in bredth and Persian Cubit, which exceedeth the common Cubit three ynches. The fourth is the fa- o foot deepe. cred Cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quar- But first of all, to make it manifest that the Geometrical Cubit is not used in the purifical state of the containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly, there is a fift Cubit, called Geometricall, which contained cripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the Bed of 03, fix common Cubits. But of all these forts, which were commonly measured by the suggest that the state of the common Cubits. But of all these forts, which were commonly measured by the suggest that the state of the common Cubits. But of all these forts, which were commonly measured by the suggest that the state of the common Cubits. But of all these forts, which were suggested that the state of the common Cubits. But of all these forts, which were suggested that the state of the common Cubits. But of all these forts, which were suggested that the state of the common Cubits and suggested that the state of the common Cubits are suggested that the state of the common Cubits are suggested that the state of the common Cubits are suggested that the state of the cubit is suggested that the state of the common Cubits are suggested that the state of the common Cubits are suggested that the state of the common Cubits are suggested that the state of the cubit is suggested that

their food and water, was sometimes of opinion, that the Arke had proportion after the Geometricall Cubit, which containeth almost fixe of the Common For, measuring the Arke by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the capacitie of that Vessell built by Hiero of Syracuse, or the Ship of Ptolomic Philo-pater. But S. Augustine (who at the single was led by Origen) changed his judgement as touching the Geometricall Cubit; and sound, upon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a Body to preserve all forts of Creatures, by God appointed to be reserved. For it was not needfull to take any kindes of Fishes into the Arke, because they were kept living (saith S. Augustine) in their owne element. Non fuit necesses were put also to the second and the Arke, which could live in the Waters, and not onelly Fishes which can live under water but also those Fowlers which fit and swim on them. And again the other water but also those Fowlers which God cursed; for of the Sea, did Adam eat. So as S. Augustine gathereth hereupon (as afore said there were not any whit the more roome in the Arke, it were not hard to smeans there were not any whit the more roome in the Arke, it were not hard to that so huge a Frame needed not.

And if we looke with the eyes of judgement hereunto, we shall finde nothing monfrom therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) have more laters, might according to their present quantities be contained in a Vessell of those of mischiefe and of ignorance, than of any reverend reason, found many impossibilities mensions which the Arke had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a halfe of our now in this worke of God. But it is manifest, and undoubtedly true, that many of the specific whence it followeth of necessitie, that those large Bodies which were in For those Beasts which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that age, or este it was not needfull to preserve them, seeing they might be generated againe by others as the Mules, the Hyana's, and the like; the one begotten by Asses and Mares, and the other than the second that they were not in that age, or este it was not needfull to preserve them, seeing they might be generated againe by others as the Mules, the Hyana's, and the like; the one begotten by Asses and Mares, and the other than the second the second the second that have place in the Aske; But so hath yery the second the second the second that have place in the Aske; But so hath yery the second the second the second the second the second the second that the second the second the second the second that the second the second that the second the second the second that the second the second that the second the second the second that the second that

by Foxes and Wolves. And whereas by discovering of strange Lands, wherein there are found divers Beasts and Birds, differing incolour or stature from those of these Northerne parts; it may be supposed by a superficiall consideration, that all those which weare red and pyed Skinnes, or Feathers, are differing from those that are leffe painted. and weare plaine ruflet or blacke; they are much mistaken that so thinke. And for my owne opinion, I find no difference, but onely in magnitude, betweene the Cat of Europe and the Ownce of India; and even those Dogges which are become wilde in Hispagnia ela, with which the Spaniards used to devoure the naked Indians, are now changed to Wolves, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattell, and doe also oftentimes teare afunder their owne Children. The common Crow and Rooke of India is full of red Augustinities feathers in the drowned and low Islands of Caribana; and the Black-bird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with blacke and carnation, in the North parts of Virginia. The Dog-fish of England is the Sharke of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude indes precifely of all Creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the Earth by By what kinde of Cubite the Arke was measured, it hath bin a disputed question as his Ordinance produced; the Arke, after the measure of the common Cubit, was suf-

the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of lesse length than it was in elder times.

S. Angustine considering the many sorts of Beasts and Birds which the Arke held, with their food and water, was sometimes of opinion, that the Arke had proportion after the about the sort long, and farre weightier and bigger than all Davids bodie, who carried the sort long, and farre weightier and bigger than all Davids bodie, who carried the sort long.

meanes there were not any whit the more roome in the Arke, it were not hard to reive, how all the distinct Species of Animals, whose lives cannot be preserved in the

Aug.de Civit. Dei.lib.5.4.27

learnedly declared: the briefe fumme of whose discourse to that purpose, is this. The length of the Arke was three hundred Cubites, which multiplyed by the bredth, namely fifty Cubits, and the product by the height of thirtie Cubites, sheweth the whole Concavitie to have beene. 45,000. Now whereas the posts, walls, and other partitions of Lodgings may feeme to have taken up a great part of the hollow: the height of the roofe, which (the perpendicular being one Cubite) contained 7500 cubicall Cubes, was a fufficient recompence: If therfore in a Ship of fuch greatnesse we seeke roome for 89. distinct Species of Beafts, or (left any should be omitted) for 100. severall kinds, we shall easily find place both for them, and for the Birds, which in bignesse are no way answerable to them, and for meat to sustaine them all. For there are three sorts of Beasts, whose bodies are of a quantitie best knowne; the Beefe, the Sheepe, and the Wolfe : to which the rest may be time of Ararat, Baris; being the same which the Chaldaan nameth Kardu, to which mound reduced by faying, (according to Aristotle) that one Elephant is answerable to foure Beeves, one Lyon to two Wolves, and so of the rest. Of Beasts, some feede on vege. tables, others on flesh. There are one and thirtie kinds of the greater fort, feeding on Hebrewes wrote) did first take ground on this Ocila. But I doe not finde any fuch vegetables: of which number, onely three are cleane, according to the Law of Moles, mountaine in being, as this Ocila, neither is there any mention of it in the place of Tolewhereof seven of a kind entred into the Arke, namely, three couples for breede, and on thus. Strabo remembreth a Promontoric in Arabia falix of that name; and Plinie findes odde one for facrifice: the other eight and twentie kindes were taken by two of each Mart-towne fo called in the same, which Ptolomie cals Ocilis, Pinetus Acyla, and Niger. fiftie uncleanc, estimable for largenesse as ninetie one Beeves; yet for a supplement (le Of the lefter fort feeding on vegetables, were in the Arke fixe and twentie kinds, estimately this Nicolaus Damascenus called Ninyada, perhaps (as Becanus conjectures) for Milytheir severall Cabbines; their meate in a second: the Birds and their provision in a thin with place to spare for Noah and his family, and all their necessaries.

S. X.

That the Arke restedupon part of the Hill Taurus (or Caucasus) betweene the East Indies, and Scythia.

A preservition of some questions less materiall: with a note of the use of this question to finde out the Metropolis of Nations.

"Hat time Noah tooke to build the Arke, I leave to others to dispute: h he received the Commandement from God a hundred yeeres before waters fell; and had therefore choyce of time and ley fure fufficient. for the number of Deckes and Partitions, which Origen divides into foure, S. Augusti into three, I wil not trouble the Reader with the controversie or whether those creams which fometimes reft on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (1997) called Alegartos) the Sea-Cowes or Sea-Horfes, were kept in the Arke, or no. I think it a needleffe curiofitie; and yet to this faith Pererius, and others before him, that a File poole might be made as well within the Arke, as in Hiero his Ship of Syracufe. Latty confider or labour to disprove the foolerie of the Hebrewes, who suppose that the his was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windows of Crystall to receive in Light, & keep out Water, were but to revive the buried vanities of former times. But that which I feeld most to satisfie my selfe and others in is, in what part of the World the Arke restedates the Floud: because the true understanding of some of these places (as the Seatest the terrestriall Paradise, and the resting of the Arke) doe onely and truly teach the World Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the Floud; and all florie, well generall as particular, thereby may be the better understood.

†. II. A proposal of the common opinion, that the Arke rested upon some of the Hils of Armenia.

A Nd first, for the true place where the Arke rested after the Floud, and from which part of the World the Children of Nosh travailed to their first fertlement and

plantation, I am refolved (without any prefumption) that therein the most writers were utterly mistaken. And I am not led so to thinke out of my Hamour or newnesse of opinion, or fingularitie; but doe herein ground my felfe on the original! & first truth, which is the word of God, and after that upon reason, and the most probable circumsances thereon depending. For whereas it is written, that the Arke stated upon one of the mountaines of Ararat, which the Chaldean Paraphrast hath converted Kardu, meaning the hils Gordai or Gordai in Armenia the greater: (as the words Gordai and Kardu, seeme tobe one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are: I finde neither Scripture nor reason which teacheth any such thing: (to wit) that it rested on that part of Ararat, which is in the greater Armenia. Nicolaus Damascenus cals this mounmine the Fryer Annius (citing this place out of Fosephus) makes him finde another adinvning, called Ocila, and to fay that the Arke (of which Moses the Lawgiver of the kinde, so that in all there were in the Arke one and twentiegreat Beasts cleane, & six and zidon. But this Ocila of Damascenus, or rather of Annius, seemeth to be one and a part of the Armenian mountaines. Berosus calleth those mountaines of Armenia Gordiai, and perhaps any Species be omitted) let them be valued as a hundred and twentie Beeves Curtius Cordai: Ptolomie Gordai and Gordiai: of which the Countrienext adjoying is Hieros 1,273 ble with good allowance for supply, as fourescore Sheepe. Of those which devous da or rather Minni: which word is used for Armenia Minor. And the very word of flesh were two and thirtie kinds, answerable to threescore and soure Wolves. All the drmenia seemes to be compounded of this word Minni, and Aram: as if we should say Nathilities. two hundred and eightie Beafts might be kept in one storie or roome of the Arke, winni of Syria; for that Armenia also was a part of Syria, Plinie witnesseth. Epiphanius capaza laceth the Cardyes about these mountaines, whom others call Gordieni or Gordeni. The nountaines are seated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of the mounines called Taurus, or Niphates in the plaines of Armenia the great, neere the Lake Tho itis: whence the River of Tigris floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. and 42. deresof latitude. One of the mountaines Gordiai (that which furmounteth the reft) uphanius cals Lubar, which in the Armenian fignifieth a place of descent: but this out Josephus; which name (faith Junius) was of the event, because of Noahs comming Josephus Atting owne with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed event; seeing any hill from trade hace on every fide we must descend, may thus be called: as Junius corrects the place Mephus And Bugus (Kubaris.) That the place is thus to be read, he conjectureth, because off.l.1.c.4. sayes, the place is called exogether (as it were the descent or comming owne) and Epiphan. l.1. contr. Hares. cals it respenses which word in the Armenian and applian tongue fignifieth descent, of Lubar, which is to descend; whence also Lubra asynagogue, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the La-Delubrum may feeme to be derived; and Act. 6.9. they that belonged to the Synaof the Agyptians are called Libertini, for Lubratenu. Yet this opinion hath beene braced from age to age, receiving a habit of strength by time, and allowance without Thather examination; although the name of Lubar might otherwise rightly be given. really to that mountaine, by reason that the passage was more faire, up and downe in than to any of the rest adjoyning.

> t. III. bufult argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would have come fooner, had they come from fo neere aplace as Armenia.

Ut there are many arguments to per swade me, that the Arke of Noah did not rest it Melfe in any part of Armenia, and that the mountaine Ararat was not Baris, nor any one of the Gordi aan mountaines.

the first, it is agreed by all which follow Berofus, that it was in the 130. yeere, or in Berof the me 131. after the floud, when Nimrod came into the valley of Shinar, which Valley Interward called Babylonia, Chulh, and Chaldea. If then the Arke had first found Armenia, it is very unprobable, that the children of Noah which came into that and have fpent so many yeeres in so short a passage: seeing the Region of Mesowas onely interjacent, which might by easie journeyes have been pass over in

twentic dayes; and to haften and helpe which paffage, the navigable River of Tygris offered it selfe, which is every where transpassable by boates of great burden : so as where the Desart on the one side resisted their expedition, the river on the contrary side served to advance it; the River rifing out of the same Ledge of mountaines, or at the foote of them, where the Arke of Noah was first supposed to settle it selfe; Then if the Nations which followed Nimrod still doubted the surprise of a second sloud (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrewes) it foundeth ill to the eare of reason, that they would have spent many yeeres in that low and overflowne Valley of Mesopotamia, so called of the many Rivers which imbroyder or compasse it: for the effects witnessed their affections, and the workes which they undertooke, their unbeleefe; being no fooner arrived in 10 Shinar, but they beganto provide themselves of adesence (by erecting Babel) against any future or feared inundation. Now at Babel it was that Nimrod began his Kingdom, the first knowne Citie of the world, founded after the floud about 131. yeeres, or (as others fuppose) ten yeeres later: though (for my selfe) I rather thinke, that they undertooke that worke in two respects; first, to make themselves famous, To get us a name (saith the Text:) Secondly, thereby to usurpe dominion over the reft.

Gen. 10.10. Berof.l.I .

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The second argument, That the Easterne people were most ancient in populositie, and in all humane glory.

Or a fecond Argument: The civilitie, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the world first abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath bin, or can be faid for Armenia, and for Noahs taking land there. And that this is true, the use of Printing and Artillerie (among many other things which the East had), may easily perswade us, that those Sunne-rising Nations were the most ancient. The certaintie of this report, that the East Indians (time out of minde) have had Gunnes and Ordnance of batterie, confirmed by the Portugals and others, make us now to understand, That the place of Philostratus in vita Apollonii Tianai, l. 2.0. 14. is no fable, though exprest in fabulous words: when he faith, that the wisemen, which dwell be 3 tweene Hyphasis and Ganges, use northernselves to goe forth into battaile: but that they drive away their enemies with thunder and lightning fent from Jupiter. By which meanes there it is faid, that Hercules Agyptius and Bacchus, joyning their forces, were defeated there; and that this Hercules there cast away his golden shield. For the invention of letters was ignorantly ascribed to Cadmus, because he brought them first into Greece : of which the people (then rude and favage) had reason to give him the honour, from whom they received the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no leffe ancient than Seth or Henoch were: for they are faid to have written on pillars of stone (as before remembred) long before the floud. But from the Easterne world it was that John Cuthenberg a Germane, brought the device of Printing: by whom Conradus being instructed, a brought the practice thereof to Rome: and after that Nicholaus Gerson a Frenchman, bettered both the letters and invention. And notwithstanding that this mysterie was then supposed to be but newly borne, the Chinass had letters long before either the Egyptians or Phænicians; and also the Art of Printing, when as the Greekes had neither any civill knowledge, or any letters among them.

And, that this is true, both the Portugals and Spaniards have witneffed, who about an hundred yeeres fince discovered those Kingdomes, and doe now enjoy their rich trades therein: for the Chinaos account all other Nations but Salvages, in respect of themselves,

And to adde strength to this argument, the conquest and storie of Alex. Macedon may justly be called to witnesse, who found more Cities and sumptuositie in that little King s dome of Porus, which lay fide by fide to the East India, than in all his other travails & m dertakings. For in Alexanders time learning and greatnesse had not travailed so far to the West as Rome: Alexander esteeming of Italie but as a barbarous Countrie, and of Rome as of a Village. But it was Babylon that stood in his eye, and the fame of the East pierced his eares. And if we looke as farre as the Sun-rising, and heare Paulus Venetus what he reporteth of the uttermost Angle and Island, thereof, wee shall finder that those Nations have fent out, and not received; lent knowledge, and not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more civill, the farther West the more Salvage

And of the Isle of Japan (now Zipingari) Venetus maketh this report: Incolareligioni. literis & Capientia funt addictissimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) facris in delubris exercent : unum cognoscunt Principem unum Deum adorant: The Ilanders are exceedingly addicted to religions letters and Philosophie, and most diligent searchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent than prayer, which they use in their Churches, after the manner of Christians. They acknow. ledge one King, and worship one God. The antiquitie, magnificence, civilitie, riches, sumptuous buildings, and policie in government, is reported to be such by those who have bin employed into those parts as it seemeth to exceede (in those formerly named and divers To other particulars) all other Kingdomes of the world.

The third argument, From the wonderfull resistance which SEMIRAMIS

Ut for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the invasion of semiramis before the indisferent and advised Reader: who may be lived and hour for age she lived, and how soone after the worlds new birth shee gathered her Armic (as Diodorus Siculus out of Ctessas reporteth) of more than three Millions to invade India, 20 to which he adjoyned also 500000. Horse; and 100000. Waggons: whereof if we beleeve but a third part, it shall suffice to prove that India was the first planted and peopled Countrie after the floud. Now as touching the time wherein shee lived: All Historians confent, that shee was the wife of Ninus, and the most approved Writers agree. that Ninus was the Sonne of Belus, and Belus of Nimrod, that Nimrod was the Sonne of Culb, Culb of Cham, and Cham of Noah. And at fuch time as Nimrod came to Shinaar, he was then agreat Nation, as by the building of the Citie and Tower of Babel may appeare; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two descents cast betweene Nimrod and Semiramis, brought forth in that time those multitudes, whereof her Armie was composed. Let us then see with whom shee encountred in that warre with this her o powerfull Armie: even with a multitude, rather exceeding, than equalling, her owne, conducted by Staurobates King of India beyond Indus; of whose multirudes this is the witnesse of Diod. Siculus. STAUROBATES avitis majoribus quam qua erant SEMI RAMIDIS copiis: STAUROBATES gathering together greater troupes than those of SEMIA RAMIS. If then these numbers of Indians had beene encreased but by a Colonie sent out from Shinaar, (and that also after Babel was built, which no doubt tooke some time in the performance) this encrease in the East, and this Armie of Staurobates must have beene made of stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which Semiramis gathered might easily grow up in that time, from so great a Troupe as Nimrod brought with him into Babytonia (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the Storie of Ifrael) so could not any fuch time, by any multiplication naturall, produce fo many bodies of men as werein the Indian Armie victorious over Semiramis, if the Colonies fent thither had beenefo late as Babel overturned, and the confusion of Languages. For if wee allow 65 veeres time after the Floud, before Nimrod was borne: of which, thirty yeeres to Cush ere he begat Seba, after whom he had Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabtecha: Gento? and then thirtie yeeres to Raamah, ere he begat Shiba and Dedan, both which were borne before Nimrod: and five yeeres to his five elder brothers, which make fixtie five, and then twice thirtie yeeres for two Generations more, as for Nimrod, Sheba and Dedan with others, to beget their fonnes; and that a third Generation might grow up, which makes in all an hundred twenty five yeeres, there will then remaine fixe yeeres to have bin spent in travailing from the East, ere they arrived in Shinaar in the yeere after the Floud 131. And so the followers of Nimrod might be of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to have arrived at Shinaar in the yeere tot. and the confusion to have beene at Pelegs birth, these men doe all by miracle: they beget whole Nations without the helpe of time; and build Nimrods Tower in the Ayre; and not on those low and marish grounds (which require found foundations) in the Plaines of Shinaar. For except that huge Tower were built in a day, there could be no confusion in that yeere 101. or at Pelegs birth. And therefore it is farre more probable, that Nimred usurped Regall authority in the 131. yeere

CHAP.7. S. 10. 1.7.

Glyc.in Gen.& de Turris exstructione fol.173.

after the Floud, (according to Berofus) and that the worke of Babel lasted forty yeeres (according to Glycas) Hominibus in eapersicienda totis 40. annis incassum laborantibus; Men labouring in vaine 40. yeeres to sinish it. By which account it sals out, that it was 170. yeeres after the Floud, ere a Colonie was sent into East India; which granted (the one being the maine body, and the other but a Troupe taken thence) it can hardly be believed that Staurobates could have exceeded Semirams in numbers: who being then Empresse of all the part of that world, gathered the most of Nations into one bodie.

†. V I.

The fourth Argument from divers considerations in the person of NOAH.

Ourthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the floud, and had lived therein the long time of 600. yeeres, was all that space 130. yeeres after the floud, without any certain habitation: No, it wil fallout, and better agree with reason, that Nimrod was but the conducter of those people, by Noah destined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the Westerne world; (which travailes Noah put over to young and able bodies) and that Noah himselfe then covered with many yeeres, planted himselse in the same place which God had assigned him; which was where he first came downeout of the Arke from the waters : for it is written, that after Noah came downe out of the Arke, he planted a Vineyard, and became an Husbandman: whose businesse was to dresse and manure the earth; and not to range over so many parts of the world, as from Armenia into Arabia falix, where he should (if the tradition be found) have left certaine Colonies : thence into Africa towards Triton, then into Spaine, where they fay he fettled other companies, and built Cities after the names of Noela and Noegla his fonnes wives: from thence into Italie, where they fay he found his sonne Cham the Saturne of Egypt, who had corrupted the people and fubjects of Gomer in his absence : with whom Noah (as they make the storie) had passence for three yeeres; but then finding no amendement, they fay he banisht him out of Italie. These bebut the fancies of Berosus Annianus, a plaine imitation of the Græcian fables. For let every reasonable man conceive, what it was to travaile farre in such a forrest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the earth by the floud, the fame lay waste and over-growne for 130. or 140. yeeres, and wherein there could hard. ly be found either part or paffage through which men were able to creepe for woods, bushes and bry ars that in those yeeres were growne up.

And there are so many reasons, proving that Noah never came into the valley of Shimaar, as we need not suspect his passage into Italie or Spaine : For Noah, who was Father of all those Nations, a man reverenced both for his authority, knowledge, experience and pietie, would never have permitted his children and iffues to have undertaken that unbeleeving presumptuous worke of Babel. Rather by his presence and preva lent perswasions he would have bound their hands from so vaine labours, and by the air thority which he received even from God himfelfe, he would have held them in that awfull subjection, as whatsoever they had vainely conceived or feared, yet they durst not have disobeyed the personall commandement of him, who in the beginning had a kinde of Regallauthority over his children and people. Certainely, Noah knew right well, that the former destruction of mankinde was by themselves purchased through crueltie and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise up building against his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a provocation of God to lay on them the same, if not a more sharpe affliction. Wherefore, there is no probabilitie, that ever he came so farre West as Babylonia; but rather, that he sent those numbers, which came into Shinaar (being the greatest troupe, because they had the greatest part of the world to plant) under Nimrod, or those upon whom he usurped. Nauclerus and Calestinus takethe testimony of Methodius Bishop of Tyre for currant, that there were three Leaders of the people after their encrease (to wit) Nimrod, Suphene, and Jottan: of which Nimred commanded the iffues of Cham, Jottan of Sem, and Suphene of Japhet. This opinion I cannot judge of, although I will not doubt, but that fo great a worke as the worlds plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the fonnes of Sem: Jostan, Havilah, and Ophir, are especially noted to have dwelt in the East India. The rest of Sems issues had also the Regions of Persia and the other adjoyning

adjoyning to *Indus*, and held also a part of *Chaldaa* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *ur*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sonnes of *Jottan*, or of all the rest a certaine number (*Cham* and his iffue onely excepted) that *Noah* kept with himselfe; it cannot be knowne. Of which plantation I shall speake at large in the Chapter following.

Now another reason which moves me to believe, that Noab stayed in the East far away from all those that came into Shinaar, is, that Moses doth not in any word make mention of Noab in all the story of the Hebrewes, or among any of those Nations which contended with them. And Noah, being the Father of all mankinde, and the chosen servent of God, was too principall a person; to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the world) withdrawne himselfer and rested a part with his best beloved, giving himselfe to the service and contemplation of God and heavenly things, after he had directed his children to their destined portions. For he landed in a warme and fertile soile, where he planted his Vineyard, and drest the earth; after which, and his thankselfiving to God by facrifice, hee is not remembred in the Scriptures, because he was so farre away from those Nations of which Moses wrote: which were the Hebrewes chiesly, and their enemies and borderers.

7. V I I.

of the sense left opinion of Annius the Commentor upon Berosus: who finds divers places where the Arkerested; as the Caspian and Gordizan hils which are three hundred miles asunder; and also some place of Scythia.

Tremaineth now that we examine the Arguments and authorities of Frier Annius. who in his Commentaries upon Berofus and others, laboureth marvailously to prove Lithat the Arke of Noah rested upon the Armenian mountaines called Caspii; which mountaines separate Armenia from the upper Media, and doe equally belong to both. And because all his Authours speake of the mountaines Gordiei, he hath no other shift to unite these opinions, but by uniting those farre-distant mountaines together. To effect which he hath found no other invention, than to charge those men with errour, which have o carefully over-feene, printed, and published Ptolimies Geographie, in which they are Ptol.tab. Afte. 2 altogether dissevered. For that last edition of Mercators, sets these hills sive degrees (which makes three hundred English miles) asunder. And certainely, if we looke into those more ancient copies of Villanovanus and others, we shall find nothing in them to helpe Aunius withall: for in those the mountaines Caspii stand seven degrees to the East of the Cordiai, which make 420. miles. And for those Authours by whose authoritie Amius strengtheneth himselfe, Diodorus whom he so much followeth, giveth this judgmentupon them in the like dispute. Aberrarunt vero omnes, non negligenta, sedregno- viodle; rum situs ignorantia, They have allerred (faith he) not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of Kingdomes. But for an induction, to prove that the Arke of Noah of food on the mountaines of Armenia, he beginneth with the antiquity of the Scythians: and to prove the same heciteth Marcus Portius Cato, who avoweth that 250 yeeres be-cuode original to prove the same heciteth Marcus Portius Cato, who avoweth that 250 yeeres be-cuode original to prove the same heciteth Marcus Portius Cato, who avoweth that 250 yeeres be-cuode original to prove the same heciteth Marcus Portius Cato, who avoweth that 250 yeeres be-cuode original to prove the same heciteth Marcus Portius Cato, who avoweth that 250 yeeres be-cuode original to prove the same heciteth Marcus Portius Cato, who avoweth that 250 yeeres be-cuode original to prove the same heciteth Marcus Portius Cato, who avoweth that 250 yeeres be-cuode original to prove the same heciteth Marcus Portius Cato, who avoweth that 250 yeeres be-cuode original to prove the same head of the same head of the same head or same hea fore Ninus, the earth was overflowne with waters, & in Scythia Sagarchatum mertale pars prima genus ; and that in Scythiathe flocke of mortall men was renewed. The fame Authour alfo teacheth that the "mbri before remembred (who were fo called, because faved from Deucalions floud) were the Sonnes of the Galli, a Nation of the Scythians. Ex his venisse Janum cum Dyrim, & Gallis progenitoribus Umbrorum; From these Sythians, he faith, that JANUS same with DYRIM, and with the Galli the progenitours of the Umbri : And againe, Equidem principatus originis semper Scythis tribuitur ; Certainely the Prime antiquitie of off fring is alway given to the Scythians. And hereintruely Iao gree with Annius, that those Regions called Scythia, and now Tartaria, and by some Writers Sarmatia, Asiatica, were among the first peopled: and they held the greatest part of Asia under tribute till Ninus time. Also Plinie called the Umbri which Plinia called long since inhabited Italie. Gens antiquissima, a most ancient Nation, who descended of these Southians. Now that which Annius laboureth, is to proove that these ancient Scythians (meaning the Nephewes of Noch) did first inhabit that Region of the mountaines, on which the Arke refted; and confessing that this great ship was grounded in Armenia, he faineth anation of sombians called Araxea, taking name of the mouncame Armat, necre the River of Araxes. And because his Author Cato helpeth him in pare

GENILLE

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(to wit, That in Scythia mankinde was restored after the great sloud, 250 yeares before Ninus) and in part utterly destroyeth his conceit of Armenia, by adding the word Saga; as, In Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus ;In Scythia Sagamankinde was restored, he ther-Prol. Asia. tore in the Proæme of his Commentary upon Berosus, leaveth out the addition of Saga altogether in the repetition of Cato his words, and writes, homines in Scythia salvatos, For Scythia Saga or Saca, is undoubtedly under the Mountaines of Paropanifus; on which, or neare which it is most probable that the Arke first tooke ground : and from those East parts (according to Moses) came all those companies which erected the

Tower of Babel in Shinaar or Babylonia. But now the best authority which Annius hath, is out of Diodorus: where he hath is

read, that the Scythians were originally Armenians, taking name à Scytha Rege corum, from Scythatheir King. But (in a word) we may fee his vanity, or rather (indeede) his falshood in citing this place. For Diodorus, a most approved and diligent Author, beginneth in that place with these words: Fabulantur Scytha; The Scythians fable: and his Interpreter in the table of that worke giveth this title to that very Chapter. Scytharum origo & successus, fabula; The original and successe of the Scythians, a fable. And (indeede) there needs no great disproofe hereof, since Ptolomie doth directly delineate Scythia Saga or Saca, and fets them in 130 degrees of longitude: and the Persians (faith Herodotus) call all the Scythians, Saca; which Pling confirmeth: for in respect that these Saca (faith Pliny) are the next Scythians to the Perfians, therefore they gave all the rest than name. Now that any Nation in Armenia can neighbour the Persians, there is no man beleeveth. But this supposed Scythia Araxea in Armenia lyeth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42 degrees distant from the Sace; and the Country about Araxes Ptolomy calleth Colthene and Soducene and Sacapene without any mention of Scythia at all: and

yet all those which are or were reputed Scythians either within Imaus or without, to the Tal. affert & number of 100. feverall Nations, are by Ptolomie precisely set downe.

But to come to those latter Authors, whereof some have written, others have seene a great part of those North-east Regions, and searched their antiquities with great diligence: First, Marius Niger boundeth Scytbia within Imaus, in this manner: (for Scytbia without these Mountaines is also beyond our purpose) Scythia inter Imaum montem es est, qua proprio vocabulo Gassaria hoc tempore dicitur : ab Occasu Sarmatia Asiatica : ab Oriente Imao monte : à Septentrione terra incognita . à Meridie Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianis, usque ostia O xaamnis in Hyrcanum mare excuntis 3 & parte ipsius maris hinc usq 3 ad Rha sluminis oftia terminatur : Scythia within the Mountaine Imaus is that part of the World, which in their owne speech is at this time called Gassaria; and the same is bounded on the West side by Sarmatia Asiatica (Or Of Asia:) on the East by the Imaan Mountaines: on the North by unknowne Lands : on the South by the Sacca (which are in the Saca) the Sogdiani, and the Rhandwavolga. Margiani, to the mouth of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, and by a part of the same Sea as

farre as the mouth of Rha.

Now if Niger sets all Sarmatia Asiatica, to the West of Scythia, then Sarmatia (qui magna sand Regio est, & qua innumer as nationes completitur) Which is agreat Region, comprehending innumerable Nations (faith Niger) much of it being betweene Scythia and Armenia, doth sufficiently warrant us, that Armenia can be no part of Scythia; and to make it more plaine, he dissevereth Sarmatia it selfe from any part of Armenia, by the Regions of Colchis, Iberia, & Albania, which he leaveth on the right hand of Sarmatia, & yet makes

Sarmatia but the West bound of Scythia. And for Paulus Venetus, he hath not a word of Armenia among the Tartarian or Stjthian Nations; neither doth his fellow Frier John Plancarpio (cited by Vincentius in his description of Scythia) make any mention of Armenia; neither doth Haytonus, an Armenian borne, of the bloud of those Kings (though afterward a Monke) ever acknowledge himselfe for a Tartarian, or of the Scythian Races descended : though he write that storie at large, gathered by Nicholaus Salcuni, and (by the commandement of Pope Ch-

ment the fifth) in the yeere 1307. published.

Neyther doth Mathias a Michon (a Canon of Cracovia in Polonia) a Sarmatian borne, and that travailed a great part of Sarmatia Asiatica, finde Armenia any way within the compasse of Tartaria, Scythia, or Sarmatia; and yet no man (whose Travailes are extant) hathobserved somuch of those Regions as he hath done: proving and disproving many things, heretofore subject to dispute. And among others he burieth that ancient and

of the Historie of the World. CHAP.7.S.19.+.8.

received opinion, That out of the Mountaines, Ripbai, and Hyperborei in Scythia, spring the Rivers of Tanais or Don, Volga or Edel; providing by unanswerable experience, than there are no fuch Mountaines in rerum natura; and (indeed) the Heads and Fountaines of those famous Rivers are now by the Trade of Musicovia knowne to every Merchant. and that they arise out of Lakes, low, wooddie, and marish grounds. The River of Tanois or Don, ariseth to the South of the Citie Tulla, some twentie English miles, out of a Lake called Imanowesero, in the great Wood Okenit Zkilies or Jepiphanolies. Volga, which Ptolomie calls Rha, and the Tartars call Edel, rifeth out of a Lake called Fronow, in the great Wood Vodkon Zki: from which Lake the two other famous Rivers flow of Borysthenes (now Neyper) and D fuina or Dividna. And this learned Polonian doth in this fort bound the European Sarmatia. In Sarmatia of Europe are the Regions of Russians, Lithuanians, Muscovians, and those adjoyning, bounded on the West by the River of Vista. the Name perchance mif-printed Vissa for Vistula, a River which parts Germanie and Grazens calleth the Name perchance in princed spatial for the Name perchance in princed spatial this River wis Sarmatia and for the East border he nameth Tanais, or Don. Sarmatia Assatica he cutteth flaus, Niger Drafrom Europe by the same River of Tanais, and the Caspian Sea, to with-hold it from firet variance, ching farther East: this Asian Sarmatia being part of that Scythia which Ptolomie cal-Icth Scythia intra Imaum montem : Scythia within the Mountaine Imaus. And the fame Mathias Michon farther affirmeth, that the Scythians (which Frier Annius Would make Armenians) came not into Sarmatia Afiatica it selfe above three hundred and a few odde so yeeres before his owne time : thefe be his words: Constat eam esse gentem novam, or adventitiam à partibus Orientis (mutatis sedibus) paulo plus abbine trecentis annis Asia Sarmatian ingressam It is manifest (faith he, speaking of the Scythian Nation) that this is a late planted Nation, come from the coasts of the East: from whence they entred into Asia, & gat new seates a little more than 200 yeeres fince: For (indeed) before that time the Gothes or Pouloci inhabited Sarmatia Afatica. And this Mathias lived in the yeere 1511 and this his Discourse of Sarmatia was printed at Augusta in the yeere 1506. as Bucholzerus in his Chronologie witnesseth-Now these Soythians (faith he) came from the East, for in the East it was that the Arke of Noah rested, and the Soytha Saca were those people which lived at the North foot of those Mountaines, of Taurus or Ararat, where they encounter or begin to mixe o themselves with the great Imaus. And were there no other testimony than the general! description of the Earth now extant, and the witnesse of Ptolomie, it is plaine, that betweene all parts of Armenia, and Scythia, there are not only those three Regions of Col. chis, Iberia, and Albania, but the Caspian Sea: on the East shore of which Sea, but not on the West, or on that part which any way toucheth Armenia, there are (indeed) a Nation of Soythians (called Ariace) betweene Jaxartus and Jattus; but what are these Soythiansto any Ariaca, or Soythia Araxea, which Annius placeth in Armenia, morethan

the Scytbians of Europe?

The fift Argument, The Vine must grow naturally neere the placewhere the Arke rested.

O this if we adde the confideration of this part of the Text, That NOAH planted Gengates a Vineyard, we shall find that the fruit of the Vine or Raysin did not grow naturally in that part of Armenia, where this resting of the Arke was supposed: for if the Vine was a stranger in Italie and France, and brought from other Countries thither, it is not probable that it grew naturally in Armenia, being a farre colder Country. For Tyrrhenus first brought Vines into France, and Saturnus into Latium: yea at such times as Brennus and the Gaules invaded Italie, there were few or no Vines in France. For faith Plutarch in the life of Camilus) the Gaules remained betweene the Pyrenai and the Alpes, Servin Acuidi neere unto the Senones, where they continued a long time, untill they drunke Wine, Europius, which was first brought them out of Italie; and after they tasted thereof, they hasted to inhabite that Country, which brought forth fuch pleafant fruit: fo as it appeareth, that the Plant of the Vine was not naturall in France, but from Italie brought thither; as by Saturne from else where into Italy.

Nowit is manifest, that Noah travailed not farre to feeke out the Vine. For the Planta? tion thereof is remembred, before there was any counsaile how to dispose of the World among his children: and the first thing he did, was, to till the ground, and to plant a Vineyard, after the Sacrifice and Thankefgiving to God; and wherefoever the Arke refted,

Com.z.Af

Admeridient Hexo Bofphoro parsseptentionalis ponte Ettxini u[q;in ostium Coracis Auvii: unde ithittis à parte dextra Colchis. Iberis, Albanifq

Gen. 8.14.

Epoph.Lx.contra

there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appeare, that he travailed far: for the Scriptures teach us, that he was a Husband-man, and not a Wanderer.

An answer to anobjection out of the words of the Text: The Lord scattered them from thence upon the face of the whole earth.

Nd that all the children of Noah came together into Shinaar, it doth not appeare faving that it may be inferred out of these words (from thence) because it is written: So that the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the earth; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Tower: for those were from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, & to the Westward. And by these words of Sybilla (as they be converted) it seemeth that all came not together into Shinaar; for they have this limitation: Quidam eorum turrem adificarunt altissimam,quasi per eam cœlum essent ascensuri : Certaine of them built a most high Towar, as if they meant thereby to have scaled the Heavens.

†. X. An answer to the objection of the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia : and the heighth of the Hils there.

Ut before I conclude this part, it is necessarie to see & consider, what part of Scripture, and what reason may be found out, to make it true or probable, that the Arke of Noah was for faken by the waters on the Mountaines of Armenia. For the Text hath onely these words: The Arke rested on (or upon) the Mountaines of Ararat, or Armenia, faith the marginall note of the Geneva: the Chaldean Paraphrast cals it Kardn; of which, the highest hath the name of Lubar, saith Epiphanius. Now this Ararat (which the Septuagint doe not convert at all, but keepe the same word) is taken to be a Mountaine of Armenia, because Armenia it selfe had anciently that name : so as first out of the name, and fecondly out of the heighth (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the Arke first sate thereon.

But these suppositions have no foundation: for neither is Ararat of Armenia alone, neither is any part, or any of those Mountaines of equall stature to many other Mountaines of the World; and yet it dothnot follow, that the Arke found the highest Mountaine of all other to rest on: for the Plaines were also uncovered, before Noah came out of the Arke. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this Ararat, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might give more credit to the conceit. For in the Bookes of the Sybils it is written, that the Mountaines of Ararat are in Phrygia, upon which it was supposed that the Arke stayed after the Floud. And the better to particularize the place and seate of these Mountaines, and to prove them in Phrygia, and not Armenia, they are placed where the City of Calenes was afterward built. Likewise in the same discription shee maketh mention of Marsyas, a River which runneth through part of Phrygia and afterward joyneth it selfe with the River Meander, which is farre from the Gordinan Mountaines in Armenia. We may also finde a great mistaking in Jose-PHUS (thoughout of Berosus, who is in effect the Father of this opinon) that Jose PHUS sets Ararat betweene Armenia and Parthia, toward Adiabene, and affirmeth withall, that in the province of Caron (by others Kairos and Arnos, so called by reason that the waters have from thence no descent, nor issue out, the people vaunt that they had in those dayes reserved some peices of Noahs Arke. But Parthia toucheth no where upon Armenia, for Armenia bordereth Adiabene, a Province of Affyria: fo that all Media and a part of Affyria is betweene Parthia and Armenia. Now whereas the so discoverie of the Mountaines Cordiai was first borrowed out of Berosus by Josephus; yet the Text which Josephus citeth out of Berofus, differs far from the words of that Berofus, which wandreth up and downe in these dayes, set out by Annius. For Berosus, cited by Josephus, hath these words . Fertur & navigit hujus pars in Armenia apud montem Cordixorum superesse er quosdam Bitumen inde abrasum secum reportare, quo vice amuletilici bujus homines uti solent: (which is) It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remaining in Armenia upon the Cordiaan Mountaines; & that diverse doscrape from it the Bitamen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they use it in stead of an amulet. But Annius his

Edition of the Fragment of Berofus useth these words: Nam elevata ab aquis in Gordia montis vertice quievit, cujus adhuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, & homines ex illa Bitumen tollere quo maxime utuntur ad expiationem: For the whole Irke being lifted up by the waters, rested on the top of the Gordinan Mountatines, of which it is reported that some tarts remaine, and that men doe carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith: so as in these two Texts (besides the difference of wordes) the name is diversly written. The ancient Berosus writes Cordiei with a (C.) and the Fragment Gordiei with a (G.) the one that the Bitumen is used for a preservative against Poyson or Inchantment; the other in Sacrifice. And if it be faid that they agree in the generall, yet it is reported by neither from any certaine knowledge, nor from any approved Authour: for one of them, useth the word (fertur) the other (dicitur) the one, that so it is reported, the other, that fo it is faid; and both but by heare-fay, and therefore of no authority nor credit. For common bruit is so infamous an Historian, as wise men neither report after

of the Historie of the World.

it, nor give credit to any thing they receive from it. Furthermore, these Mountaines which Ptolomie cals Gordiai, are not those Mountaines which himselse giveth to Armenia, but he calleth the Mountaines of Armenia Moschici. These be his owne words: Montes Armenia nominantur ii, qui Moschici appellantur, qui protenduntur usq; ad superjacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & mons qui Piol. Afaciali, penantur, que procenament of 15 mons of Armenia are they which are called Moschici, stretcht Pargardes dicitur: The Mountaines of Armenia are they which are called Moschici, stretcht raryarues account part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: also the Hill which is called Paryardes: which Mountaines Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Gordiei or Plinie calleth pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Calleth Pariedri, & both which lye to the North of Calleth Pari Baris, in 43. and 44. and a halfe; and the Gordinan Mountaines in 39. and a halfe: from the Northermost of which did the Georgians take their names, who were first Gordians, and then Georgians, who amidst all the strength of the greatest Insidels of Persia and Turkie, doe still remaine Christians. Concerning the other suppositions, that the Mountaines of Gordiai, otherwise Baris, Kardu or Lubar (which Ptolomie calleth Torgodiaion)

are the highest of the World, the same is absolutely false.

CHAP.7.S.10.+.11.

†. XI. Of Caucasus, and divers farre higher hils than the Armenian.

Or the best Cosmographers with other, that have seene the Mountaines of Armenia; find them farre inferiour, and under-fetto divers other Mountaines even in that part of the World and also rubers as the Mountaines even in that part of the World, and else where: as the Mountaine Athos between Macedon & Thrace, which Ptolomie cals Olympus, now called Lacas, (faith Caftaldus) is farre furmounting any Mountaine that ever hath beene feene in Armenia: for it cafteth shade three hundred furlongs, which is feven and thirtie miles and upwards : of which Plutarch : Athos Plut Municipal adumbrat latera Lemnia bovis: Athos shadoweth the Cow of Lemnos. Also the Mount of com Olympus in The salie, is said to be of that heighth, as neither the Windes, Cloudes or Raine overtop it. Againe, the Mountaine of Antandrus in Mysia, not farre from Ida, whence the River Scamandrus floweth, which runneth through Troy, is also of a farre more admiration than any in Armenia, and may be feene from Constantinople. There are also in Mauritania neere the Sea, the famous Mountaines of Atlas, of which HERO-DOTUS: Extat in hoc mari Mons cui nomen Atlas, ita sublimis esse dicitur, ut ad illius verticem oculi mortalium pervenire non possint : Upon this Coast there is a Mountaine called Atlas, whose heighth is sayd to be such, as theeye of no mortall man can discerne the top thereof. And if we may believe Arifforle, then are all these inseriour to Caucasus, which he maketh the most notorious both for breadth and height: Caucasus Mons omnium maximus, qui astivum ad ortum sunt, acumine atq, latitudine, cujus juga à Sole radiantur usq, ad con- anit siercons. ticinium abortu : G iterum ab occasu, Caucasus (saith Anistotle) is the greatest Moun- 16.13. taine both for breadth and heighth of all those in the North east, whose tops are lightneed by the Sun-beames, ufq; ad conticinium (which is, faith Macrobius) betweene the first crowing after mid-night and the breake of day : Others affirme, that the top of this Mountaine holds the Sunne-beames when it is darke in the Valley; but I cannot believe either: for the highest Mountaine of the World knowne, is that of Tenerife in the Canaria: which although it hath nothing to the Westward of it for 1000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet dothit not enjoy the Suns company at any fuch late houres. Befides these Mountaines which Aristotle calleth Cancasi, are those which separate Colebia from

CHAP.7.S.10. +.14.15.

Plinie in his

Iberia; though (indeed) Caucasus doth divide both Colchi, Iberia, and Albania from Sarmatia: for he acknowledgeth that the River of Phasis riseth in the same Mountaine, which himselfe calleth Caucasus, and that Phasis springeth from those Hils which funder Colchis from Iberia, falling afterward into Euxinus: which River (it is manifest) yeeldeth it selfe to the Sea, two degrees to the North of Trapezus (now Trabefunda) howsoever Mercator bring it from Paryardes.

†. X I I.

Of divers incongruities if in this Storie we should take Ararat for Armenia.

O asit doth first appeare, that there is no certaintie what Mountaine Ararat was: for the Bookes of the Sybils fet it in Phrygia, and Berofus in Armenia: and as for Berosus authoritie, those men have great want of proofes that borrow from thence. Secondly, that Baris was the highest Hill, and therefore most likely that the Arke grounded thereon, the affertion and supposition have equall credit: for there are many Hils which exceed all those of Armenia; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as

is before written) that the Arke should fit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proved that there is any fuch Hill in Armenia, or in rerum natura, as Baris : for Baris (faith Hierome) fignifieth high Towers : and fo may all high Hils be called indifferently; and therefore we may better give the name of Baris to the, Hils of Caucasus (out of which Indus riseth) than to any Hils of Armenia. For those of Caucafus in the East, are undoubtedly the highest of Asia.

Fourthly, the Authours themselves doe not agree in what Region the Mountaines Gordiai stand: for Ptolomie distinguisheth the Mountaines of Armenia from the Gordiaan, and calleth those of Armenia Moschici and Paryardes, as aforesaid. Now Paryardes is feated neere the middle of Armenia, out of which on the West-side riseth Euphrates, and out of the East-side, Araxis: and the Mountaines Moschici are those Hils which difjoyne Colchis, Iberia, and Albania (now the Country of the Georgians) from Armenia.

t. XIII.

Of the contrary lituation of Armenia, to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no marvaile that the same Ledge of Hils running from Armenia to India, should keepe the same name all along: and even in India be called Ararat.

Aftly, we must blow up this Mountaine Ararat it selfe, or else we must digge downe, and carry it out of Armenia, or find it else where, and in a warmer Country, and (withall) fer it East from Shinaar; or else we shall wound the Truth it selse

with the weapons of our owne vaine imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to every eye, we must understand, that Art rat (named by Moses) is not any one Hill, so called, no more than any one Hill among those Mountaines which divide Italie from France, is called the Alpes: or any one a mong those which part France from Spaine is the Pyrenian; but as these, being continu ations of many Hils, keepe one name in divers Countries: fo all that long Ledge of mountaines, which Plinie calleth by one name Taurus, and Ptolomie both Taurus, Niphaus Coatras, Coronus, Sariphi, untill they encounter and croffe the Mountaines of the great Imaus, are of one generall name, and are called the Mountaines of Ararat or Armenia, because from thence or thereabout they seeme to arise. So all these Mountaines of Hycania, Armenia, Coraxis, Caspii, Moschiel, Amazonici, Heniochi, Scythici, (thus diversly called by Plinie and others) Prolomie cals by one name Caucasus, lying betweene the Seas Caspium and Euxinus: as all those Mountaines which cut asunder America, even so from the new kingdome of Granado, to the streight of Magellan, are by one name called Andes. And as these Mountaines of Ararat runne East and West, so doe those marvais lous Mountaines of Imaus firetch themselves North and South; and being of like extent well-neere, are called by the name of Imaus, even as Plinie called these former hils Take rus, and Moses the hils of Ararat. The reason of severall names given by Ptolomie, Was, thereby the better to distinguish the great Regions and Kingdomes, which these great mountaines bound and diffever; as Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Media, Susiana, Persia, Parthia, Caramania, Aria, Margiana, Battria, Sogdiana, and Paropanisus: ha-

ving all these Kindomes either on the North or South side of them. For all the mountaines of Asia (both the leffe and the greater) have three generall names, (to wit) Taurus, Imvus, and Caucafus: and they receive other titles, as they fever and divide particular places and regions. For these mountaines which funder Cilicia from the rest of A flathelesse on the North side, are called Taurus; and those mountaines, which part it from Comagena (a Province of Syria) are called Amanus: the mountaines called Taurus running East and West, as Imaus doth North and South. Through Taurus the River of Euphrates forceth her paffage, leaving the name of Amanus to the mountaines on her West-banke, and on her East side the mountaines are sometimes knowne by the name To of Taurus, (as in Ptolomies three tables of Asia) and sometimes Niphates; (as in the fourth) retaining that uncertaine appellation fo long as they bound Armenia from Melopotamia: and after the River of Tygris cutteth them afunder, they then take the name of Niphates altogether, untill they separate Assyria and Media; but then they call themfelves Coatras, though betweene the upper and nether Media, they doe not appeare, but altogether discontinue. For at Mazada in Media they are not found, but runne through the Easterne Media by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themselves 0fontes, and towards the East part Coronus; out of the Southerne part whereof the River of Bagradus rifeth, which divideth the ancient Persian from Caramania: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of Coronus, they give to the Parthians and Hyrcanians their proper Countries. This done, they change themselves into the mounraines of Sariphi, out of which rifeth the River Margus, afterward yeelding her selfe to Oxus (now Abia): and drawing now neere their wayes end, they first make themselves the South border of Bactria, and are then honoured with the Title of Paropanisus and lastly of Caucasia, even where the famous River of Indus, with his principal companions Hydaspis and Zaredrus, spring forth and take beginning. And here doe these Mountaines build themselves exceeding high, to equal the strong Hils called Imaus of Scythia, which encounter each other in 35. 36 and 37 degrees of Latitude, and in 140. of Longirude : of the which the West parts are now called Delanguer, and the rest Nagracot; and these Mountaines in this place onely are properly called Caucasi (saith Ptolomie) that Ptolomie) is, betweene Paropanists and Imaus: and improperly, betweene the two Seas of Caspiam and Pontus.

t. XIIII.

of the best vine naturally growing on the South side of the Mountaines Caucasi and toward the East Indies: and of other excellencies of the soile.

TOw in this part of the Worlditis, where the Mountaine and River Janus; & the Mountaine Nyseus (so called of Bacchus Niseus or Noah) are found: and on these highest Mountaines of that part of the world did Goropius Becanus conceive that the Arke of Noah grounded after the Floud; of all his conjectures the most probable, and by best reason approved. In his Indoscythia he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantastical opinions of this subject. And as the same Becanus also noteth, that as in this part of the world are found the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same Line, and in 34.35. & 36. degrees of Septentrionall Latitude, are the most delicate Winesof the World, namely, in Judaa, Candia, and other parts of Greece: and likewife in this Region of Margiana: and under these Mountaines Strabo affirmeth, that the most excellent Vines of the World are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: & it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of Palestina, wherethe fearchers of the land, by Mofes direction, found bunches of equal bignes at Efcol. Num o.13.13.

The fruitfulnesse of this place (to wit) on the South bottome of these Hils, Curtius wirneffeth. Forin Margiana neere the Mountaines of Meros did Alexander feaft himselfe and his Armie tendaies together, finding the most delicate Wine of all other.

The conclusion, with a briefe repeating of divers chiefe points.

A Nd therefore to conclude this opinion of Ararat, it is true, that those Mountaines doe also traverse Armenia: yea, and Armenia it selfe sometime is knowne by the

L.5.6.27.

name of Ararat. But as Plinie giveth to this ledge of high Hils, even from Cilicia to Paroponisus and Caucasus, the name of Taurus: and as the Hils of France and Germanie are called the Alpes: and all betweene France and Spaine the Pyrenes: and in America the continuation of Hils for 3000 miles together, the Andes: so was Ararat the generall name which Moses gave them; the diversitie of appellations no otherwise growing, than name which Moses gave them; the diversitie of appellations no otherwise growing, than the diversity dividing and bordering divers Regions and divers Countries. For in the like by their dividing and bordering divers Regions and divers Countries. For in the like case doe we call the Sea, which entreth by Gibraltar, the Mediterran and inland Sea; and yet where it washeth the Coasts of Carthage, and over against it, it is called Tyrrhenum: betweene Italie and Greece, Ionium: from Venice to Durazzo, Adriaticum: betweene Athens and Asia, Aegeum: betweene Sesus and Abydus, Hellespont: and afterward to Pontus, Propontis, and Bosphorus. And as in these, so is the Ocean to the North-cast part of Scotland called Deucaledonycum: and on this side, the Brittaine Sea: to the East, the Germane and Baltick, and then the Frozen.

For a finall end of this question we must appeale to that Judge, which cannot erre, even to the Word of Truth, which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plaine sense: seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other construction than the plaine sense: seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other construction than the words beare literally, because they are used to the very same plaine purpose of a dewords beare literally, because they are used to the very same plaine purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely, where the sense is plaine (and being so understood, it bringeth with it no subsequent inconvenience or contrarietic) we ought to be warie, how we fancie to our selves any new or strange examposition; And (withall) to resolve our selves, that every word as aforesaid) hath his weight in Gods Booke. And therefore we must respect and reverence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such sort as Saint Angustine hath taught us touching the Gospell of Christ Jesus (which is) Nequis aliter accipiat (quod narrantibus Discipulis Christ) in Evangelio legerit, quam si ipsam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conspexerit; That no man otherwise take or understand that which he readeth in the Sospel (the Disciples of Christ having writtenit Ithan is he had seene the very hand of the Lord;

which he bare in his owne body, setting it downe.

Gent. 11.7.2.

The wordes then of Moses which end this dispute, are these: And as they went from the East, they found a Playne in the land of Shinaar, and there they abode: which provethy without controversie, that Nimrod, and all with him, came from the East into Shinaar; and therefore the Arke of Noah rested and tooke land to the East-ward thereof. For we must remember, that in all places wheresoever Moses maketha difference of Countries, he alwayes precifely nameth toward what quarters of the world the fame were feated: as where he teacheth the plantation of Joctan, he nameth Sephar, a Mount in the East: where he remembreth Cains departure from the presence of God, he addeth; And CAIN dwelt in the land of Nod towards the East-side of Eden: And when he describeth the Tents and Habitations of Abraham after he departed from Sechem, he useth these words; Afterwards removing thence unto a Mountaine East-ward from Bethel, he pitched his Tents: baving Bethel on the West-side, and Hai on the East: and afterward in the ninth Verse of the same Chapter it is written; And ABRAHAM went forth journeying towards the South also when Ezechiel prophecieth of Gog and Magog, he sheweth that these Nations of Togorma were of the North quarters and of the Queene of Sabait is written, that she came from the South to visit Salomon: And the Magi (or wisemen) came out of the East to offer presents unto Christ. And that all Regions, and these travailes were precisely set down upon the points of the Compasse and quarters of the world, it is most manifest: for Eden was due East from Judea; Saba South from Hierusalem: the way from Bethel to Egypt directly South; and the Calofyrians, the Tubalines and Magogians inhabited the Regions directly North from Palestina, and so of the rest. But Armenia answereth not to this description of Shinaar by Moses. For to come out of Armenia, and to arrive in 50 that Valley of Babylonia, is not a journying from the East, nor so neere unto the East as the North: for Armenia is to the West of the Northit selfe; and we must not say of Moses (whose hands the holy Ghost directed) that he erred toto calo, and that he knew not East from West. For the body of Armenia standeth in fortie three degrees Septentrionall, and the North part thereof in forty five; and those Gordiaan Mountaines, whereon it was supposed that the Arke rested, stand in fortie one. But Babylonia, and the Valley of Shinaar are fituated in thirtie five; and for the Longitude (which maketh the differ ence betweene East and West) the Gordinan Mountaines stand in 75. degrees, and

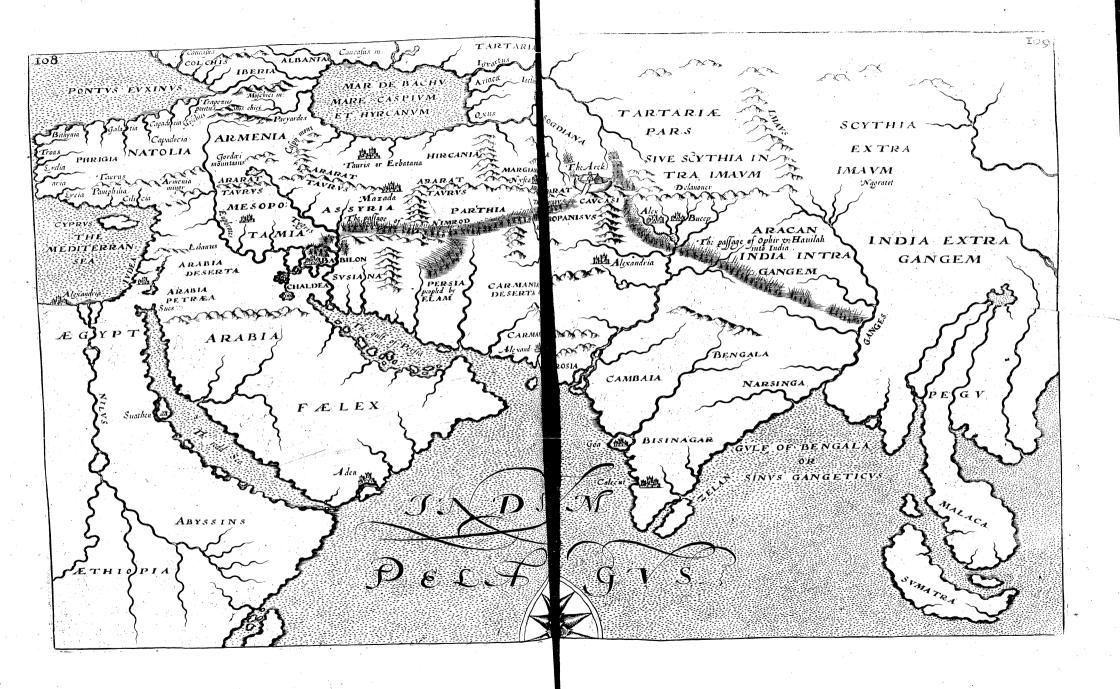
Gen. 10.30.

Gen.12.8.

Ezeb.38.6. Matth.12.42.

Mauh.z.v.I.

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the Vally of Shinaar in 79. and 80. And therefore Armenia lyeth from Shinaar Northwest, nintie five degrees from the East; and if Armenia had beene but North, vet ir had differed from the East one whole quarter of the Compasse. But Gregorie and Hierome warne us, Inscripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet: nam singuli sermones. Collaba, apices, & puncta in divina Scriptura plena sunt sensibus; In the Scriptures the least difference may not be omitted: for every speech, syllable, note, or accent, and point in divine Scriptimes are replenished with their meanings. And therefore seeing Moss teacher hus that the children of Noah came from the East, we may not believe Writers (of little authority) who also speake by heare-say and by report, ut fertur, & ut dicitur, as Berosus and Nicolaus Damascenus, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at alladventure. But this is infallibly true, that Shinaar lyeth West from the place where the Arke of Noah rested after the floud; and therefore it first found ground in the East. from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The East parts were first civill. which had Noah himselfe for an Instructer: and directly East from Shinaar in the same degree of 25 are the greatest grapes and the best Wine. The great Armies also which overtopped in number those Millions of Semiranis, prove, that those parts were first planted. And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reason sufficient: for my selfe I build on his words who in plaine termes hath told us, that the Sonnes of Noah came out of the East into Shinaar, and there they abode. And therefore did the Arke rest on those Easterne Mountaines, called by one generall name Tanrus, and by Moses the Mountaines of Ararat, and not on those Mountaines of the North-west, as Berosus first fained, whom most part of the Writers have followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentifull warme East where Noah rested, where he planted the Vine, where he tilled the ground and lived thereon. Placuit vero Noacho agricultura studium, in qua tractanda inse omnium peritifimus esse dicitur: ob eamq; rem sua ipsius lingua Ish-Adamath (hoc est telluris vir appellatur celebratufa; est. The studie of Husbandriepleased Noah (faith the excellent learned man Arias Montanus) in the knowledge and order of which it is faid, that Noah excelled all men: and therefore was bee called in his owne language a man exercised in the earth. Which also sneweth, that he was no Wanderer; and that he troubled not himselfe with the contentions, beginning again in the world, and among men, but stayed in his destined places, and in that part of the world, where he was first delivered out of the prison of the Arke, whereinto God had committed him, to preferve him and mankind.

of the History of the World.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the Floud; and of the Sons of NOAH, SHEM, HAM, and TAPHET, by whom the earth was re-peopled.

Whether SHEM and HAM were elder than JAPHET.

Fifthese Sonnes of Noah, which was the eldest, there is a question made. Saint Augustine esteemed Shem for the eldest, Ham for the second, and Japher for Augustine esteemed Shem for the eldest, Ham for the second, and Japher for Augustinity the youngest: and herein the opinions of Writers are divers. But this we Declarate finde every where in the Scriptures, and especially in Moses, that there was never any respect given to the eldest in yeeres, but in vertue; as by the examples of Henoch, Abraham, Jacob, and David, is made manifest. In a few words, this is the ground of the controversie; The Latine translation, and so the Geneva, hath converted this Scripture of Genesis the 10.0.21. in these words: Unto Shem also the Father of all the Sonnes of Heber, and elder brother of JAPHET, were children borne. But Junius agreeing with the Septuagint, placeth the same words in this manner: to Shim also the Father of all the Sons of HEBER, and brother of JAPHET the eldest sonne, were children borne: So the transposition of the word (elder) made this difference. For if the word (elder) had followed after Japhet, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it beene as plaine for Japhet, as it is by these translations for Shem. Now(the mat-

ter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods blessings are not tyed to first and last in

CHAP.8. \$.2.

Gen. 11.10.

Gen.9.0.24.

En Gen

Gen.11. V.10.

bloud, but to the eldest in pietie, yet the arguments are stronger for faphet than for shem. And where the Scriptures are plainely understood without any danger or inconvenience. it seemeth strange why any man of judgement should make valuation of conjecturall arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that Noah in the five hundreth yeere of his gomenes, or mens opinions of his three Sonnes, Shem, Ham, and Japhet: and in the fixe hundreth life, begate the first of his three Sonnes, Shem, Ham, and Japhet: yeere (to wit) the hundreth yeere following, came the generall floud; two yeeres after which shem begate Arphaxad, which was in the yeere 602. of Noahs life, and in the yeere of Shems life one hundred: fo as Shem was but 100. yeeres old, two yeeres after the floud : and Noah begat his first borne being 500. yeers old, and therefore, were Shem the elder, he had then beene a hundred yeeres old at the floud, and in the fixe hundreth is yeere of Noahs life, and not two yeeres after. Which feeing the Scriptures before remembred hath denyed him, and that it is also written: Then NOAH awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger some had done unto him (to wit) HAM; of necessitie the first placedoth belong to Japhet. This younger son, so converted by the vulgar and Geneva, Ju. placedotti belong to Japanes 1 in Joungest some; but S. Chrysoftome takes it otherwise, and nius turnes it filius minimus; His youngest some; but S. Chrysoftome takes it otherwise, and findes Cham to be the middle or fecond brother, and Fapher the youngest sonne of all: which Cham for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father (whose nakednesse he derided) was dif-inherited, and loft the preeminencie of his birth, as Efau and Ruben did. Percrius conceiveth that Ham was called the younger in respect of Shem the eldest, but avoweth withall, that the Hebrew hath not that precise difference of younger and youngest, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that Shem himselfe was alwayes named in the first place, yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth Chapter of Genesis, Shem is accounted before Japhet: in the second Verse Moses leaveth to begin with the iffue by shem, and reciteth the children of Japhet first. So the first place was given to Shem for his election and benediction, and for this weightie respect, that the Hebrem Nation, Abraham, the Prophets, David, and Christ our Saviour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the Vulgar Pagninus, and the Geneva, who agree in this conversion, SHEM Frater JAPHET major; or with the Septuagint, Junius and Tremelius, SHEM fratris JAPHET majoris 5 or with Pererius, SHEM frater JAPHET ille magnus: inferring that Shem was the great and famous brother of Japhet, let the Read der judge. But for ought that I have seene to the contrarie, it appeareth to me that Japher was the eldeft. For where Pererius qualifieth the strength of the former Argument, That Shems age at the time of the floud did not agree with the eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures tooke no account of smaller numbers) I doe not finde in the Scriptures tures any fuch neglect at all: for it is written, that SHEM was an hundred yeeres old, or be. gat Arphaxad imo yeeres after the floud; and againe in the 12. Verse: So Shela livel after he begat EBAR, foure hundred and three yeeres, Gre. fo as the number of two yeers, of three yeeres, of five yeeres, and afterward of two yeeres, were alwayes precifely accounted.

The first Booke of the first part

6. II.

Of divers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the world as that all Histories must yeeld to Moses: that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that knowne great Lords of the first ages were of the Issue of HAM.

Ut let us goe unto the Worlds plantation after the floud, which being rightly understood, we shall find that many Nations have supposed or fayned themselves those Ancestors and Fathers, which never faw or approached the bounds of their 50 Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plaine in the Scriptures how the fons and iffues of Noah were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Author may receive allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, That they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For fo far as the story of Nations is therin handled, we must know, that both the truth & antiquity of the books of God find no companions equall, either in age or authority. All record, memoric, and testimony of antiquitie what loever, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the fame hath

beene borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all carefull observers of time have noted: among which thus writeth Eufebius in the Proame of his Chronologie: Mos Es is found more ancient than all those whom the Grecians make most ancient, as Homer, Hesion, and the Trajan warre; and far before Hercules, Museus, Linus, Chiron; ORPHEUS, CASTOR, POLLUX, ASCULAPIUS, BACCHUS, MERCURIUS, and Apollo. and the rest of the gods of the nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of Jupiren, whom the Greekes have feated in the top and highest Turret of their Divinitie.

For of the three Jupiters remembred by Cicero, the ancientest was the some of Ather citero de Nace whose three sons begotten on Proserpina, were borne at Athens, of which Cecrops was the Decrumilis. first King: and in the end of Cecrops time did Moses bring the children of Israel out of Egypt: Eduxit Moses populum Dei ex Egypto novisimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensis Regis: Moses brought the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the last dayes of Cecrops, king of the Athenians, faith S. Augustine : and yet was not Cecrops the Founder of the Citie it Decivil Dei, felfe, but Thefens long after him. But because the truth hereof is diversly proved, and by many learned Authors; I will not cut afunder the purpose in hand, by alledging many authorities in a needlesse question, but leave it to the proper place.

First, we are to consider that the world after the Floud was not planted by imaginations neither had the children of Noah wings to flie from Shinaar to the uttermost border of Europe, Africa, and A sia, in haste, but that these children were directed by a wife Fathers who knew those parts of the world before the Floud, to which he disposed his children after it, and fent them not as Difcoverers, or at all-adventure, but affigured and allotted to every Sonne and their iffues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous Authors, who have no other end than to flatter Princes (as Virgil did Augustus in the fiction of Aneas) or else to glorifie their owne Nations; Let us build herein upon the Scriptures themselves, and after them upon Reason and Nature. First therefore we must call to minde and consider, what manner of face the earth every-where had in the 130-yeere after the great inundation, and by comparing those fruitfillest Vallies, with our own barren and cold ground, informe our felves thereby, what wonderfull Defarts, what impassable fastnesse of woods, reeds, bryars, and rotten grasse, what Lakes and standing Pooles, and what Marishes, Fens, and Bogs, all the face of the earth (excepting the Mountaines) was peftered withall. For if in this our Climate (where the dead and destroying Winter depresset all vegetative and growing Nature, for one halfe of the yeere in effect) yet in twenty or thirty yeers, these our grounds would all overgrow and be covered (according to the nature thereof) either with Woods, or with other of fensive Thickets and Bushments: much more did all forts of Plants, Reedes, and Trees, prosper in the most fruitfull Vallies, and in the Climate of a long and warme Summer, and having withall the flart of 130. years, to raife themselves without controlement.

This being confidered, it will appeare, that all these people which came into Shinaar, 50 and over whom Nimrod either by order or strength tooke the Dominion, did after the confusion of Languages, and at such time as they grew to be a mighty People, disperse themselves into the Regions adjoyning to the said Vallie of shinaar, which contained the best part of Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Chaldaa; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated, some of them rowards the South, others towards the West and North. And although there were allotted to Shem many Regions, both East and West from Shinaar, with the Dominion of Palastina, which the Canaanits first possest; yet could be not enjoy the lot of his inheritance on the sudden, but by time and degrees. For wee finde, that Abraham, the true successions of shem, dwelt in CHAP.8. \$.2.

Chaldea at Ur; and from thence (called by God) he rested at Charran in Mesopotamia: from whence after the death of Thare he travailed to Sichem in Palestina: and yet there had passed betweene Shem and Abraham (reckoning neither of themselves) seven Descents, before Abraham moved out of Chaldea; where, and in Babylonia, all those people by Nimrod commanded, inhabited for many yeers, and whence Nimrod went out into Assyria, and sounded Nineve. Indeed the great Masters of Nations (as farre as we can know) were, in that Age of the Issues of Ham; the blessing of God given by Nosh to Shem and Japhet taking lesse effect, untill divers yeers were consumed; and untill the time arrived, which by the wisedome of God was apointed. For of Chus, Mikraim, and Canain, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdomes of Babylonia, Syina, and Egypt, for many Descents together.

6. III.

Of the Iles of the Gentiles in Japhers portion: of Berosus his too speedie seating Gomer the some of Japher in Italie; and another of Japhers somes Tubal in Spaine:

and of the Antiquitie of Longingue Navigation.

O begin therefore (where Moses beginneth) with the sonnes of Japheth, among whom the Iles of the Gentiles were divided: which division, as well to Japhets fons as to the rest which came into Shinaar, was (if the division were made at Phalegs birth) in the yeere of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the yeares after the Floud one hundred and one, of which question elsewhere.

The habitations proper to the sonnes of Japhet were the Iles of the Gentiles, which include all Europe with all the Ilands adjoyning, and compassing it about: Europe being also taken for an Iland, both in respect that the Sea Hellespont and Ageum, Bosphorus and Euxinus cut it off from the great Continent of Asia, as also because Europe it selfeis (in effect) surrounded with water, faving that it is fastned to Asia by the North, for it hash those Seas before named to the East, the Mediterran to the South and Southwest, the Oceanto the West, and Brittish, Germane, and Balticke Sea, with that of Glaciale to the North North-east, and North-west. Besides, it hath about it all the Cyclades or Iles lying between Greece and the lesser Asia, and the Iles of Rhodes, Cyprus, Creete, or Candia, Sicilia, Carsica, Sardinia, Malta, the Iles of Brittanie and Zealand, with their young ones adjacent.

n9.0.27.

Funct-Chronol.

This partition and portion of Japheth, with the part which he held in Afia, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to that bleffing of God by Noah, Dilatt Deus Japheth; Let God fread abroad (or increase the Posteritie of) Japheth, and let him dwell in the Tents of SHEM. For though Junius here useth the word (alliciat) and not dilatet: and the Geneva persuadeat; vet the Septuagint have dilatet or amplificat; and fuch was the bleffing given to our Fathers, which God promifed to Abraham us and his Seede for ever. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of Shem wasa bleffing by God to the Posteritie of Japheth: noting not onely an enlargement of Territories, but that thereby they should be made participant of Gods Church. But to come to Japhets sonnes, of whom Gomer is the eldest. This Gomer (if we may believe Berofus and Annius, whose authoritie the greatest number of all our late Writers have followed) did in the the tenth yeer of Nimrods Reign depart from Babylonia and planted Italie: which also Functius confirmeth in these words, Anno decime NIMRODI, Cr. In the tenth yeere of NIMRODS Reigne, GOMERUS GALLUS planted a Colonie in that Land afterward called Italie: and in the twelfth yeere of the same NIMRODS Reignt Tue Al Cated himselfe in Austuria in Spaine (new called Biscay) which was in the 140.4nd in the 142 yeares after the Floud, according to BEROSUS. But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confusion of Tongues the children of Noah did not separate themselves, at least so many of them as came with Nimred into Shinaar. Let us therefore confider with reason, what time the building such a Citie and Tower required, where there was no prepared matter, norany readie meanes to performe fuch a worke as Nimrod had erected (and as Functius himselfe out of his Author Berofus witnesset) ad alitudinem & magnitudinem montium; To the beighth and magnitude of the Mountaines. Sure that both this Citic and Tower was almost builded, the Scriptures witnesse: But

the Lord came downe to fee the Citie and Tower, which the Sonnes of menbuilded. Let us generate then but allot a time fufficient for the making of Bricke to fuch a Worke, of the greatest heighth (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that ever was: For where the univerfall Floud covered the highest Mountaines fifteene Cubits; Let us build us a Citie and Tower (faith NIMROD) whose top may reach unto the Heaven: meaning, that they would raise their Worke above fifteene Cubits higher than the highest Mountaine. otherwise they could not affure themselves from the seare of a second inundation: a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the Worke. They alfo began this building upon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the world: 20 as by the great ruine which these waters, forcibly over-bearing and over-slowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest, approved also by the Prophet Hieremy, speaking of Babylon in these words: Thou that dwellest upon many waters. It cannot be doubted but that there needed a fubstantiall foundation, for fo high a raifed building on a marish ground: and to which, Glycas upon Genesis giveth forty vecres. For it feemeth, that the Tower was neere finished when God overthrew it: it being afterward written, So the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the Earth, and they left to build the Citie. Out of which place it may be gathered (because the Tower is not then named) that they very neere had performed the Work of their supposed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the Citic adjoyning, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted, that till such time as this contusion seized them (whereupon the Tower was throwne down) these Nations did not disperse themselves: for from thence the Lord scattered them upon all the Earth, (that was) when they perceived Genti not one anothers speech. Now to thinke that this worke in the newnesse of the World (wanting all inftruments and materials) could be performed in ten yeares; and that Tubal and Gomer in the same yeere could creepe through 3000 miles of Defart, with Women, Children, and Cattell: let those light Beleevers, that neither tye themselves to the Scripture, nor to reason approve it, for I doe not. And if the Arke of Noah was 100. yeares in building, or but neere fuch a time, (and then) when the World had frood 1556. yeares, it were more than foolishnesse and madnesse it selfe, to thinke that such a Worke as this could be performed inten; when the World (from the Floud to the arrivall at Babel, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. yeares, and whereof they had spent some part in travelling from the East. Againe, if all Asia set to their The helping hands in the building of the Temple of Diana, and yet they confumed in that Work 400. yeares (or be it but halfe that time) and in fuch an Age as when the World flourished in all forts of Artificers, and with aboundant plentie of materials and carriages: This Worke of the Tower of ? oel could hardly (with all the former wants supposed) be erected in those few yeers remembred. And for conclusion, let all men of judgement. weigh with themfelves how impossible it was for a Nation or Family of men, with their Wives, and Children, and Cattell, to travell 3000 miles through Woods, Bogs, and Defarts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we shall find it rather a Worke of 100. years than of 100 dayes. For in the West Indies, of which the Spaniards have the experience, in those places where they found neither Path nor Guide, they have not entred the Countrey ten miles in ten yeeres. And if Nimrods people spent many yeeres by the account before remembred in passing from the East India or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115. Degrees of Longitude, untill they came into Shinaer which lyeth in 79. Degrees (the distance betweene those places contaying 36. Degrees, which makes 720. Leagues, which is 2160. miles) & did all the way keepe the Mountaines and hard ground; then the difference betweene Babylon and Bifeay is much more: for the bodie of Biscay lyeth inten Degrees, and Babylon or Shinaar, (as aforefaid) in 79. so the length of way from Shinaar to Aufturia or Biscay is 69. Degrees, which make 1380. Leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if Nimrod tooke divers yeares to find Shinaar, which was but 2160 miles:or (supposing that the Arke rested in Armenia) little above 400 miles: there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many yeeres to Gomer and Tubal to travaile 3000. miles, to Countries leffe knowne unto them by far, than the Land of Shinar was to Nimrod. For Paradife was knowne to Noah before the Floud: and fo was the Region of Eden by Moses afterward remembred; but what hee understood of most part of the World else it is unknowne. And therefore did Anniu ill advise himself to plant Gomer in Italie, and Tubal in Spaine, in the tenth and twelfth of Nim-

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Ifa.66.v.8.

rods Reigne: Shall the Earth be brought forth in one day, or shall a Nation be borne at once ? But it may be objected, That the Sonnes of Japheth might come by Sea, and fo fave this great travaile through Defarts by Land. But we never reade of any Navigation in those dayes, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbarke fogreat a people as we may justly suppose those Conductors carryed with them, will not easily beleeve that there were any Veffels in those dayes to transport Armies, and (withall) their Cattell, by whose milke they lived and fed their Children: For Milke and Fruit were the banquetting Dishes of our Fore-Fathers. And in the eldest times, even the Kings and Fathers of Nations valued themselves by the Heards and numbers of their Cattell: who had Flockes of Sheepe, and great Droves, and Heards of their owne, and their owne Sheep-heards and Heardsmen. Now if Tubal had past by Seasfrom any part of Palastina, Syria, or Cilicia, he might have made good choice within the Streights, and not haveover gone Granado, Valentia, and other Provinces in that Tract: pass the Streights of Gibralter, disdayned all Andalusia, and Portugal, with all those goodly Ports and Countries; and have fought out the iron, woody, and barren Countrie of the World (called Bifcar) by a long and dangerous Navigation. But before the journey of the Argonautæ, there were scarce any Vessels that durst crosse the Seas in that part of the world : aud yet that which Talon had (if the Tale be true) was but a Galley, and a poore one (God knowes) and perchance fuch as they use this day in Ireland: which although it carryed but source and fifty Passengers, yet it was farre greater than any of the former times: Erat enim antea parvarum navicularum usus: For in former times they used very small Vessels. I deny not but that the Tyrians gave themselves of old to far-off Navigations, whence Tibulius ascribed the invention of Ships unto them:

The first Booke of the first part

Diod Sicull.4. c.4.fol.115.

Tibull.Eleg.7. Strabol.16.

Primaratem vent is credere doct a Tyros. Tyrus knew first how ships might use the Wind.

Diod.Signt l.r. Plin.1.7.cap.56.

Thuad.

Plin.1.7.2.56.

And for those Boats called longe naves or Gallies, Pliny faith that Agesias ascribeth the device to Paralus: and Philostephanus to Jason: Ctesias to Samyras; and Saphanus to Semiramis : Archimachus to Ageon : to which invention the Erythrai are faid to have added certaine numbers of Oares: and then Aminocles the Corinthian to have increased them the Carthaginians afterwards to have brought them to foure Bankes: the Quing, Remi first to have beene used by Nesichthon the Salaminian, with which vessels in those parts of the World, the Romans ferved themselves in the Punicke Warre. But these be perhaps but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the devising of these Gallies on Selosiris, though Semiramis used them in the passage of her Armie over Indus in Abrahams time. So it is faid, that Danaus was the first that brought a Ship into Greece: and yet the Samothracians challenge the invention; and yet Evange 1. Tertide commit Tertullian (on the contrarie) gives it to Minerva: others to Neptune: Thucydides to the Corinthians. And so ignorant were the people of those Ages, as the Egyptians used wi coast the Shores of the Red Seaupon raffes, devised by King Erythrus: and in the time of the Romans, the Brittans had a kind of Boat (with which they crost the Seas) made of small twigs, and covered over with Leather: of which kind I have seene at the Dingle in Ireland, and elfewhere. Naves excorio circumfuta in Oceano Britannico (faith Textori) of which Lucan the Poet.

> Primum cana falix madefacta vimine parvana Texitur in puppim, cafoq; induta juvenco, Vectoris patiens tumi dum superenatat amnem. Sic Venetus lagnante Pado, fusog; Britannus Navigat Oceano.

The movstned Ofver of the hoarie Willow Is woven first into a little Boat: Then cloth'd in Bullockes hide, upon the billow Of a proud river, lightly doth it float Under the Waterman: So on the Lakes of over-fwelling Por Sailes the Venetian: and the Brittaine Sa On th' out-spred Ocean,

And although it cannot be denyed, when Noah by Gods infpiration was inftructed in fo many particulars concerning the Arke, that then many things concerning Navigation were first revealed; yet it appeares that there was much difference betweene the Arke of Noah, and fuch Ships as were for any long Navigation. Yea, ancient Stories shew; that it was long after these times, ere any durst presume upon any long Voyages to Sea, at least with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattell: as also common reason cantellus, that even now when this Art is come to her perfection, such Voyages are very troublesome and dangerous. So as it doth appeare, that there was not in that Age of Nimrod any Ship, or use of Ships fit for any long Navigation. For if Gomer and Tubal had passed themselves and their people by Sea; the exercise of Navigation would nor have beene dead for fo many hundred yeares after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men elfeto their fancies, who have cast Nations into Countries far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of Moses and the Prophets: to which Truth there is joyned both Nature, Reason, Policie, and Necessitie: and to the rest, neither probabilitie, nor possibilitie.

of Gog and MAGOG, THEAL, and MESHEON, feated first about Alia the leffe; out of EZECHIEL, CAP. 38.39.

ullet Ow although many Learned and Reverend men have formed (I know no $^{ar{c}}$ whereby led) a Plantation of the World, which also hath been and is received; yet I hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether from them in many particular lars. Certainly, that great Learned man of this latter Age, Arias Montanus was also in fomethings much militaken: and for Josephus, as he hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errours withall; fo was he in the Plantation of the World very groffe and fabulous; whereby both Eusebius, Hierosolymitanus, Epiphanius, and others, that have taken his tellimonies for currant, have beene by him farre miffe-led. But the better to conceive what Regions of the World Gomer the first some of Japheth possest, as also Tubal, it is needfull to begin with Magog: because the Scriptures take most knowledge of Gog and Magog: which two names have troubled many Commentators, faith Matth. Beroaldus, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that ever I read) I find most judicious in the examination of this Plantation. Hee takes authoritie from the Prophet Ezechiel chiefly, who in the 38 and 39. Chapters directeth us, what Nations the Gomerians, Tubalines, and Togormians were, together with the Magogians: of which Gog was Prince or Chiefe Conductor in their Attempts against Ifrael. For befides the portions of Europe, and the North-east parts of the greater Asia, which Japheths Issues possest, all Asia the lesse was peopled by them. And that those of the Issue o of Japheth (whom Exechiel speakes of) were seated hereabout, it may best appeare, if we confider the circumstances of the place, and the dependencie upon the former Prophefie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter, Ezechiel prophefieth of the uniting of the 0.37.1.13 two Kingdomes of Ifrael and Juda, after their deliverie from captivitie.

By which Prophefie of Ezechiel, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpole it is written; And David my Servant shall be King over them, and they shall have one Sheepheard, (that is) they shall be united as they were in Davids time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter, Ezechiel prophefieth against those Nations, which should seeke to impeach this Union, and disturbe the people of Ifrael, whom God purposed to receive to grace, and promifed to restore. And so in the same Chapter are those Nations coupled together, which infested the Israelites after their returne, and sought to subject them: all which were the Subjects or Allies of Gog, Prince of the Mazogians, or Calofyrians, next bordering Palastina, or the holy Land, followed also by the rest of the Nations of Asia the leffe, which lay North from Judaa. The words of Ezechiel are these: Sonne of man, C38.0.2; set thy face against Goo, and against the Land of Magoo, the chiefe Princes of Messech (or Mosoch) and Tueal: and afterward; Behold, I come against the chiefe Prince of MESECH and TUEAL: and in the fixth verse; Gomen and all his Bands, and the House of Togorma of the North quarters. Herein Ezechiel having first delivered

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In Exech.

L.z.dcFide.

Strab. ib. 13.

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the purpose of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were, that should in vanitie affayle Ifrael. He joyneth them together under their Prince Gog, and sheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of Juda, and how feated and joyned together. Gog fignifieth in the Hebrew (faith Saint Hierome) tectum or covering of a house: and Pintus upon Ezechiel affirmeth that by Goz is meant Antichrist: for (faith he) Antichri-Amerit Diaboli tegumentum sub specie humana: That Antichrist shall be the covering of the Devillunder bumane forme. He addeth, that Mazog is as much to fay as Gog: the Letter (M) being an Hebrew Preposition, and importeth as much as of or from: so hee taketh Magog for those people which follow Ancichrist. So farre Pintus; at least in this not amiffe, that he expoundeth Magog not for any one person, but for a Nation; with which to agreeth this observation of Beroaldus. Magog (faith he) in Hebrew is written Ham-Ma. gog, which sheweth Magog to be a Region or Nation: for the Letter (He) which is used but for an Emphasis (which the Hebrewes call Heliajedia) is never added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as Gog was Prince of that Nation (called either Magog, or, according to others, the people of Gog) also Prince of Meshech, (or Mosoch) and of Tubal: as by the first Verse of the 29. Chapter is made manifest: Behold I come against thee Gog the chiefe Prince of MESHECH and TUBAL. This must needes bee meant by the Successours of Seleucus Nicanor, who did not (as other conquering Nations) seeke to make the Jewes their Tributaries only, but indevoured by all meanes, and by all kinde of violence to extinguish the Religion it selfe (which the Hebrewes profest) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worship and serve the mortall and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name, and dead Images, Saint Ambrofe and Isidore take Gog for the Nation of the Goths . belike because they invaded Europe, and facked Rome, and many other places and Cities thereabour. Hermolaus Barbarus out of Pomp. Mela derives the Turkes from the Scythians, esteemed Magogians of Gog. Many take Gog for the proper name of a Man: others of a Region: others for a Nation inhabiting a Region, as Junius, who fayes that Gog is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the Greekes Stories call Gyges: who in former time having slaine Candaules the Lydian, gave his owne name to that Nation, thence after called Gygades: and thereof also the Gygean Lake; which Lake Strabo also findeth in Lydia, (of which Gyges was King) fortic Furlongs from Sardis Plinie calleth it Gygeum flagnum. Herodotus and Nicander fet it about the Rivers of Hillus, and Manander; but the difference is not great. Marins Niger maketh mention of this Gyges King of Lydia: who after he had fubdued the Countrey about the River Rhodius which runneth into the Hellefpont, called the Promontorie Trapele after his owne name Grees. These Opinions doe also seeme to strengthen that of Junius. For Magog, saith he, is that part of Alia the leffe, which Halyattes obtained, and after him his Sonne Junin Exech 38. Crafus; who (as Junius furthernotes) having mastred all those Regions as farre South as Libanus, in that Border built the Citie Gigarta or Gogkarta (which in the Syrian fignifieth the Citie of Gog) feated in Caloffria, whose people were the ancient Enemies of

Now that Magog is found in Caloffria, Plinie affirmeth, faying; Caloffria habet Banbycen, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur : Syris verò Magog Cælofyria hath in it Bambya, which by another name is called Hierapolis, but of the Syrians Magog. He further tellethis that the monstrous Idoll Atergatis, called by the Greekes Derceto, was here worshipped Lucian makes mention hereof, faying that the Citie had anciently another name, which yet hee expresseth not; forbearing perhaps the word Magog, as founding nothing elegantly in the Greeke. But if wee may believe Strabo, then was Edeffa in Mesapotamiathe fame Bambyce or Hierapolis, where the fame Idoll was worshipped. Ortelius is doubtful whether one of these Authors did not mistake the place of this Bambyce or Hieraplis. It may well enough bee that the fame name and Religion was common to them both. Certaine it is, that both of them lay due North from Palastina, and were both subjectunto the Kings of the Race of Seleucus. Now I doe not condemne the Opinion of Hermolaus Barbarus following Josephus, but grant that perhaps Mages might also bee the Father of the Scythians; notwithstanding that in this place, where Gog is made the Prince of Magog, the Nations of Calofyria, and the North parts adjoyning bee meant by Magog: for by a latter Plantation from these parts they might bee propagated into Scythia. Yetit is not to bee denyed, that the Scythians

in old times comming out of the North-east wasted the better part of Asia the lesse, and possest Calosyria, where they built both Scythopolis and Hierapolis, which the Syrians call Magog. And that to this Magog Ezechiel had reference, it is very plaine: for this Citie Hierapolis or Magog standeth due North from Judea, according to the words of Ezechiel, that from the North quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infested the Ifractites were the Ptolomies, Kings of Egypt: fo those of the North were the Kings of Asia and Syria, the Successours of Seleucus, the Successour of Alexander Macedon. Gulielmus Tyrius thinkes that this Hierapolis is that Rages, menti- Lib 4 capita oned in the Storie of Tobias. Plinie takes it not onely to have beene called Bambyce, as bello Sarro we have faid, but also Edessa: northat by Euphrates; but another of the same name: now the known name is Aleppo: for fo Bellonius expounds this Hierapolis, or Magog. This Citie had the Title of Sacred, as the Sacred Citie, (for fo the word Hierapolis fignifieth) ver was it a place of most detested Idolatry; and wherein was worshipped the Idoll of the Mermayde Atergatis, or Atergitis, according to Plinie, which the Greekes call Derceto.

If then we conferre the words of Ezechiel in the third verse of the thirtie eight Chapter, wherein he joyneth together Gog, Mefech and Tubal; and withall remember that Hierapolis was the Citie of Magog, which also is seated directly North from Judaa: with whom also Exechiel coupleth Gomer, and all his bands of the North quarters; we may (as I conceive) fafely conclude, that these Followers and Vassals of Gog (which were Northerne Nations in respect of Judea) were not the Gomerians of France, nor the Tubalines of Spaine, but a people of the leffer Asia, and Calosgria: and therefore that the opinions of Berofus, Josephus, and who soever else hath followed them therein, are to be reiected. But if Josephus referre himselfe to later times, and thinke that some Colonie of the Tubalines might from Iberia and Asia passe into Spaine (to wit) from that piece of Land betweene Colchis (or Mengrelia) and Albania, (most part possess by the Georgians) then is his judgement of better allowance. For without any repugnancie of opinions, it may be granted, that in processe of time these people might from their first habitation, passe into the Countries neere the Euxine Sea, and from thence in After-Ages into Spaine.

Jolephus makes mention of the Iheri, faying, that they were anciently called Thobelos as of Tubal; from whence (faith Justine) they passed into Spaine to search out the Mines of that Region: having belike understood that it was a Southerly Countrie, and Mountainous. For it feemeth that the Tubalines called Chalybes lived altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as Apollonius witneffeth in thefe following Verses, telling how,

the Argonautes did visit them:

Hac gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro. Sed ferri venas (cindit sub montibus altis: Mercibus hec mutat, que vite alimenta ministrant &

The Calybes plough not their barren foyle But undermine high Hils for Iron Veines: Changing the purchase of their endlesse toyle For Merchandize, which their poore lives sustaines,

But it is more probable, that Spain was first peopled by the Africans, who had ever fince an affection to returne thither, and to re-people it anew. This appeared by the Carthagian mians of old, who were easily drawne to passe over the Streights into that Countrey: and after by the Moores who held Granado, and the South parts eight hundred yeeres till the time of Ferdinand and Isabel. And either of these opinions are more probable than that in the twelfrh yeere of Nimrods Reigne, Tubal past into Spaine, and therein built Saint Vual: a poore Towne, and a poore device, God knowes. Certaine it is that we must finde Mosoch or Mesech, and Tubal Neighbours, and Gomer and Togarma noc farre off, or else we shall wrong Ezechiel: for he called Gog the Leader or Prince of Mefech and Tubal, and maketh Gomer and Togarmatheir affiftants. And that Mefech inhabited Asia, Functius (though he followed Berofus) confesseth, for these be his words: Mesacus, qui à Mose Mesech : priscos Mesos ab Adulamente usq, ad Ponsicame regionem posuit : bac regio poste à Cappadocia dista est, in qua mebs Mazica, dec. bac est ATTA MAGOG principalis : Masacus, whom Mosas calleth Masacus, placed the aucient

Strab. 1.16.

CHAP.8.5.5. of the History of the World.

Mesians from the Mount Adulas, unto the Coast of Pontus. This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Towne Maxica, &c. this is the principall Countrey of Magoo. And this doth Annius also avow, and yet forgets that Gog was Prince both of Mesech and Tubal: and therefore that the one was a Nation of Spaniards, the other of Cappa docians, is very ridiculous; Spaine lying directly West, and nor North from Judaa. Also Ezecbiel in the 27. Chapter, where he prophecieth of the destruction of Tyre, nameth Mestech and Tubal joyntly. And for a finall proofe, that these Nations were of a Northren Neighbour Land (how farre foever stretched) EZechiel in the 38. Chapter makes them all Horsemen. Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride upon Horses, even a great multitude and a mightie. Then if any man beleeve that these troupes came out of Spaine in over the Pyrenes, and first passed over a part of France, Italie, Hungarie, and Sarmatia, and imbarqued againe about the Hellespont, or else compassed all Pontus, and Euxinus, to come into the lesser Asia, which is halfe the length or compasse of the then knowne World; he may be called a ftrong beleever, but he shall never be justified thereby. But On the contrarie, it is knowne, that Select is was a Province neighbouring Palastina or Judea, and that Hierapolis (or Magog) joyned unto it : whose Princes commanded all Syria, and Alathe leffe, (namely, the Seleucida) and held it, till Scipio Afiaticus overthrew Antiochus the Great: after which they yet possest Syriatill the time of Tigranes: and whether Meshech be in Cappadocia, or under Iberia, yet is it of the Tubalines, and one and the fame Dominion.

Of Gomer the like may be faid. First, he seated himselfe with Togorma, not farre from Magog and Tubal, in the borders of Syria and Cilicia. Afterward he proceeded further into Asia the lesse; and in long tract of time his valiant Issue filled all Germanie, rested long in France and Brittanie, and possessed the utmost borders of the earth, accomplishing (as Melanethon well notes) the fignification of their parents name, which is utmost bordering. But when these borderers wanted further place, wherein they might exonerate their fwelling multitudes that were bounded in by the great Ocean, then did they returne upon the Nations occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remore. Hereupon it was (as the worthy restorer of our Antiquities M. Willian Cambden hath noted) that they were called Cimbri, which in their old Language doth fignifie Robbers; necessity inforcing them to spoyle their Neighbours, to whom in their original they were as neere joyned, as afterwards in the feates which they possessed. For that the Warlike nations of Germany were in elder Ages accustomed to be beaten by the Gaules, the authoritie of Cafar affirming it, is proofe fufficient. But in times following they purfued richer Conquests, and more easie though further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprises not here to be spoken of) they were drawne at length into Asia the leffe, and occupyed those parts, which had formerly beene held by their Progenitours. I fay not that they claymed those Lands as theirs by Descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their owne Pedigree. Neyther can any man therefore deny, that they were of old seated in Asia, because in late Ages they returned thirher; unlesse he will thinke, that all those Nations which from farre parts have invaded and conquered the Land of Shinaar, may by that Argument be proved not to have iffved from thence at the

Now concerning Samothes, for his excellent wisedome sirnamed Dis, whom Annie makes the Brother of Gomer and Tubal (which Brother, Moses never heard of, who spake his knowledge of Japhets fonnes) they must find him in fome old Poet: for Function, 2 great Berofian, confesseth: Quis hie Samothes fuerit incertum est; Who this Samothes was, it is uncertaine; neither is there any proofe that he was that same Dis, whom Cest faith the Gaules suppose to be their Ancestor, yea, and Vignier confesseth with Fundim: Mays on ne scayt qui il estoit; No man knowes who he was.

Against the fabulous Berosus his fiction, That the Italian Janus was Noah. Ut before I goe on with Noah his Sonnes, I thinke it is necessarie to disprove the fiction which Assiss hath of Noah himselfe; an invention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as hee hath wrested) by those Authors of whom

himselfe hath Commented: as the Fragment of Berofus, Fabius, Pittor, Cato, Lavinius and others. For Annus feeks to perswade us, that Noah (furnamed Janus) was the same which Pitt. de aur. seeks founded Genoa, with other Cities in Italie, wherein he lived 92. yeeres. This to disprove, b. founded Genoa, with other Cities in Lauren, wheten the invent 92. years. I has to disprove, on by Moses filence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else to disprove it. Laurenillass de origen. For if he vouchfafed to remember the building of Babel, Erec, Achad, Chalne and Nineve Gall. by Nimrod, Noab was a man of too great marke to be forgotten, withall the acts he did in 92. yeeres. But it were a needlesse labour for me to disprove the authoritie of that Berofus, on whom Annius groundeth, feeing fo many learned men have fo demonstratively proved that Fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, Tatianus the Assprian, in his Oration against the Greekes, avoweth, that the ancient and true Berosus wrote onely three Bookes, dedicated to Antiochus the successor of Seleucus Nicanor : but Annius hath devi- Josephili, fed five Bookes, wherewith he honoureth Berofus. And whereas Berofus handled only the estate of the Chaldeans and Assprians, Annius hath filled this Fragment with the businesse of all the World. And if we may believe Eusebius better than Annius, then all the Kings of the Latines (before Aneas) confumed but 150. yeeres: whereas no man hath doubted, but that from Noah to Eneas arrivall into Italy there past 1126. (after the least rate of the Hebrew account) and (after Codoman) 1291. For Janus (who was the first of their Kings) lived at once with Ruth, who marryed Book in the Worlds yeare(as fome reckon) 27176 after the Floud 1064 and Noah dyed 350. yeares after the Floud: and so there past betweene Janus of Italie and Noah furnamed Janus 704. yeeres. For Saturnus succeeded Janus, Picus after Saturnus, Fannus after Picus, and Latinus followed Fannus: which Latimes lived at once with Tautanes the 27. King of Afgria; with Pelafgus of Peloponnefus; with Demophoon of Athens; and Sampson Judge of Ifrael. Now all these five Kings of the Latines having consumed but one hundred and fiftie years; and the last of them in the time of Sampson: then reckoning upwards for one hundred & fiftie years, and it reacheth Ruth. with whom Fanus lived.

True it is, that the Greekes had their Janus; but this was not Noah; fo had they Ion the some of Xuthus, the some of Deucalion, from whom they draw the Iones, who were Exch 27.19.13. indeed the children of Javan, the fourth some of Japheth. For the yulgar Translation and to the place (where the Hebrewe word is Javan) writes Greece, and the Septuagint, Hellas; which is the (for Javan) Hels same. So had they Medus the son of Madea, whom they make the Parent of the Medes, lada: and (for though they were descended of a far more ancient Father (to wit) Madai the third son of the plurall fu-

Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the Brittish Language hath remayned among us above 2000 yeeres, and the English speech ever since the invasion of the Angles, and the fame continuance have all Nations observed among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore it is strange if either Noah (by them called Janus) had left in Italie his Grand-child Gomer after him, or Tubal in Spaine, that no plaine resemblance of the Hebrew, Syrian, or Scythian (which no time could have quite extinguished)should have beene found in the Languages of those Countries. For which reafons we doubt not but these personall Plantations of Janus, Gomer, Tubal, Gro. in Italie, Spaine, or France, are meerely fabulous. Let the Italians therefore content themselves with the Gracian Janus, which commanded them and planted them, and who preceded the fall of Troy but 150. yeeres (faith Eusebins) which was in the time of Latinus, the fift King: which also Saint Augustine and Justine confirme: and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibilitie. And if this be not sufficient to disprove this vanitie, I may out of themselves adde thus much: That whereas some of them make Vesta (others Camasena), the wife of this Janus, who instituted the holy Fire of the Vestal Virgins in Rome (the Latines and Romans taking from Janus all their Idolatrous and Heathenish Ceremonies) there is no man so impious, as to believe that Noah himselfe. (who is faid by Moses to have walked with God, to be a just man, and whom God of all Mankind made choice of could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or so wicked and ungratefull, to set up or devise any Heathen, Salvage, or Idolarrous adoration, or have instituted any Cere-

monie, contrary to that which he knew best pleasing to God himselfes

Tri Chron.

Cefar.Comment.

811

The first Booke of the first part

That Gomer also and his sonne Togorma of the Posterity of Japheth, were first seated about Asia the lesse: and that from thence they spred Westward into Europe and Northward into Sarmatia.

O turne now to the fons of Noah, and the Worlds Plantation after the Floud: therein I observe, that as both reason and necessitie taught them; so, when they multiplyed in great numbers, and dispersed themselves into the next Countries bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth Colonies elsewhere, it was in such a manner as that they might repayre to each other, and keepe intelligence in by River: because the Land was yet Desart, and over-prest with Woods, Reeds, Bogs, & rotten Marishes. As when Nimrod seated in Babylonia, Chus took the South part of Chal. dea, down the River of Gebon, by which he might passe to & fro from Babylon to his own Plantation: those also, which were of the race of Shem, inhabiting at Ur or Orchoa neer the Lakes of Chaldea, might by the fame river get up to Babylon, and receive fuccour from thence. All which Tract of Land upon Gehon Southward, Moses in the description of Paradise calleth the Land of Chush: because the Dominion and Empire, was then in the hands of Nimrod a Chuste, by whom the children of Shem (which came into that Valley and stayed not in the East) were for a while opprest, till God afterward by the seed of A. braham made them his owne Nation and victorious. Havilah, the brother of Nimred, and fonne of Cush, tooke both Bankes of Tygris, especially on the East side of the River: by which River his people might also passe to and fro to Babel.

The Imperial scate of which Region of Havilah or Susian, was anciently called Chus. an or Chufan, afterward Sufa. Cush himselfe tooke the Bankes of Gehon, and planted those Countries Westward, and Southwest-wardtowards Arabia the Stony, and the Defan,

Piel. Afectaba. where Ptolomie placeth the Citie of Chusidia, first Chusia. Seba, and Sheba, with the rest that planted Arabia falix, had Tygris, to convey them into the Persian gulfe, which washeth the bankes of Arabia falix on the East side: fo as those fons of Culb might take Land downe the River as they pleased. Also the Cite of Ninive was by Nimrod founded on the faid river of Tygris; and from thence a Colo nie past to Charran, standing also upon a navigable branch of Euphrates. In like manne did Japheths sonnes settle themselves together, and tooke their seates in Asia the lesse from whencethey might indifferently stretch themselves Northward, and Westward into the next parts of Europe, called the Isles of the Gentiles. And it feemeth very agree able to reason, that both Gomer, Magog, and Tubal, fate downe first of all in that part a Syria, to the North of Palastina and Phanicia: and from thence Gomer or his children fpred themselves into Iberia: & the Magogians more Northerly into Sarmatian. The fit Gomerians, and first Planters in Afia the leffe, held the Country of the Cymmerians (with nesse Herodotus) the same Region which was afterward by the Gallo-Greeks called Gal tia, to whom Saint Paul wrote his Epiftle fo intituled. This Nation of the Cymmeria (whom the invincible Scythians afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first Plan tations) gave names to divers places, as to the Mountaines about Albania (called C+ merini) and to the Citie of Cymmeris in Phrygia: also Bosphorus Cymmerius took apellation from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was also a Citie of that name, and Cymmerian: which Plime faith(mistaking the place) had sometime the name of Cerbeijn but Cerberion was a Towne in Campania, so called of the unhealthfull waters savouring of Brimstone, which Augustus caused to be cleansed by letting in the water of the lake Lucrinus.

The children of Tubal ranged as farreas Iberia, to whom the Moschici were Neigh bours, which others write Melhech. The Prophet Exechiel (coupling them together) leth Gog the Prince of Meschech and Tubal. For these Meschi (which Prolomie callet Moschi) inhabit Syracena a Province of Armenia, directly South from the Mountain Moschici, in the Valley betweene the Mountains Moschici, and the Mountaines Paris des : out of whose North part springerh the River Phases; from the East part Araxis; all from the West Euphrases: and of this Meschech are descended also the Moscowians (late Melanthon) and it may be, that in procede of time fome of them inhabited those Re gions alfo: For Mefhech (faith Melantthen) fignificth extendens, enlarging or firetchin

forth. Togorma also at first did inhabite amongst his parents and kindred: The Togormans were also called Giblei, a people neighbouring the Sydonians in Gabala, a Tetrarchie of phanicia, the fame which Plinie calleth Gaben: from whence Salomon had his most excellent Masons, which hewed stones for the Temple of Hierusalem. Thence the Togormi- LKing at. ans firetched into the leffe Armenia, whose Kings were hence called Tigranes, and their Junin Genzol Cities Tigranokarta: of which Cities Tigranes, subdued by Lucullus the Roman, built one, veris, Hierofolymitanus hath planted the Togormians in Barbary; forgetting the prophesse of E-Kekiel against the Tyrians: They of the house of Togorma, brought to thy Faires, horses, and Jude 17.14 horse men, and mules, which could not well be driven over the whole length of the Mediterran Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But Josephus takes them for the parents of the Phrygians; which I doe not deny, but they might be in the ensuing ages: and so might the Tubalines be of the Spaniards; but it was from Iberia, and many hundred veeres after the twelfth of Nimrods reighe. The Jewes conceive that the Turkes came of those Togormians, because their Emperor is called Togor. The Chaldrans make them the Fathers of the Germanes. But Laonicus affirmes, that the Turkes descended of the Grim Tartar, which borders Muscovia. But for these subderivations it were infinit to examine them. Onely of the first and second plantation, and of the first Nations after the floud, is the matter which I labour to discover; and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we must Note, that those grand-children of Noah which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of leffe understanding, and had Note: not therefore the leading of Colonies fent out, their proper habitations could be hardly knowne: onely reason hath taught us, that they dwelt among the rest, and were covered with the fame of others, who tooke on them the Conduction and Dominion over the

From Madai the third fonne of Japheth, were the Medes. The Grecians bring them (as

before) from Medus the sonne of Medea.

§. VII.

Of Javan the fourth fon of Japheth: and of Mesceh of Aram, and Meshech of Japheth.

F Javan the fourth forme of Japheth came the Iones, which were afterwards called the Greekes: and fo the Latine & Greeke Interpreters for Javan write Greece as in Esay: Et mittam ex iis qui salvati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Graciam: And I will fend those that escape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece. The Geneva here useth the word (Tarshish) for Tarsus, a City in Cilicia, though Tarfis in many places be taken for the Sea. The Tigurine and the Geneva life the names Syria, to the North of Palastina and rnameia: and rom thence owner of his Challen Tubal and Javan, and not Italy and Greece: keeping the fame Hebren words. Of the Iones past on into Asia the lesse, as those of Magog and Tubal did; from whence the Tubalini. The fall were the Athenians, though the state of the state o without Ancesters, and growing (as it were) out of the soile it selfe: who abounding in people, sent Colonies into Asia the lesse, of whom came the Iones of those parts. Others derive the Athenians from Ion the son of Xuthus, the son of Deucalion; but the antiquity of Javan marres the fashion of that supposition, who so many yeers preceded Xuthus, low or Devealion. Paufanias tels us that Xuthus stole out of Thessaly with all his Fathers treafire, and his Brothers portions, and arriving at Athens, he was graciously received by Eriaheus, who gave him his Daughter in marriage; of whom he received two fonnes. Ion and Achaus, the supposed Ancesters of the Athenians: (For Attica was called Ionia, aith Plutarch in the life of Thefeus;) who, when he had joyned Megara to Attica, erected pillar in that Ist hoos or Strait, which fastneth Pelopomesus to the other part of Greece : Writing on that part which looketh towards the East, these words: Hac non funt Peloconnesus, ast Ionia. These Countries are not of Peloponnesus, but of Ionia: and on the other fide which looked towards the South, and into Pelopoinefus, this: Thefe parts are Peloponsefus, and not Ionia.

Strabo out of Hecataus affirmeth that the Iones came out of Afia into Greece; which is contrary to the former opinion. That the Iones of Greece transporting certaine companies into Asa the lesse, the name of lones was thereby therein retained. And though Strabo knew no more thereof than he learned of the Greekes themselves, yet I finde this conecture of Hecateus reasonable enough. For though it were to him unknowne, yersure I m that Asia the lesse had people before Greece had any : and that Javan did not flie from

Zi6.4

Babylonia into Greece, but tooke Asia the lesse in his passage; and from thence past over the neerest way, leaving his owne name to some maritimate Province on that side, as hee did to that part of Greece fo called. But yet Strabo himselfe beleeved, that Ionia took the name from Ion the son of Xanthus: for so much he had learned from themselves; which was also the opinion of Pausanias. True it is, that the Greekes in after-times cast themselves into that part of Asia the lesse, opposite unto them, which they held for divers veeres. And how soever the Greekes vaunt themselves to be Fathers of Nations, and the most ancient; yet all approved Historians (northeir owne) deride and disprove their pride, and vanity therein. For this dispute of Antiquity (among prophane Writtes) rested betweene the Scythians and the Egyptians, as Justine out of Trogus, in the warre between the Vexerus of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia, witnesseth: which preceded farre the reigne of Ninus, and was long before the name of Greece was ever heard of. And it is also manifest, that in Cecrops time the Greekes were all salvages, without law or religion, living like brute beasts in all respects: and Cecrops (faith Saint Augustine) lived together

Lib. 18.de Civi Deic.10.

The fixth fonne of Japheth was Mesheck, whom the Septuagint call Mesech: (a part of those Nations commanded by Gog the chiefe Prince of Meshech and Tubal.) But this we must remember, that betweene Mefech the sonne of Aram, and Meshech (or Mosech) the some of Japheth, there is little difference in name, and both by divers Interpreters diverfly written. Montanus with the Vulgar writeth Mesceb, the sonne of Aram, Mes , the Geneva, Mash, Junius, Mesch. But it may begathered out of the 120. Pfalme , that eyther Melbech the sonne of Japheth, was the parent of those people, or gave name to that Province wherein David hid himfelfe: or elfe (which may rather feeme) that it tooke name from Mest the sonne of Aram. For David bewayling his exile (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious People)useth these words: Woe is me that I remaine in Mesech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar: which Junius converteth thus: Hei mihi quia peregrino tam din : habitotanquam Scenita Kedareni : The Septuagint gives it this sense : Woe is me because my habitation (or abode) is prolonged, who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar: with which this of the Latine agreeth; Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, habitavi cum habitantibus Kedar: The Ghaldaan otherwise, and in these words: O me miserum, quia peregrinatus sum Asianis, habitavi cum tabernaculis Arabum ; O wretch, that I am, for I have travailed among those of Asia: I have dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabians. But howsoever or which soever conversion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of Ke dar : which is a Province of Arabia Petraa; and the Chaldean putteth Afia in stead of Mi fech, but the Hebrew it selfe hath Mesech. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (as it is mol likely because it answers to Kedar, the name of a Nation) seeing Mesh the sonne of Aram, 1. Chron. 17. is called Meshec, it is indifferent whether this Nation took e name from Me sheeh or Melh, both bordering Judaa, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for fo Exechiel makes Mesech and Tubai. But as for those that take Mesech out of the word Mosoch (given by the Septuagint) to be the Muscovian : fure they presume much upon the affinity of names, as aforefaid. And fure I am that David never travelled so farre North (for to him Mufcovia was utterly unknown) but about the border of Kedar (it may be) was often in all the time of his perfecution: the fame being a City on the Mountains & Sanir or Galaad. And yet Arias Montanus makes Mosoch the Father of the Muscovias: and herein also Melanchton runnes with the tide of common opinion, and fets Mesech in Muscovia, though with some better advice of judgement; as, first seated in Cappadicia, and from thence travelling Northward : expounding the places of the 120. Pfalme, (He) mihi quod exulo in Mesech)to signifie, Gentis ejus feritatem insignem esse; That the ferit of that Nation exceeded: which fiercenesse or brutality of the Muscovians, David neverproved, or (perchance) never heard of. But the fame ferity or cruelty which those Northerne Muscovians had, may aswell be ascribed to the Arabians and Kedarens. For this Country tooke name of Kedar the second sonne of Ismael, of whom a people of equal fierceness to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long after, even to this day (if the Arabians, Ismaelites, and Saracens, may be accounted one people:) the same being foreshewed by the speech of the Angell to Hagar, Gen. 16.v. 12. And he shall be a wilde man : his band shall be against every man, & every mans hand against him. Now Arabia the Defart (faith Pliny) confronteth the Arabians Cochlei on the East, and the Cedrai Southward, both which joyne together upon the Nabathai. So it appeareth (as

hefore) that Mefech, Tubal, Gomer, Togorma, and Magog, neighboured Canaan and Ifrael. and that Kedar also did joyne to Mesech: all which were Regions of Syria, or of Asia the leffe, commanded by the Successors of Selencus, enemies of the re-establishment of Israel and Juda. But (as I have already faid) it might well be, that long after the first plantation the issue of Mesech (or Mosoch) might passe into Cappadocia, and thence into Hyrcania, and give names, both to MaZega in the one, and to the Mountaines Moschici in the other, and from thence might fend people more Northerly into Muscovia, & so all opinions saved. But all falvage Nations over-growne and uncultivated, doe (for the most part) shew a late plantation, even as Civility, Letters, and magnificent Building, witnesse antiquity.

Tiras, the leventh sonne of Japheth, which Montanus reckons among the sonnes of Go- Montan Chief mer, was the Father of the Thracians, as all Authors (worthy the examination) affirme. Josephus was the first that determined hereof: and because the Scriptures are altogether filent, what part of the world Tiras peopled, the conjectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of dispute. It followeth now to speake of the sonnes of Gomer, which were three,

Ascanez, Riphath, and Togorma.

CHAP.8. S.8.

6. V III.

of Ascanez and Riphath, the two elder Sonnes of Gomer.

Scane was the Father of those which the Greekes call Regini, (faith Josephus) but he gives no reason why.

Eusebius makes Ascane the Father of the Goths. The Jewes in their Thargum make him the roote of the Germane Nation; but their expositions are commonly very idle. Pliny findeth Ascania in Phrygia, neerethe Rivers of Hilas and Cios: Melanchton being of the same opinion, that the Tuiscones were descended of the Ascanez: (for Tuis-Meanchanean) cones, faith he, is as much to fay, as of the Ascanez, praposito articulo die Ascanez) & that the word fignifieth a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an ancient superstition to pray at the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombes of Martyrs. Not farre from Phrygia was the lake Ascania knowne by that name in the Romanes time. And among the Kings which came to the fuccour of Troy, was Ascanius (Deo similis, faith Homer) like unto God: Homellades because he was beautifull and strong: for in the same manner doth Virgil grace Aneas, 0s bumer: [4; Deo similis; in face and bodylike one of the Gods: Virgil also remembreth such a River, together with the Hils Gargara: as, Illas ducit amor trans Gargara, transq; sonantem vire Georgis Ascanium; Appetite leads them both over the Mountains Gargara, and the roaring Ascanius. But this Pliny maketh more plaine in the description of Phrygia. For he placeth the City of Brillion upon the River Afcanius, which is adjoyning to Mysia, and is neere the border of the Trojan Empire: and the Lake Afrane, he directs us to finde by the description of Prusia, founded by Hannibal at the foot of Olympus, which lieth farre within the Countries of Bithynia: and then from Prusia to Nicea are accounted 25. miles; in which way this Lake Iveth, even betweene Prusia and Nicea. And so Junius (as I conceive him) takes them of Ascane, to be the Inhabitants of Pontus, and Bithynia, and those North parts of Asia. Stephanus de Urbibus makes it a City of Troas, built by Ascanius the son of Aneas; faying, that there was another of that name in Myfia. Of Afcania a Lake of Bithynia, Pto. lomy witneffeth : and Strabo giveth Afcania both a Lake, a River, and a Towne in My Gaz neere unto Cio; which also agreeth with Pliny. For Pliny findeth Prusia (before spoken of) neere Cio, and calleth the Islands before Troy, Ascanes.

Now, whether these places tooke name of Ascanez the son of Gomer, or of Ascanius o the sonne of Aneas, it might be questioned : sure it is, that Ascanius which brought succour to the Trojans, could not take his name from Aneas fon, who was then either exceeding young, or rather unborne : and it feemeth that the Countries whence those fuccours came, were not out of any part of Phrygia or Myla, but farther off, and from the North parts of all Afia the leffe, which by Hieremy is called Afcane, by the figure Synecdoche, as Junius thinketh. Out of those testimonies therefore which deceive not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet Hiereny wee shall learne of what Nation the Ascanez were, whose words are these: Set up a Standard in the Land, blom the

Trumpet among the Nations against ber, call up the Kings of Araras, Minni, and Ascane? Cottons

against her, &c. meaning against the Babylonians. Ararat was Armenia the greater, as most Interpreters consent, so called of the Mountaines of Ararat which runne through it: Minni the leffer Armenia: Armenia being compounded of Aram and Minni. For Minni was the ancient name, (faith Junius and others before him:) and Aram anciently taken for Syria, which contained all that Tract from Euphrates to the Sea-coasts of Phanicia, and Palastina; and therefore Mesopotamia being in elder times but a Province of Syria, the Scriptures difference it in the story of Jacob and Esan, and call it Aram padan. Then if these two Nations were of the Armenians and Ascanez joyned with them (who altogether united under Cyrus and Darius, came to the spoyle of the Babylonian Empire) we shall erre much to call Askenez Germany or Almaine: for we heare of no fwart Ruttiers at that 10 fiege. But the Askenez were of those Nations which were either subject or allied to the Medes: of which if any of them came afterward into Phrygia, I know not : for the disperfion of Nations was in after-times without account. But for the opinion of Eusebius, who makes them to be Goths; or that of Josephus, who cals them Rhegini; or of the Jewes, who will have them to be Almaines; when they confirme it either by Scriptures or Reafon, I will thinke as they doe.

Of Riphath the second sonne of Gomer there is mention in the first of Chronicles. Beroaldus and Pererius thinke that he wandered farre off from the rest of his Brothers, and therefore no memory of his plantation. But I fee nothing to the contrary, but that he might seate himselfe with the rest of his Family: for there wanted no roome or soyle in n those dayes for all the soones and Grand-children of Noah. Therefore I take it to be well understood, that the Riphei were of Riphath, which the Greekes afterwards (according to Josephus) called the Paphlagones : and Riphei (faith Melanchton) fignifieth Gyants. These people were very famous in the North parts, and in Sarmatia: the most of number and power among them, Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti, The greatest number of the Sarmatians were the Heneti; who fpake the ancient Polae: which being first called Riphei (for the love of some of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became Heneti, (a custome exceeding common in those times) and dwelt first in Paphlagonia, as Homer witnesfeth, and so doth Apollonius in his Argonauticks: Now, when these Riphei (afterward Heneti) fought new Regions, they came along the shores of Euxinus, and filled the Northpart of Europe, containing Russia, Lituania, and Polonia. From thence they crost thwart the Land, and peopled Illyria, defirous (faith Melanchton) of a warmer foile of Fruit and Wine. These Heneti or Veneti, whom Melanchton taketh to be one people, filled all that Land betweene the Baltick and Adriaticke Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulfe Vinedicus is found in Russia. This Nation, after they were possest of Lituania and Polonia, disturbed the plantation of the Boii and Hermondurii. Therefore, it seemeth to me, that of Riphath, came the Riphei, afterward Heneti; and fo thinketh Arias Montanus, first seated in Paphlagonia, but in course of time Lords of Sarmatia, and those other parts before remembred, chiefly betweene the Rivers of Vistula and Albis. The name (faith Melanchton) fignifieth Wandering or Wanderers, or Nomades: a people which lived by White-a meats and fruits as (indeed) all Nations did in the first Ages.

Of the third sonne of Gomer, Togorma, I have spoken already; now therefore of Javans

children, which were foure:

Elifa, Tharfis, Cethim, Dodanim.

of foure sonnes of Javan: and of the double signification of Tharsis, either for a proper name, or for the Sea.

F Elifa or Elipha, came the Aoles: and of this Elifa, all the Greekes were called so Hellenes, faith Monsanus. Melanchton makes Elifa the Father of the Aoles in A-lia side: others of Elis in Peloponnesus; or of both. And seeing the Greekes were descended in generall of Javan, it is probable that the Aoles & the Elei, tookename of Elifa, his eldest some. Exebiel in the 27. speaking of Tyre, nameth the Isles of Elifa; Hyeacynthus & purpura de insulis Elisa fasta sunt operimentum tuum: Blue Silke and Purple, brought from the Isles of Elifa, was thy covering. The Chaldaans for Elifa write Italia but the Vulgar, the Tigurine, the Geneva, and Junius, keepe the word Elifa: and so I thinke they might doe with reason. For there was not found any such Purple Dye in Italia.

in those dayes, nor fince, that I can read of: but those Isles of *Elifa*, were by a better conjecture the Isles of *Greece*; and the best Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it selfe: and before that, among the *Cyclades*, and on the coast of *Getulia*.

Tharfis, the second Sonne of Javan, inhabited Cilicia, of which Tharfis is the Metro. polis. Montanus for Tharfis in Cilicia, understands Carthage in Africa; but (reserving the respect due to so learned a man) he was much mistaken in that conjecture. The Chaldwar Paraphrast puts Carthage for Tharsis, but it hath no authority nor warrant of reason there. in. So likewise, where it is written, that the Ships of Salomon went every three yeares to Tharfis, and brought thence Gold, Silver, Elephants teeth, &c. the Chaldean Paraphrast translates Tharsis (Africa.) But Salomons Ships were prepared in the Red Sea at Eson-Gaber, in the Bay of Elana, neere unto Madian, where Jethro (Moses Father in Law) inhabited a Province of Arabia Petraa, Idumaa, or of the Chusites; and they favled to the higher part of the East India. For it had beene a strange Navigation to have spent three veares in the passage betweene Judea and Carthage, or any other part of Africa, which might have beene fayled in fixe or ten dayes. And if fo great riches might have bin found within the bounds of the Mediterran Sea, all the other neighbouring Princes would foon have entertained that Trade also. But this enterprize of Salomon is in this fort written of in the first of Kings: Also King Salomon made a Navie of Ships in Esion. Gaber, which is beside Elath and the brinke of the Red Sea in the Land of Edom and Hyram sent with the Na-20 vie his servants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the servants of Salomon: and they came to Ophir, and fet from thence 420. Talents of Gold, &c. But as the Nations about Pontus thought no Sea in the world like unto their owne, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that onely: (whereof it came, that Pontus was a word used for the Sea in generall) so, because the Israelites and the Phanicians knew no other Seathan that of the Mediterran in the beginning; and that the people of Tharfis had the greatest Shippes, and were the first Navigators in those parts with such Vessels, they were therefore called men of the Sea: and the word Tharsis used often for the Sea. And whereas it is faid that the Shippes of Salomon went every three yeares to Tharfis, that phrase is not strange at all; for wee use it ordinarily wheresoever we navigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are fet out every yeare, or every three yeare to the Sea, and therefore Tharfis was not therein named, either for Carthage. Africa, or India, but used for the Sea it selfe. But in this place Tharsis is truely taken for Tharfis, the chiefe City in Cilicia, founded by Tharfis the second some of Javan; or by his Successors in memory of their first Parent. To this City arrived Alex. Macedon, before he gave the first overthrow to Darius, and casting himselfe into the River to bathe and wash his body, he fell into an extreme Fever, and great danger of death: and in this City of Tharsis was S. Paul borne. Now this agreeth with the reason and nature of a Plantation. For (Gomer and his other fonnes inhabiting Afia the leffe, and that part of Syria adjoyning) Javan, who was to passe over the Sea into Greece, tooke the edge of the o fame Coast, and first planted the Iones on that shore : gave the Islands betweene Asia the lesse and Greece, to Elisa, and lest Tharsis upon the Sea-side in Cilisia; of whom that City tooke name.

The third fonne of Javan was Cethim, of whom were the Romanes and Italians, faith Beroaldus, but I allow better of Melanchtons opinion, who makes Cethim the Father of the Macedonians, Cethim is a voyce plurall (faith he) and fignifieth percussores, though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of Efay 23. (according to Melanchton) had relation to Alexander and the Macedonians: Hae calamitas ab Esai pradicta est, qui capite vicessimo tertio inquit, venturos esse eversores Tyri ex terra Cittim: This calamity (faith Melanchton) was foreshewed by Esai the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the Deferoyers of Tyre were come out of Cittim. And although the children of Israel esteemed all men Islanders, which came to them by Sea, and separate from that Continent; (and so also Cittim might be taken for Italy, faith Beroaldus) yet we must take the first performance of the former Prophesie, which tooke effect by the destruction of the Tyrians by Alexander, who after 7. Moneths fiege, entred that proud City, and cut in pieces feven thousand princiall Citizens; strangled two thousand, and changed the freedome of 13. thousand others into bondage and flavery. Now, that Macedon was taken for Ceshim, it doth appeare plainely in the first of the Machabees, in these words: After that Alexander the Macedonian,

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the some of Philip, went forth of the Land of Cethim, and slew Darius King of the Persians, and Medes. Josephus sets Cethim in the Isle of Cyprus, in which (saith he) there remained Medes. Josephus sets Cethim in the Isle of Cyprus, in which (saith he) there remained the City Citium, the Countrie of Zeno the Philosopher (witnesse Laertius;) which City Pintus upon Ezechiel assirtmenth, that it stood in Saint Hieromes time. So it may be that all the Islands in ancient times by the Hebrewes were called the Islands of Cethim: that all the Islands in ancient times by the Hebrewes were called the Islands of Cethim: that sense might Cyprus be so called also; and yet because Tharsis was the very next and in that sense might cyprus, and directly over against it, it is also very probable, that Cethim dwelt by Port to Cyprus, and directly over against is, it is also very probable, that Cethim dwelt by his brother Tharsis: and sinding that Island too streight for his people after they were increased, and that the rest of the Coasts, both on Asia side and Greece, were inhabited Macedonia. It is stather and Brothers, he sent Colonies over the Egean Sea, and inhabited Macedonia.

Dodanim the fourth sonne of Javan, and the youngest Brother (by the most opinions) fare downe at Rhodes, as necre Cethim, Tharfis, and Elifa, as he could. For Dodanim and Rhodanim are used indifferently by many Translators: the Hebrew (D) and the Hebrew (R) are so like, as the one may easily be taken for the other, as all Hebricians affirme. There is also found in Epirus the City of Dodona, in the Province of Molosia. And as Cethim, when he wanted foyle in Cyprus: fo Dodanim (feated in a far leffe Island) did of necessity fend his people farther off; and keeping alongst the Coast, and finding Peloponnesus in the possession of Elija, he passed a little further on the Westward, and planted in Epirus. And though the City of Dodona was not then built, or (perchance) not so ancient as Dodanim himselfe, yet his Posterity might give it that name in the memory of their first 10 Parent, as it hapned all the World over. For names were given to Cities, Mountaines, Rivers, and Provinces, after the names of Noahs children and grand-children; not in all places by themselves, but by their succeffors many yeares after: every of their Families being desirous to retaine among them by those memories, out of what branch themselves were taken, and grafted elsewhere. And because great Kingdomes were often by new Conquerers newly named, and the greatest Cities often fired and demolished, therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names, or the names of their Ancestors, to Mountaines and Rivers, as to things (after their judgements) freest from any alteration.

Thus then did Javan settle himselse and his children, in the edge and frontier of Asia the lesse, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in Greece, and the Islands and neighbour Provinces thereof, as Japheth their Father had done in the body of the lesse Asia, together with Javans brethren, Gomer, Magog, Madai, Tubal, Mesech, and the rest round about him. And in like fort did Chush (the sonne of Cham) people Babylonia, Chaldea, and the borders thereof towards the West and South-west: and the sonnes of Chush (all but Nimrod, who held Babylonia it selfe) travelled Southward in Arabia falia, and South-westward into Arabia petraa: the rest of his children holding the Regions adjoyning to Nimrod. Migraim the Brother of Chush in like manner tooke the way of Egypt: and his brother Canaan the Region of Palastina adjoyning. The sonnes of Canaan had their portions in Canaan, of whom all those Nations carne, which were afterward the Enemies both to the Hebrews, and to those of the sons of Shem, which spread themselves towards the West, and the borders of the Mediterran Sea: of which I shall speake hereafter. But first of the sonnes of Cham or Ham; which were foure:

Chush, Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan.

That the feat of Chush the eldest son of Hum, was in Arabia, not in Æthiopia: and of strange Fables, and ill Translations of Scripture, grounded on the mistaking of this point.

†. I.
Of Josephus his Tale of an Athiopesse wife of Moses, grounded on the mistaking of the seate

Hat Ham was the Father of the Egyptians, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. Plalme, verse 51. Then Israel came to Egypt, and Jacob was a stranger in the land of Ham: and in the 78. Psalme, He slew all the first borne in Egypt, even the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles of Ham. There is

alfo found a great City in Thebaida, called Cheramis: (as it were the City of Ham) of which name Herodotus also discovers an Iland in the same Region. But because Chash is more in Eg. the elder sonne of Ham, it agreeth with order to speake first of him. Now though I tope. have already in the description of Paradise handled this question, and (I hope) proved that Chush could not be Ethiopia: yet seeing it commeth now to his turne to speake for himselse, I will adde some farther proofe to the former. For the manifestation hereof fers many things ftraight, which had otherwife very crooked constructions, and sensedefle interpretations. Surely, howfoever the Septuagint and Josephus have herein failed, that Chush could not be Athiopia, but Arabia: (to wit) both that Arabia called Petraa. and a part of Arabia the Happy and the Defart : which Regions Chush and the Chustes presently planted, after they left Babylonia to Nimrod, wherein they first sate down all together. And there is nothing which fo well elecreth this Controversie, as the true interpretation of the place, Num. 12. v. 1. where Mofes his Wife is called a Chufite; together with some places which speake of Nabuchodonofors Conquests. For whereas Tolephus and the Septuagint in the place Num. 12. v. 1. as also elsewhere, understand Chush for Athiopia, we must give credit to Moses himselfe herein; and then it will appeare that Josephus was grofly mistaken, or vainely led by his owne invenion. For Josephus prefitming that Chulh was Athiopia, and therefore that the Wife of Moles (which in Scripture, Num. 12. ver. 1. is called a woman of Chufb) was a woman of the land of Athiopia, faineth that Tharbis the Daughter of the King of Athiopia, fell in love with the person and same of Moses, while he besieged Saba her Fathers City; and to the end, to obtaine Moses for her Husband, she practifed to betray both her Parents, Country, and Friends, with the City it felfe, and to deliver it into Mofes hands. The Tale (if it be worth the reciting) Iveth thus in Folephus. After he hath described the strength of the Athiopian City Meroe. which he faith at length Chamby fes called fo from the name of his Sifter; (the old name being Saba) he goeth on in these words: Hic sum Moses desidere exercitum otiosum agrè ferret, hoste non audente manus conserere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Athiopum Regi filia aniquete nomine Tharbis, oc. which tale hath this fenfe in English: When Moses was grieved that his Army lay idle because the Enemy besieged durst not sally and come to bandy-strokes, there happened this accident in the meane while. The Athiopian King had a Daughter called Tharbis, who at some assaults given beheld the person of Moses, and withall admired his valour. And knowing that Moses had not only up-held and restored the falling estate of the Egyptians, but had also brought the conquering Athiopians to the very brinke of subversion : these things working in her thoughts, together with her owne affection, which daily increased, shee made meanes to send unto him by one of her trustiest servants to offer her selfe unto him, and become his Wife Which Moses on this condition entertained, that she should first deliver the City into his possession; whereunto she condescending, and Moses having taken oath to per= forme this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.

†. II.

A dispute against the tale of Josephus.

His Tale(whereof Moles hath not a word) hath Josephus fashioned, & therein also utterly mistaken himselse, in naming a City of Arabia for a City of Athiopia: as he names Æthiopia it felfe to have bin the Country of Moses his Wife, when (indeede)it was Arabia. For Saba is not in Athiopia, but in Arabia, as both Strabo and all other Geographers, ancient and moderne, teach us, saying, that the Sabrans are Arabians & not Athiopians; except Josephus can perswade us, that the Queene of Saba which came from the South to heare the wifedome of Salomon, were a Negro, or Blacke-Moore. And so though Damianus à Goes speake of certaine Letters to the King of Portugall from Prester 3ohn, of the Abissines: wherein that Æthiopian King would perswade the Portugals that he was descended of the Queene of Saba and of Salomon; yet it doth no where appeare in the Scriptures, that Salomon had any Son by that great Princeffe: which had it beene true, it is likely that when Sishac King of Egypt invaded Roboam, and fackt Hierusalem, his Brother (the Sonne of Saba and Salomon) who joyned upon Egypt, would both have impeached that enterprize, as also given aide and succour to Roboam against Jeroboam, who drew from him ten of the twelve Tribes to his owne obedience. Neither is it any thing against our opinion of Moses his Wife, to have beenean Arabian, that the Scriptures teach

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us, that Mofes married the daughter of Jethro Pricft of Midian or Madian: which standing on the North Coast of the Red Sea, over against the body of Egypt, and neere Esion-Gaber, where Salomon provided his Fleet for India, in the Region of Edom, may well be reckoned as a part of Arabia, as the Red Sea is called Sinus Arabicus. For Edumaa joyneth to the Tribe of Juda by the North, to Arabia Petras by the East, to the Mediterran by the West, and to the Red Sea by the South-east. And if we marke the way which Moses tooke when he left Egypt, and conducted Israel thence, it will appeare that he was no stranger in Arabia: in the border whereof, and in Arabia it selfe, he had formerly lived fortie yeares; where it seemeth, that besides his carefull bringing up in Egypt, he was instructed by Jethro in the Egyptians learning. For Josephus confesseth, and Saint Ste. to phen confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wisedome of the Egyptians. But on the other fide, this Text makes much against Josephus, where it is written in Exodus the second Therefore Moses fled from Pharao, and dwell in the Land of Madian or Midian, and not in Æthiopia. And in the third Chapter it is as plaine as words can expresse, in what Region Madian was, where it is written, When Moses kept the sheepe of Jethro his Father in Lan Priest of Madian, and drawe the Flocke to the Defart, and came to the Mountaine of Godin Horeb. Now that Mount Horeb is not in Athiopia, every Infant knoweth. And if we may beleeve Moses himselfe, then was not the Wife of Moses purchased in that manner which Josephus reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrey and Friends) neither had she the name of Tharbis, but of Sippora, or Zippora: neither was she a Negro, but a Madianitesse. And as God worketh the greatest things by the simplest meanes: so it pleased him from a Shepheard to call Moses, and after him David, and by them to deliver his people first and last. For Moses, sitting by a Well (as disconsolate and a ftranger) defended the daughters of Reguel from the other shepherds, and drew them Water to water their sheepe: upon which occasion (by God ordained) he was entertained by Jethro, whose Daughter he married : and not for any betraying of Townes or

From hence also came Jethro to Moses at Rephidim, not farre from Idumaa, and finding the insupportable government of such a multitude, he advised him to distribute this weightie charge, and to make Governours and Judges of every Tribe and Familie. And if Jethro had beene an Athiopian, it had beene a farre progresse for him to have passed through all Egypt with the Wife and Children of Moses and to have found Moses in the border of Idumaa: the Egyptians hating Moses and all that favoured him. But the passing of Moses through Arabia Petraa (which joyneth to Madian) proveth that Moses was well acquainted in those parts, in which the second time he wandred forty yeares, and did by these late travailes of his, seeke to instruct the children of Israel in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty and reft. For he found them nourished up with the milke of Idolatry, and obstinate in the Religion of the Heathen, and finding that those stiffe plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perswasion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Defarts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from thosehe might receive fruit, agreeable to his owne desire, and Gods Commandements.

Lastly, this opinion of Josephus is condemned by Augustinus Chrisamensis, where also he reprehendeth Apollinaris, who avowed that Moses had married both Tharbis and Sephora: His owne words have this beginning: Mentitur etiam Apollinaris auas uxoru habuisse Moses, & c. Apollinaris also lyeth in affirming that Moses had two nives : and who dothnot perceive these things fained by them? for it is manifest that the Wife of Moses was Zephora, Daughter to the Priest or President of Madian: and that Madian cannot bet taken for Ethiopia beyond Egypt ; being the same that joyneth to Arabia: so farre Chrysa-

menlis.

t. III.

Chush ill expounded for Athiopia. Ezech. 29.10.

Now as Chush is by the Septuagint converted Athiopia, and the wife of Moses therefore called Athiopis a: so in the conquest of Nabuchodono for is Athiopia written for Arabia. For by the words of Ezechiel, it is manifest that Nabuchodonosor was never in Athiopia. Behold (faith Ezechiel, speaking of the person of this great Affrian) I come

upon thee and upon thy Rivers, & I will make the Land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate. from the Tower of Sevench, even to the borders of the blacke. Moores: which last words should have beene thus converted: From the Tower of Seveneh to the borders of the Chufites or Arabians: betweene which two is fituated all Egypt. For to fay from the borders. of Seveneh to the Athiopians, hath no sense at all Seveneh it selfe being the border of Egypt, confronting and joyning to Athiopia, or the Land of the blacke-Moores. So as if Nabuchodonofors conquest had beene but betweene Seveneh and the border of Athiopia. it were as much to fay, and did expresse no other victory than the conquest of all that Land and Countrey, lying betweene Middlesex and Buckingham, where both the Countries joyne together; or all the North parts of England, betweene Barwick and Scotland; for this hath the fame fense with the former, if any man fought to expresse by these two bounds, the Conquest of England: Barwick being the North border of England, as Seveneh or Syena is the South bound of Egypt, seated in Thebaida, which toucheth Athiopia. But by the words of Exechiel it appeareth, that Nabuchodonofor never entred into any part of Athiopia, although the Septuagint, the Vulgar, the Geneva, and all other (in effect) have written Athiopia for Chush.

CHAP.8. \$.10. +.4.5.

Another place of Ezechiel, cap. 30. verf.9. in the like manner mistaken.

Nd as the former; so is this place of Exechiel mistaken, by being in this fort converted: In die illa egredientur nuncii à facte mea in trierions un contest consumer consumer confidentiam: Which place is thus turned in English by the Geneveans: In that opin confidentiam: Which serves in ships to make the carelesse Moores affraid. Now day shalthere Messengers goe forth from me in ships to make the carclesse Moores affraid. Now the Latine for (ships) hath the Greek word Trieres for Triremes, which are Gallies of three bankes, and not ships. But that in this place the Translation should have beene (as in the former) amended by using the word Chush or Arabia for Athiopia or the black-Moores. every man may fee which meanely understandeth the Geography of the World, knowing that to passe out of Egypt into Athiopia there neede no Gallies or Ships, no more than to passe out of Northampton into Leicestershire: Athiopia being the conterminate Region with Egypt, and not divided so much as by a River. Therefore in this place of Exechel it was meant, that from Egypt, Nabuchodonofor should fend Gallies alongst the coast of the Red Sea, by which an Army might be transported into Arabia the Happy and the Stony (sparing the long wearisome march over all Egypt, and the Defart of Pharan) which Army might thereby furprise them unawares in their security and confidence. For when Nabuchodonosor was at Seveneh within a mile of Athiopia, he needed neither Galley nor Ship to passe into it; being all one large and firme Land with Egypt, and no otherwise parted from it, than one In-land shire is parted from another : and if hee had a fancy to have rowed up the River but for pleasure, he could not have done it: for the fall of Nilus (tumbling over high and steepy Mountaines) called Catadupa Nili, were at hand.

Lastly, as I have already observed, the sonnes of every father seated themselves as neer together as possibly they could, Gomer and his sonnes in Asia the lesse; Favan and his fonnes in Greece, and the Ilands adjoyning; Shem in Persia and Eastward. So the Sonnes and Grand-children of Chulh from the River of Gehon (their Fathers first seate) inhabited upon the fame, or upon fome other contiguat unto it, as Nimrod and Havilah on the one fide, and Saba, Sheba, and Sabtecha (with the rest) did on the other side. And to conclude in a word, the Hebrewes had never any acquaintance or fellowship, any warre, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the Athiopian black-Moores, as is already remembred in the Chapter of Paradife.

t. V.

A place, Esay 18.v.1 in like manner corrupted by taking Chush for Athiopia.

Nd as in these places before remembred, so in divers other is the word Athiopia put And as in these places before remembred, so in gives outer to defend out of for Arabia or Chush, which puts the story (where it is so understood) quite out of fquarezone Kingdome therby being taken for another. For what fense hath this part

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CHAP.8. S.II. +.7.

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of Scripture, Esay 18. Vaterra Cymbalorum alarum qua est trans flumina Athiopia; or according to the Septuagint in these words: Vaterra navium alarum qua est trans sluvios Athiopia: Woeto the land shaddowing with wings, which is beyond the Rivers of Athiopia fending Embassadours by seaseven the vessels of reeds upon the waters. Vaterra umbrosa ora. Woeto the Land of the Shadie coast, fairh Junius. The former Translators understand it in this fense; That the waters are shaddowed with the fails, which are significatively called the wings of the ships; the other, that the coast of the Sea was shaddowed by the height

But to the purpose: That this Land here spoken of by the Prophet Esay, is Egypt, no In. terpreter hath doubted. For they were the Egyptians that fent this message to the Israe. 19 lites which E ay repeateth, and by the former translation every man may fee the transpofition of Kingdomes: for hereby Egypt is transported unto the other fide of Æthiopia,& Athiopia set next unto Judaa, when it is the Land of Chush and Arabia indeed that lyeth betweene Judaa and Egypt, and not Athiopia, which is feated under the Equinottial Line. And of this, Beroaldus asketh a materiall question, (to wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet Speaketh, and placeth it beyond the Rivers of Athiopia. Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit, For it cannot be faid that hetreateth of an unknowne Region. Now if Æthiopia it selfe be under the Equinottial line, with whom the Jewes had never any acquaintance, why should any man dreame that they had knowledge of Nations far beyond it againe, and beyond the Rivers of Athiopias except we shall impiously thinke that the Prophet spake he knew not what, or used an impertinent discourse of those Nations, which were not discovered in 2000 yeares after, inhabiting as farre South as the Cape of good Hope, commonly knowne by the name of Bona esperanza.

That upon the like mistaking both Terrhaca in the fory of Senacherib, and Zera in the story of Afa are unadvisedly made Athiopians.

Nd by this translation is the story of Senacherib utterly mistaken in the cause of his retrait. For Senacherib was first repulsed at Pelusium, at the very entrance of Egypt from Judga: when having certaine knowledge that Thirrhaca, (which all the Interpreters call King of Athiopia) was on the way to fet on him, he began to withdraw himself: and fearing to leave his Army in two parts, he sent threatning Messengers to Ezechia King of Juda, perswading him to submit himselfe: the Tenor whereof is se down in the second of Kings in these words: Have any of the gods of the Nations delivered his Land out of the hands of the King of Ashur? Where is the god of Hamab, Erc. By which proud Embaffage, if he had obtained entrance into Jerusalem, he then meant to have united that great Army before Jerusalem, commanded by Rabsekeb, with the other which lay before Pelusium, a great City upon the branch of Nilus next Arabia. For Senacherib had already mastered the most part of all those Cities in Judaa & Benjamin with a third Army, (which himselfe commanded) being then at the fiege of Lebna. But upon the rumor of that Arabian Army led by their King Thirrhakeh (whom Fosephus calls That fices) Rabsa keh hasted from the siege of Hierusalem, and found Senacherib departed from Lachis, & st downe before Lebna, which was afterwards called Elenthoropolis, as fome have supposed But while he had ill successe at Pelusium and seared Thirrhakeh, God himselfe whomse least feared, strook his Army before Jerusalem by the Angel of his power, so as 158000 were found dead in the place, as in the life of Ezechias is hereafter more largely written And that this Army of Thirrhakeh was from Arabia, Fofephus himself makes it plaine. For he confesseth in the tenth Booke, the first Chapter of the Jewes Antiquities, that it was come to Senacheribs knowledge, that the Army which was a foote (both to relieve the Egyptians and the Jewes) marched towards him by the way of the Defart: Now the Defare which lay indifferent betweene Hierusalem and Pelusium, was that of Pharan or Sur, which also toucheth on the three Arabia's, to wit, the Stony, of which it is a part: the Defart, and the Happy; and by no other way indeed could the Arabians come on to fuccour either Pelusium or Hierusalem. But that there is any Desart betweene Pelusium and the South part of Egypt, hath never yet beene heard of, or described by any Cosmographer or Historian. So then this description of the second of Kings, versithe ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word (Chush) is also translated Æthiopia; and in this fense have all the Interpreters, (but Junius) expressed the beginning of the minth Verse

He heard olfo men say of Thirrhakeh King of Athiopia, &c. whereas it should have beene thus converted with Junius: Audiens autem de Thirrhakeh Rege Chushi; He beard also of Thirrakeh King of the Chushites. For they were the Chustes and Arabians, whose Houses and Cities were next the fire, and upon whom the very smoake of Juda flaming was blowne, being their neerest Neighbours: and so were not the Athiopian black-Moores plints. 1923 under the Equinottiall, whom neither war nor peace (which discovereth all Regions) ever found out, faith Pliny. For this King was no more King of Athiopia than Zerah was, who invaded Afa King of Juda, with an Army of a Million, and three thousand Charriots. Indeed, how fuch an Army & those Charriots should passe through all Egypt, (the Kings To of Egypt being mighty Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are search, and how farre distant, judge. For Princes doe not easily permit Armies of a Million to runne through them; neither was there ever fuch strength of Black-Moores heard of in that part of the World, or elsewhere. Neither are these Athiopians such travailers or Conquerors; and yet is this King Zerab also called King of Athiopia. But the word Chulb being first so converted for Athiopia, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the Teates of Kingdomes, or the possibilities of attempts, or invasions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

†.VII. A farther exposition of the place, Esay 18.1.

Oncerning these words in that eighteenth Chapter of Esay, Navium alarum; Winged hips, (so the Septuagint turne it) or Cymbalo alarum (according to the Latine fayles whiftling in the windes, or terra umbrofa ora (after Junius) the Land of a shaddowed coast, or the Land shaddowing with wings, as our English Geneva hath it. The two first interpretations of the Septuagint and S. Hierome, have one sense ineffect. For the failes are commonly called the wings of a ship; and we use to say ordinarily when our thips faile flowly, that the wanteth wings: (that is) when her failes are either wome or too narrow: and we also use the same phrase of the winde whistling in the failes. And it may be that the Egyptians emploied so many of those small ships, as their fails were faid to give a shaddow over the Red Sea. But to make both interpretations good, Pintus (upon Esay) affirmeth, that the word (Sabal) doth fignific both to shaddow and to gingle (which is) to make a kinde of Cymbaline found: fo as the meaning of this place faith Pintus) is this? Woe to thee, O Egypt, which doest promise to others safeguard, under the shaddow of thy wings which (indeede) feemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of Efay: and this phrase is often elsewhere used, as in the sitxeenth Psalme: Sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me; Defend me under the shaddow of thy wings. The Boates of reede spoken of are of two kindes; either of basket-willow covered with hides (as anciently in Brittaine) or a Tree made hollow in the bottome, and built upon both fides with Canes. Of the one o fort I have seene in Ireland, of the other in the Indies.

6. X I. Of the plantation and antiquities of Egypt.

That Mizraim the chiefe planter of Egypt: and the rest of the sonnes of Ham, were seated in order one by another.

He fecond sonne of Ham was MiZraim; (who according to the place of a fecond brother) was sent somewhat farther off to inhabite. For Chush first possess Chaldea on the West side of Gehon chiesly: and from thence, as he increased in people, so he entred Arabia, and by time came to the border of the Red Sea, and to the Southeast-fide of Judaa. MiZraim his brother (with Phut) past over into Africa. MiZraim held Egypt and Phot (as athird brother) was thrust farther off into Mauritania. Canaan tooke the Sea-coast, and held the side of Palastina: and these source brothers possess all that Tract of Land, from Gehon in Chalden, as farre to the West as the Mediterrane Sea: comprehending all Arabia Deferta, and Petran, all Canaan which embraceth Galilan, Samaria,

2.Kings 19

Antigal 100

and Judaa; with the two Egypts, whereof the neather is bounded by Memphis on the South, and by the Mediterrane Sea on the North: and Thebaida (called the upper Egypt) Aretheth it selfe toward the South as far as Syene, the border of the Ethiopians or black-Moors. All the rest of the coast of Africa Westward, Phut peopled; which brothers had not any other Nation or Family that dwelt between them. And in the fame manner did all their fons againe, and all the fons of the rest of Noahs children, fort themselves.

†. I I. Of the time about which the name of Egypt began to be knowne: and of the Egyptians Lunarie veeres, which made their antiquities feeme more fabulous.

His flourishing Kingdome possest by Mizraim, changed her ancient name, & became Egypt, at such time as Agyptus (otherwise Ramesses, as some thinke) the son of Belus, chased thence his elder brother Danaus, shifting him into that part of Greece now called Morea, by whom the Argives were made Danai, abandoning their proper names: which happened 877. yeeres after the Floud, in the time of Josua, as S. Augustine conjectureth out of Eusebius. But in Homers Odysses it appeareth that the Egyptians were fo called at the time of the Troian Warre. And before this, Egypt was knowne by divers other names, as Oceana, Aria, Ofiriana, &c. And Manethon (whom Josephus citeth in his first booke against Appion) numbreth all the Kings of Egypt after Moses departure, who confumed 393. yeeres. By which other men conjecture, that the Egyptians tooke on them that name 330 yeeres after Josua, and about 1000 yeeres after the Floud. Butwhere 30. Cophus in the same booke taketh I frael to be those Hyclos, which he also calleth Pastores or Shepherds, which are faid to have reigned in Egypt 511. yeeres: whom also he calleth his Ancestors, (meaning the Ancestors of the Jewes) in this I am sure he was grosly deceived or that he vainly boasted : for the Israelites had no such Dominion as Manethon faineth, nor abode in Egypt follong a time by many yeeres.

Of the Egyptian Antiquities there are many fancies in Trogus, Herodotus, Plato, Diod. Siculus, Mela, and others. For they affirme (faith Pomp. Mela) that there had reigned in Egypt 330. Kings before Amasis, who was contemporary with Cyrus; and that they had .. memory and story of 13000. yeares; and that the Stars had foure times changed their course, and the Sunne twice set in the East. These Riddles are also rise among the Athewians and Arcadians, who dare affirme, that they are more ancient than Jupiter and the

Moone; whereof ovid:

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Ante Jovem genitum terras habuifle feruntur Arcades : & Luna gens prior illa fuit.

The Arcadians the earth inhabited Ere yet the Moone did shine, or Iove was bred.

But for those 13000. yeares it may well be true; seeing it is certaine that the Egyptians reckon their yeeres by Moneths, which makes after that account not above 1000.01 1100 yeeres, whether we take their Moneths or Lunary yeeres to have beene of the first kinde of 27 dayes and eight houres; or otherwife 29. dayes and twelve houres; or after any other of those five diversities of their Lunary yeeres.

> t. III. Of certaine vaine affertions of the Antiquity of the Egyptians.

TErardus Mercator in his Chronology, reasoneth for the Egyptians Antiquity in this manner: That the fixteenth Dynally (where Eufebius begins to reckon the Egypti-ans times) had beginning with the generall Floud: and that therfore the first of the other fifteene reached the Creation, or foone after it. To which conjecture of Mercator, Percrius maketh this answer; That therein Mercator was first deceived, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the fixteenth Dynasty was at once with the general Floud: which Eusebius maketh 292 yeeres after, and in the time of Abraham. Secondly's Mercator maketh the beginning of the shepherds Dynastia (being in number 17.) in the time of their first King, Saltu, to have beene in the yeere of the World 1846. which

Ensebius findeth in the Worlds age 2140. For the 16. Dynastia was begun but in the 292. yeeres after the Floud, as they account, and continued 190 yeeres. Thirdly, whereas Mercator makethevery Dynastia to endure 115 yeers, Eusebins reckoneth many of them at lesse than 100. yeeres: for the 28. had but fixe yeeres, the 29. but 20. and the 30. but

CHAP. S. S. 11. + . 4. of the History of the World.

Now Annius in his Supplement of Manethon affirmeth, That all these 15. Dynasties lafled but 162. yeeres: and that the first of the 15. began but in the 131. yeere after the floud: fo as where Mercator makes all the 15.to precede the floud, and the 16. to have beenethen in being at the time of the floud, Annius makes them all after it. But the contrariety of falshood cannot be hidden, though disguised. For Annius had forgotten his former Opinion and affertion, that it was in the 131. yeere that Nimred, with the former of Noah, came into the Valley of Shinaar: so he forgets the time which was consumed in the building of Babel: and that before the confusion of Speech there was no dispersion, nor far-off plantation at all. And though he hastily conveyed Gomer into Italy, and Tubal into Spainc, in the tenth yeere of Nimrods reigne: (which was ten yeeres after his arrivall into Babylonia) yet herein he is more unadvised. For he makes Egypt posses, and a government established in the very first yeere of the arrivall of Nimrod into Shinaar, beforeall partition, or any expedition farre off or neere in question: for from thence (that is, from Babel) did the Lord (catter them upon all the earth,

Against Pererius: that it is not unlikely but that Egypt was peopled within 200 yeeres after the Creation; atleast, that both it, and the most parts of the World were peopled before the

Ut whereas Pererius feeketh to overthrow this Antiquity of the Egyptians touching their Dynasties, (which Eusebins doth not altogether destroy, but lessen) I doe not find any great strength in this opinion of Pererius; (to wit) that it was either unlikely or impossible that Egypt should be peopled within 100.or 200. yeeres after Adam, in the first Age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the generall Floud, I doe verily beleeve the contrary : and that not onely of Egypt, but the better part of all World was then peopled: Pererius his words are these; Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, veletiam centum annos Adami proles adeò multiplicari potnit, ut ad Egyptum usq. habitandum & complendum propagata sit, &c. For how could the children of Adam be so multiplied in the first two hundred, or in the first hundred yeers of the World, and spropagated as to inhabite and fill Egypt ? for allowing this (faith Pererius) we must also confesse, that there were then both the Assyrians and other Nations.

Now feeing that the Scriptures are filent herein, and that it is no point of our faving beleefe, it is lawfull for every man to be guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I doe not gainfay any mans opinion out of any croffing or cavilling humours: for I thinke it the part of every Christian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibilty of union, than out of froward fubtlety, and prejudicate refolvednesse; to maintaine factions

needlesse, and dangerous contentions.

First therefore, for this opinion, that Egypt was not planted so soone after Adam, no, not at all before the Floud, I say, that there is no reason why we should give a lesse increase to the sonnes of Adam, than to the sonnes of Noah. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the Floud double, and (after a few yeeres) treble, is an infallible proofe of their strength and ability, to beget many Children: and at that time, they observed no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinity. And that there was a speedy increase of people, and in great numbers, it may in some fort appeare by this, that Cain, who (being fearefull that the death of Abel would have beene revenged on him) withdrew himselfe from the rest, which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of Nod, and there, by the helpe of his owne issues, built a City, (called Enoch) after the name of his first-borne. Now if it be gathered that Nimrod came into the Valley of Shinaar with so many multirudes, as sufficed to build the City and Tower of Babel: and that to this increase there was given but 130. yeeres by Berofus, and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly understood, by the birth of Arphaxad,

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Selah, Heber, and Phalegh) but one hundred and one yeere: I fee no cause to doubt, but that in the infancy of the first age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, even within 130. yeeres, the same (if not a greater) number might be increased; and so within 70. yeers after (that is, by fuch time as the World had ftood 200 yeeres) aswell Asyria, Syria, and Egypt might be possest before the Floud, as they were within the same or lesse time after it. Neither dothit agree with the circumstance or true Story of the Babylonian and Assert rian Empire, that all those people, which were increased in the first hundred or 130. yeers after the Floud, came into Shinaar and Babylonia. For that ever Noah himselfe came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authority to prove it, so all probable conjecture and reason it selfe denies it. Againe, those multitudes and powerfull numbers, which self miramis (but the third from Nimrod) found in India, confidered with her owne Army of three Millions, (and she left not all her Kingdomes empty) doe well prove, that if the World had such plenty of people in so few yeeres after the Floud, it might also bee as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their owne account Ninus governed Babylonia and Affria but 292. yeeres after the Floud of Noah. And these Troupes of Semiramis were gathered out of all those Easterne Kingdomes, from Media to the Mediterra Seaswhen there had now past from the floud to the time of this her invasion, somwhat less or more than 360 yeeres: for much more time the true Chronologie cannot allow; though I confesse, that in respect of the strange greatnesse of Semiramis Army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be given. And if but one halfe be true of that which is faid, That her Army confifted of 1300000. Footmen, and 500000 Horsemen, it must needs be, that long before Semiramis Reigne, the greatest part of Alia (whence her huge Army was gathered) was full of people: yea Arabia it felfe (much part whereof is barren)must long before this time of Semiramis have been plentifully people when Ninus having a determination to make himselfe Master of all Nations, entred not withstanding) in League with the King thereof: whom therefore he either feared, or fought his affiftance. And if Arabia were then so well replenished, I see no cause but Egy might also be peopled. Now if we may believe Trogus Pompeius (Epitomiz'd by Jufin) Egypt was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before Ninus was borne. For thek be his owne words, speaking of Ninus. Fuere quidem temporibus antiquioribus Vexois Rex Agypti, erc. But there were in times more ancient Vexoris King of Egypt, and Tanis king of the Scythians: of which the one invaded Pontus, the other Egypt . And how full people all that part of the world was, the Conquests of Ninus witnesse, who subdud with no small force the Armenians, the Medes, and afterward the Battrians ; yea, all the wholebody of Asia on this side India. For Diodorus out of Ctesius numbreth the Arms wherewith Ninus invaded Zoroaster, at 1700000. Footmen, and 200000. Horseman and the Stories generally shew, that though Zoroasters Armie was farre short of this, y it was greater than any that those parts of the World ever fince beheld. But to what of should I seeke for forreigne authority: for no man doubteth but that Egypt was possible by MiZraim, the sonne of Ham; and that it was an established Kingdome, filled withme ny Cities in Abrahams time, the Scriptures tell us. And fure, to prepare and cultivead folate & overgrown ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Lawes, and Policies, came be esteemed a labour of a few daies: and therefore it must be inhabited in a lesse time that 200. yeeres after the Floud; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the Floud so if so many Millions of men were found within 300. yeeres after the generall Floud; so as not onely Babylon, and Affyria, Bactria, Armenia, Media, Arabia, Egypt, Palastina, yel the farre-off Lybia on the one fide, and India on the other, and Scythia (inferiour to new ther)were all filled: into what small corners could then all those Nations be compress which 1656. yeeres brought forth before the Floud even necessity, which cannot be to listed, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the knowne world; especially

where death forbare the Father, and made no place for the Sonne, till he had beheldle

ving Nations of his owne body.

7. V.

of some other reasons against the opinion of Pererius.

Or what a strange increase did the long lives of the first Age make, when they continued 800 or 900 yeeres. Surely, we have reason to doubt, that the World could not containe them, rather than that they were not spred over the World. For let us now reckon the date of our lives in this Age of the World: wherein if one exceede 500 veeres, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet we finde no want of people; nav weknow the multitude fuch, as if by warres or pestilence they were not sometimes takenoff by many thousands, the earth with all the industry of man could not give them food. What strange heapes then of soules had the first Ages, who enjoyed 800 or 900. veares, as aforefaid? These numbers, I say, cannot be counted nor conceived. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which have beene borne in Brittaine fince 3. or 4. hundred yeeres before the Norman Conquest (faving fuch as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now alive; and if to these there were added as many as by Polygamy might have beene increased. For (to omit, that the Gyants and mighty ones of the first Age observed no law of Matrimony) it is to be thought that those Lovers of the world and of pleasure, when they knew the long and liberall time which Nature had given them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could flye from or eschew. For what humane argument hath better perswasion to make men carelesse of life, and searclesse of death, than the little time which keepes them a funder, and that fhort time also accompanied with so many paines and diseases, which this envious old Age of the Worldmingleth together, and soweth with the feedes of Mankinde ?

Now if that Berofus or Annius may bee alleadged for fufficient Authours, whom Pererius himselfe in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by Fosephus confirmed, that the City of Enoch was feated neere Lybanus in Syria: and if other parts of Syria were peopled in Cains time, I fee no cause why Palastina (which is also a Province of Syria) and Egypt (which neighboureth it) could be left defolate both all the life time of Cain, and all those times betweene his death and the Floud, which were by estimation 700. or 800. yeares. And fure though this Fragment of Berofus with Annius his Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or lost) yet all things in Berofus are not to bee rejected. Therefore Saint Hierome for fucls Authors gives a good rule: Bona corum eligamus, vitemus contraria; Let us choose what is good in them, and rejett the rest. And certainely in the very beginning of the first Booke, Berofus agreeth (in effect) with Moses, touching the generall Floud: and in that first part Berosus affirmeth, that those mighty men and Gyants which inhabited Enoch, commanded over all Nations, and subjected the universall Worlds and though that phrase (of all the World) be often used in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of the Acts, That there were dwelling at Hierusalem Jewes, menthat feared God of every Nation under Heaven: yet by the words which follow in Berofus, it is plain, that his words & fensewere the same : for he addeth, from the Sunnes rising to the Sunnes setting; which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Againe, we may fafely conjecture, that Noah did not part and proportion the World among his sonnes at adventure, or left them as Discoverers, but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denyed that the earth was more passable and easieto travell over before the Floud, than after it. For Pererius himselfe confesseth, that Attica (by reafon of mud and slime which the water left upon the Earth) was uninhabited 200. yeeres after Ogiges Floud; whereby we may gather, that there was no great pleasure in passing into farre Countries, after the generall Deluge, when the earth lay (as it were) incopfed for 100. or 130. vecres together. And therefore was the face thereof in all conjecture more beautifull, and leffe cumbersome to walke over, in the first Age, than after the generall overflowing.

†. VI.

Of the words of Moses, Gen. 10. v. ultimo, whereupon Pererius grounded his opinion.

Aftly, whereas Pererius drawes this Argument out of the last Verse of the tenthos Genesis; And out of these were the Nations divided after the floud: Quo significatur atalem divisionem non fuisse ante diluvium; By which it appeareth (faith Pererius) that there was no fuch division before the Floud; which hee also feeketh to confirme out of the eleventh of Genesis, because the division of tongues was the cause of the dispersion of the people. This consequence, quo significatur, & c. seemeth to me very weak: The Textit selfe rather teacheth the contrary: For out of these (saith Moses) were the Nations divided in the earth after the Floud; inferring, that before the Floud the Nations were divided out of o thers, though after the Floud out of these only. But whatsoever sense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawne to the times before the Floud, or to any plantation or division in that age: for if there were none else among whom the earth could be divided after the Floud, but Noahs Sonnes, wherein doth that necessary division controule the planting of the World before it : And whereas it is alledged that the confufion of speech was the cause of this dispersion; it is true, that it was so for that present: but if Babel had never beene built, nor any confusion of Languages at all, yet increase of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and general Plantation: as Berolus faves well, that when Mankinde were exceedingly multiplyed, Adcomparandas novas sedes necessitas compellebat, They were driven by necessitie to seeke new Habitations. For w finde (as it is before faid) that within 300. yeeres after the Floud, there were gathered rogether into two Armies, fuch multitudes as the Valley about Babylon could not have fustained those numbers, with their increase, for any long time; all Asia the greater and the leffer; all Scythia, Arabia, Palastina, and Agypt, with Greece, and the Islands therefore Mauritania and Lybia, being also at that time fully peopled. And if we believe Berosus then not onely those parts of the World, but (within 140. yeeres after the Floud) Spain. Italie and France were also planted: much more then may we thinke, that within 1656. veeres before the Floud, in the time of the chiefe strength of Mankind, they were replenished with people. And certainely seeing all the world was overflown, there were people in all the World which offended.

t. VII.

A conclusion resolving of that which is most likely touching the Agyptian Antiquities: with Comewhat of Phut (another Sonne of Ham) which peopled Lybia.

Herefore for the Antiquity of the Egyptians, as I do not agree with Mercator, not judge with the Vulgar, which give too much credit to the Egyptians Antiquities! fo I doe not think the report of their Antiquities fo fabulous, as either Pererimon other men conceive ir. But I rather incline to this, that Egypt being peopled before the Floud, and 200. or 300. yeeres, more or leffe after Adam, there might remaine unto the Sonnes of Mizraim some Monuments in Pillars or Altars (of stone or mettall) of their former Kings or Governours: which the Egyptians having added to the List and Roll of their Kings after the Floud, in succeeding time (out of the vanity of glory, or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyond the truth might be inserted. And that the memory of Antiquitie was in such fort preserved, Berofus affirmeth it of the Chaldens, and so doth Epigenes. For they both write, that the use of Letters and the Art of Astronomie was knowne to the Babylonians 3634. yeeres before Alexanders Conquest: and this report Annius findeth to agree and reach to the time of Enoch, who was borne 1034! yeeres before the Floud, and wrote of the Worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire; as also of Christ his comming in judgement, as Saint Jude hath witnessed. But leaving these Antiquites to other mens judgements, and every man to his ownereason, I will conclude this Plantation of Egypt. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by Millrain, and that it tooke the name of Egypt from Egyptus the fonne of Belus, as aforefaile Being divided into two Regions, that part from Memphis or Nicopolis to the Medterran Sea, was called the inferiour Egypt; surnamed also Delta: because the severall branches of Nilus breaking afunder from one body of the River, gave it the forme of the Greeke letter Delta, which is the forme of a Triangle. That branch, which ran roward the North-east and embraced the Sea, next unto the Desarts of Sur and Pharan, had on it the City of Pelusium, where Senacherib was repulsed: The other branch, which veelded it selfe to the Salt-water towards the North-east, is beautified by that famous City of Alexandria: The upper part of Egypt is bounded betweene Memphis and Syene neere Ethiopia, and had the name of Thebaida, of that ancient City of Thebes; which(according to Homer) was adorned with 100. Gates, and therefore called Civitas centum portarum; and by the Greeks Diospolis; in the Scriptures No-hamon, which fignifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding beliefe. Josephus cals Egypt Merfin of Milyaim: and He. Jost i. Anicis Hero. Enlerge. rodotus affirmes that it had once the name of Thebais.

Phut the third sonne of Ham tooke the next portion of Land to his brother Mizrain. and inhabited Lybia: whose people were anciently called Phutei, (faith Josephus) & Pliny mentioneth the River Phut in Mauritania: which River from the Mountain Atlas (known 1564) to the Inhabitants by the name of Dyris) he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of Ezechiel, that Phut, Chulb, & Lud were contermini and Affociates with the Egyptians.

6. XII. Of the eleven somes of Canaan, the fourth some of Ham.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: with the names of his eleven formes.

Anaan (the fourth sonne of Ham) possest all that Region called by the Romanes Palastina: in the Scriptures Galilaa, Samaria, and Judaa; in the later times known by the name of the Holy Land and Jurie: the limits whereof are precifely fer downe by Moses, Genesis the tenth, Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goest to Gerar untill AZZah, and as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorrha, and Admah & Zeboim, even unto Lasha. Now how soever these words of the Hebren Text (as thou goest) be converted, Moses meaning was that Gerar was the South bound of Canaan, and Zidon the North; Sodome and Gomorrha the East, and the other Cities named stood on the Frontiers thereof. For Gerar standeth in a right Line from Gazain the way of Egypt, the uttermost Territory of Canaan Southward: and this was properly the Land of Canaan.

Now the fons of Canaan which possess this Country, and inhabited some part of the

borders thereof, were in number eleven:

1. Zidon.

2. Heth or Chethus.

3. Febuli or Febulæns.

4. Emori or Emoreus, or Amoreus.

5. Girgeshi or Girgeseus.

6. Hevi or Chivens.

7. Arki or Harkeus.

S. Seni or Sinaus.

9. Arvadi or Arvadaus.

10. Zemari or Samareus, or TZemareus.

11. Hamathi, or Hamatheus, or Chamathaus.

Of which the most renowned were the Hethites, Gergesites, Amerites, Hevites, Jebusites, and Perizzites: which Perizzites were descended of Zemari or Samareus, or from some ofhis.

t. 11. Of the portions of Zidon and Heth. I Idon the first borne of Canaan, built the famous City of Zidon in Phanicia, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of Affer: for Affer, Labulon, & Nephtali had a great part of the ancient Phanicia diffributed among them; but the Afferites could never obtaine Zidon it felfe.

E M

Gen.10.19.

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Gen. 23.

2 Kin.7.6.

Gen. 27.46.

Hevites, and the Jebusites. The Hittites inhabited about Berfabe, and towards Hebron neer the Torrent Befor, and about Gerar, which Mofes maketh the uttermost limit of Canaan having the Defart of Pharan to the South: for about Berfabe (otherwise Puteus jurameni) foure miles from GaZa dwelt Heth and his Posterity, as far to the Northeast as Hebron, & Mamre 3& of Ephraim the Hittite did Abraham buy the field of Sarahs buriall. Of which Nation Rebecca bewailed her selfe to Isaac, saying, That she was weary of her life for the Daughters of Heth. The Giants Anakim were of the fe Hittites, a strong and sierce Nation, 10 whose entertainment by the kings of Ifrael against them the Syrians greatly feared: as in the feventh of the Kings; Ifrael hath hired against us the Kings of the Hittites.

The second some of Canaan was Heth or Cethus: of whom came the Hethites: or Hin. tites, one of those seven principall Nations (commanders of Canaan) appointed by God

to be rooted out; namely, the Gergesites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, the

6. III. Of the Jebusites and Amorites:

TEbuseus, the third sonne of Canaan, of whom came the Jebusites, and whose principall I feat was Jebus, (afterward Hierufalem) were also a valiant and stubborne Nation, and held their City and the Country neere it, till such time as David by Gods affistance recovered both: yet were not the Jebusites extinguished, but were Tributaries to Solomon, Amoreus was the fourth sonne of Canaan, of whom the Amorites tooke name, who in-

habited that Land to the East of Jordan below the Sea of Galilee, having Arnon and the Mountaines of Galaad on the East, and Jordan on the West: of whom Og (King of Basan)

and Sihon (overthrowne by Moses) were Princes.

The Amerites had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of Canaan: as behinde Libanus in the edge of Calosyria, or Syria Libanica. They had also their being in the Mountaines of Juda, and in Idumaa neere the Metropolis thereof, called Duma. And hereofit came that all the Canaanites were sometime called Amorites: as in Genesis the fifteenth: For the wickednesse of the Amorites is not yet full. And that this was also a powerfull Nation, wee finde in the Prophet Amos: Yet destroyed I the Amorite before them, whose heighth was like the heighth of a Cedar, and hee was strong as the Oake.

t. IIII. Of the Gergesites, Hevites and Harkites.

THe fift fonne of Canaan was Gergefius or Gergefion, (otherwife Girgafi) who inhabi ted on the East side of the Lake of Tiberias, or the Sea of Galilee, where Ptolomy sets the City Gerasa, which Josephus cals Gesera, in the Territory of Decapolis. Here it was that Christ disposses the possessed with Divels; and the Gergesises defired him to depart their Coatts: because their Swine, filled with the evill spirits, drowned themselves in the Sea of Galilee. Gergeseus also built Beritus (sometime Geris) afterward Fælix Julia, three miles from the River Adonis in Phanicia: in which the Romans held a Garrison: andto which Augustus gave many large priviledges.

Heveus the fixth fon, and Father of the Hevites, inhabited under Libanus neer Emath. These Hevites, howsoever the Capht horim expelled a good part of them (as in Deuterone) my the second is remembred) yet many of them remained all the warre of Josua, and afterward to the time of Solomon. For God was not pleased utterly to root out these Nations, but they were fometimes made Tributaries to the Ifraelites, and at other times ferved (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to afflict them: for as it is written, Judges the third: They remained to prove Israel by them, whether they would obeythe

The feventh fonne was Araceus or Harki, who between the foote of Libanus and the Mediterran Sea, (over against Tripolis) built the City of Archas, Arce, or Arca, afterwards

t. V. Of Sini and Arvadia

I neus the eight fon, Hierofolymitanus fets at Caparorfa, which Ptolomy finds in Justen par far from Jehus to the South theyard friend 7. dea, not far from Jebus; to the South thereof, faith Junius. But it is more probable. that Sineus founded Sin, which S. Hierome cals Sim: Ptolomy, Simyra: Mela and Plimy. Simyrus: Brochard, Sycon; (called Synochis) neere Arca. Pererius thinkes that Sineus inhabited the Defarts of Sinai, or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of Brochard, who took view of all these places, affirming, that Sineus built Synochis. as Zidon built Zidon. There is also another Nation of Cini written with the letter C. otherwise Kenai) who descended of Hobab the son of Raguel the Madianite, who assisted the Israelites in their conduction through the Wildernes of Pharan. But these Cinei were admitted among the Ifraelites, and had a portion of Land with the Nephralims, befide Judge their habitations with the Amalekites: against these Cinai, Balaam prophecied, that they Fostigadia should be destroyed by the Allyrians.

The ninth fonne was Aradeus or Arvadeus, who in the Ile of Aradus built the City Gutty Pilo Arados: opposite against which Hand on the Maine of Phanicia, they founded another City of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called Antaradus. To this City came S. Peter (faith Clement) and in this Ile preached the Gospell, and founded a Church inhonour of our Lady: but we finde no fuch worke of his in the Atts of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom Ezechiel remembreth in his prophecies against the Tyrians: The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were capation

thy Mariners.

of Zemari.

F Samareus, or Zemari, the tenth fon there are divers opinions. Some think that he inhabited in Calofyria at Edeffa, and founded Samarain, which in Fosua is placed in the Tribe of Benjamin. There is also Samarajim (of the same orthography) upon the Mountains of Ephraim (faith Beroaldus) mentioned in the fecond of Chr.c. 12, v. 4. Beroal in through which the Latine converteth amisse (faith he) by Semeron. The Hierosolymitan Paraphrast makes Samareus (of whom were the Periz ites) the parent of the Emissani, which Pling cals the Hemisseni, in Colospina; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembred. But that they founded Samaria, both the Hebrew Orthographie, and this place in the first of Kings (speaking * Kinze as of Omri) disproveth: And he bought the Mountaine Samaria or Shemeron of one Shemer, for two talents of silver, and built in the Mountaine, and called the name of the City which heebuilt, after the name of Shemer, Lord of the Mountaine, Samaria. But of all these places I shall speake more at large in the conquest of the holy Land, by the children of Ifrael. Of whomfoever the Samaritanes were descended, sure I am, that they were ever a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the state of the Jewes stood up, they alwayes called themselves *Tewes*; when it suffered or sanke, they then utterly denyed to be of that Nation or Family; for at fuch time as they were returned from their first captivities they became a mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the Affgrians, and partly of the Naturals.

t. VII. of Hamathi.

He last of Canaans sons was Hamatheus, or (according to the Hebrew) Hamathi, of Hamath, (faith Beroaldus:) of which (the afpiration taken away) the fame is pronounced Emath, wherof Hamatheus was present. Josephus & S. Hierome confound Emath with Antioch: northat Antioch which standeth on the River Orontes, on the frontier of Comagena, between the Mountaine Caffins and the Province of Pieria, and Seleucis, of which Saint Peter was Bishop, and in which Saint Luke and Ignatius were borne; but Ansiech, furnamed Epiphania, as Berealdus Supposeth, which standeth betweene

Deut.I. NHM.X 34

A: 70 2

Apamea and Emesa in Cassiotis. Yet, indeed, Emath cannot be taken for either: for both

that Antioch upon Orontes, and that which neighboureth Emela, are farther off feated

from Canaan, than ever any of those Nations straggled. And whereas S. Hierome setteth

Emath, which he confoundeth with Epiphania, in the Tribe of Nephtali; it is manifest,

that Epiphania, which standeth to the North of Emesa, hath all the Province of Laodicea

betweene it and any part of the Land divided. And if Libanon it selfe were not shared a

mong the Tribes, then could not Epiphania belong unto them: for both the Provinces

Landicea and Libanica, are betweene Epiphania and any part of the holy Land: and there-

fore Emath fo taken could not be a part of Nephtali, as in the thirteenth of Josas direct-

ly proved. For Josua counting the lands that remained unpossest, reckoneth all Mount is

Libanon towards the Sunne-rifing, from Baalgad under Mount Hermon, until we come to

Hamath. And this reason (among others) is used, that Emath was not in Nephtalim, or

any way belonging to the children of Ifrael: because Davidaccepted the presents of To-

bu King of Emath, and (therewithall) conditions of peace: which hee would not have

done, if that Territory had ever belonged to the children of Ifrael, but would have reco-

2 Sam. 8.9.

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vered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight. For if the promise which God made, be considered, as it is written in Deuteronomy, then might Emath be comprehended, though feated altogether without the bounds of the Land promifed, according to the description of Moles Cap. 11. 0.24. and Josea: for Emath is indeed situate on the other side of the Mountaine of Hermon, which joyneth to Libanus: and is otherwise called Iturea. But whereas Hamath is named in Josuathe 19. v.35. and written in the Latine conversion Emath, therein (faith Beroaldus) was S. Hierome miltaken. Emath or Itures is that over the Mountaines, and the City in Nephralim should be written Hamath: and so the Septuagint (understanding the difference) write it Ammath and not Emath, the fame which indeed belongeth to the

Cap.18.6.19.

of Hamath?

6. XIII. of the somes of Chush (excepting Nimrod) of whom hereafter.

Nephtalims, feated on the South fide of Libanus, to the East of Affedim: which Citie

S. Hierome writes Emath; Josephus, Hamab; others, Emathin, or Amatheos, and the people

Amathein: of which (as I take it) Rabfakeh vaunteth in the second of Kings. Where is the gol

seba, Havila, CSheba, Sabta And the fonnes of Raama were, and Dedan The fonnes of Chulb were, Raama. Sabteca, Nimrod.

That most of the sonnes of Chush were feated in Arabia the happy : and of the Sabaans that robbed Job: and of the Queene that came to Salomon.

Eba or Saba was the eldest sonne of Chush, the eldest sonne of Ham; to make a difference betweene Him and his Nephew Sheba, the sonne of his brother Raama, or Regma, (or Ragma after Montanus:) his name is written with a fingle (S)Samech, and Shebathe fonne of Regma with an (S) afperate, which is the Hebrew Schin. Seba the eldest sonne of Chush, Regma his brother, and Sheba the sonne of Regma, possest both the shores of Arabia Fælix. Saba tooke that part toward the Red Sea, as neerest his Father Chush, and the Land of the Chusites: Regma and Sheba the East coast of the fame Arabia, which looketh into the Gulfe of Persia; of which Pliny: Sabai, Arabim populi, propter thura clarissimi ad utraq maria porrectis gentibus habitant; The Sabeans, people of Arabia, famous for their Frankincense, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas, (to wit) the Persian, and the Arabian or Red Sea. This Countrey was afterwards called Arabia, à populi mistione, faith Postellus. To this agreeth Ptolomy, who fetteththe City of Saba towards the Arabian or Red Sea, & the City Rhegama towards the Per fian with whom also we may leave Sabta: for so much Montanus gathereth out of Prolom?

because he remembreth a Nation (called Stabai) neere the Persian Sea; and Massabatha which descended of them. But Montanus hath sent Regma, or (as he cals him) Rhama, into Carmania, for which I fee no reason. Josephus, who onely attended his owne fancies: hath banished Saba or Seba to the border of Ethiopia. But Beroaldus thinkes it strange. rhatthe Sabæi, which stole away Jobs Cattle, should runne through all Egypt, and all Arabia Petraa, and finde out Job in Traconitis, betweene Palastina and Calosyria, 1200. milesoff. Now as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, so doe I thinke, that neither the Sabai on the Red Sea, northose toward the Persian Sea, could by any meanes execute the stealth upon 30b, which soever Beroaldus shall take for neerest. But these were rhe Sabæi of Arabia the Defart, where Guilandinus Melchior affirmethout of his owne experience, that the Citie Saba is feated: the fame which Ptolomy calls Save, now Semifcafac: and from this Saba in Arabia the Defart, came those Magi or Wife men, which worthipped Christ, faith Melchior, whose words are these: The Magicame neither out of Me-Copotamia (as Chryfostome, Hierome, and Ambrose supposed) nor out of Arabia the Happy, as many wise men doe beleeve, but out of Saba in Arabia the Desart: which City, when my selfe was there, was (as I judged it) called Semifeafac. And to approve this opinion of Guilan... dinus, is appeareth that these Sabai were neighbours to Fob, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well those on the Persian Sea, as those on the Red Sea) are fo dif-joyned with large Defarts, as there is no possibilitie for strangers to passe them, especially with any numbers of Cattell, both in respect of the Mountaines, of the fands, and of the extreme want of water in those parts: Whi nec homines, nec bestia videntur, nec aves, imò nec arbores, nec gramen aliquod, sed non nisi montes saxosi, altisimi, asperimi: Where there are found neither men, nor beasts, no not so much as birds, or trees, nor any passure or graffe, but onely sharpe, and high, stonie, and craggie mountaines. Beroaldus and Pererius conceive, that the Queene of Saba which came to vifit Solomon, was of the Sabai on the East side of Arabia Fælix; but the contrarie seemeth more probable, and that she was Queen of Saba towards the Red Sea: for Solomon at that time commanding all that part of Arabia Petraa, betwixt Idumaa and the Red Sea, as farre downe as Midian or Madian. and Ezion Gaber: and this Queene of Saba, which inhabited the West part of Arabia Fælix, being his neighbour, might without any far travell enter his Territories, free from all danger of furprise by any other Prince or Nation. But to avoid tediousnesse, it is manifest that Seba or Saba, Sabta, Raama, or Regma, with

his Sonnes Sheba and Dedan, and Sabteca, were all the possessors of Arabia the Happy, and the Defart: only Havilah and Nimrod dwelt together on the East fide of Chush, who held Arabia Petraa. Now for Sabta, there is found of his name the City of Sabbatha or Sabota in the same Arabia: of which both Plinie and Ptolomy; who withall nameth Sabotale, Plinitz 2173 within the wals whereof there were fometimes found fixtie Temples. Ezechiel joyneth Ptolitabe. the Father and the Sonne together, The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy Mer- Executarian chants. And that they were the Easterne Arabians, their merchandise witnesseth, formerly repeated in the Chapter of Paradife. For Josephus his fancies, that Saba was the Parent of the Ethiopians about Meroe, and Sabta of the Ethiopians Astabari, they be not worthy any farther answer than hath already beene given: especially seeing these Cities. preserving the memorie of the names of Saba, and of Sabta in Arabia, were yet remaining in Ptolomies time, though in some letters changed. As also in the coasts adjoyning, the names of other of the brethren of the familie of Culh, with little alterations are preserved. In Arabia the Defart is found the Citie Saba or Save, (now Semiscasae) with the Citie of Rhegana for Rhegma: and the Nation by Ptolomie himselfe called Raabeni of Raamah. In Arabia the Happie is found the Citic of Rhegama, and Rabana; which also keepeth the found of Rhegma, the Citie of Saptha or Saptah, not far from the East-coast of Arabia: as also the Metropolis and chiefe Citie in the bodie of the South part of Arabia, called without defference or alteration Sabatha, and to the West of Sabatha towards the Red Sea the great Citie of Saba; and the Nation adjoyning, Sabai: and to the South thereof againe toward the streight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of Sabe. To all these his brothers and nephewes which were feated on the East fide of Arabia, Havilab by the passage of Tigris was a neighbour, to whom he might passe by Boate even unto Rhegma the Citie of Raama, or Rhegma, fet neere the River of Lar towards the mouth of the Persian Sea, which stood in Prolomies time.

CHAP.8. \$.14:

Josephus his opinion of Dedan, one of the iffue of Chush, to have beene feated in the West A: thopia, diffroved out of Ezechiel and Hieremy.

Nd whereas Josephus (whom in this S. Hierome followeth, as not curious herein) fent Dedan the son of Raamah into West Athiopia, it is strange that Ezech. should couple Sheba, Raamah, and Dedan together; Dedan in the 15. Verse, and Sheba, and Raamah in the 22. Verse, to be the Merchants of Tyre, if Dedan had dwelt in West Athiopia, which is diftant from Raamah and Sheba (the habitation of his father and brother) h above foure thousand miles. Besides which, the merchandise that the Dedanites brought to Tyre doth not make them naked Blacke-moores. For they of Dedan (faith Ezechiel) were thy Merchantsin precious clothes for thy Chariots; and these Westerne Æthio. pians never faw cloth, till the Portugals, seeking those Coasts, traded with them: the merchandise of the Countrie being Hides, Elephants teeth, some Gold and Amber, Civet Cars, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: & all these they exchanged for linnen or iron chiefly.

But inthose dayes the West part of Africa within the body of the land was knowne onely by imagination and, being under the burnt Zone, was held uninhabitable. And therefore that the Negroes of the West Athiopia, which inhabite about Serra Liona, or Niger, could either passe by Sea or Land to Tyre, in the bottome of the Mediteran Sea, were a strange, or rather a soolish fancy. Now to put it out of dispute that Dedanalso dwelt by the rest of the children of Chush, which seats they held by that name in the time of Hieremy the Prophet, let us heare Hieremy his owne words: Fly, ge Inhabitants of Dedan, for I have brought the destruction of Elanupon him. Hereby it appeareth, that Dedan was a Neighbour to the Idumeans: and Idumea is a Province of Arabia Petres: and Dedan which dwelt on the North part of Arabia falix, joyned in that part to Petras the feat of his Grand-father Chulh; which neighbourhood and fellowship of Dedan and the Idumaans, is also confirmed by Ezechiel: I will stretch out my hand upon Edom, and destroy Man and Beast out of it, and I will make it desolate from Teman: and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword.

Exech.15.15.

The termination on im in the He-

ber, as aim, of the dual.

Cap. 46.0 9.

14.2

&. XIII.

Of the iffue of Mizraim: and of the place of Hieremie, Chap. 9. Verf. 7.

Free Chulh, it followeth to speake of Mizraims sonnes, whose names (faith Saint Augustine) were plurall, to fignifie the Nations, which came of them. Ludim, the elder fon of Mizrain, was the Father of the Lybians in Africa: and thereft monly a figne of of his Brothers dispersed themselves into all the Regions adjoyning. Among the sons theplurallium of Shem there is also Lud; but he is differenced from Lud the sonne of Mizrain by the fingular number : the sonne of Shem being written Lud; the sonne of Mizraim, Ludim and yet these Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of Names and Nations. For, that Ludim the sonne of Mizraim was the Parent of the Lybians in Africa, and that he was feated not farre from Mizrain his father, appeareth by the Prophet Hieremy, who joyned them in this forttogether: Come up yet Horses, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant mencome forth, the Blacke-moores, and the Lybians which beare the shield: for those Nations assisted the Egyptians, being of one Parent descended. And in Exechiel, Phut and Lud are joyned together. Athiopia (or Chush) faith Ezechiel, c. 30. v. 3. and Phut, and Lud, and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league, shall fall with them by the sword: which is as much to say, as the sons of Chulh, (which were the Chusites) the sonnes of Mizraim, (which were the Egyptians) and the Lybians (descended of his sonne Lud) with other the Inhabitants of Egypt and Africa, shall fall together. Hierofolymitanus finds also in Africa a Nation of the Lydians. And I beleeve it: because Hieremy joyneth the Lybians, and Lydians together in the place before remembred. But Lybia in Africa is by the Hebrewes called Ludim (faith Arias Montanus) though 2 Chron. 12.3. they seeme to bee called Lubim or Lubai, a name somewhat neerer the word Lybies, and by which it may seeme that the truet

writing is, not Libyes, but Lybies. Neither is it here to be omitted, that Pintus (upon the thirtieth of Exechiel) understandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of Lud. nor tobe meant of the Lybians at all: for he will have this threatning to be meant against the people of Lyda, a City (faith he) between Egypt and Palastina, which opinion I could not millike if the City of Lyda were so seated. But Lyda (which should be written Lydda with adouble D, and is the fame City which was afterward Doifpolis, in which S. Peter cured Eneas of the palfey) standeth neere the Torrent Gaas, not faire from Joppethe Port of Hierusalem. Yet it is not impossible but that this City might have Lud for the Founder. For there are many Cities of one name founded in all the Regions of the World, and farreasunder; as after the names of Alexander, Selencus, and Antiochus, many Cities called Alexandria, Seleucia, and Antiochia, so of divers others. S. Hierome maketh Lebabim to be the Father of Libya, who was the third sonne of Mizraim; and so doth Postellus; and either opinion may be true.

of the History of the World.

The rest of Mizraims sonnes have no proper Countries given them in the Scriptures. faving Cassum and Captorim, of whom came the Philistims, whom the Scriptures call Pelelet.

These Cassubim inhabited Cassiotis a Region lying in the entrance of Egypt from Palas fina, in which the Lake Sirbonis, and the Mountaine Cassim are found, not faire from whence Pompey was buried.

Caphtorim seated neere Castuhim in that Tract of Egypt called Sethrotis, next faire from Pelulium. Strabo calls it Sethrotis; Stephanus and Pliny, Sethroitis, of the City Sethron: which Ortelius takes to be the same which Ptolomy calls Hercules parva. Of the Callubim and Gaphtorim came the Philistims, which are called by the Septuagint Allophyli (which is) Alienigena, Strangers, or of a strange kindred. These Philistims inhabited the South part of the holy Land towards Egypt, of whom Palastina tooke name. For the Hebrewes (faith Isidore) doe not use the letter (P) but in stead of it (ph.) Their principall Cities were Ga-Za, Afcalon, Azotus, Geth, and Accaron: and the people of them called Gafai, Afcalonita, Azotii, Gethai, and Accaronita: Isidore affirmes, that Ascalon was first called Philistim; and of that City the Country adjoyning. But where I sidore had it, I know not.

The first knowne King of the Philistims was that Abimelech, who had a liking to Abrahams wife; with whom Abraham made a covenant and league. This Abimelech dwelt indeed at this time in Gerar; but it is written that he was also King of the Philistims, in these words: Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech King of the Philistims unto Gerar. Now in Ensurpointie regard that this or some ancienter Abimelech governed the commonwealth greatly to his 33. Pfalmeglory, the rest of his successors called themselves by the same name. The Philistims the 29.0 feet commanded that Tract of land upon the mediterran Sea to the Northward, from the Ca-thel. Alle of Pilgrims (otherwise Calarea Palastina, or Stratons Tower) which was the Southborder of Phanicia, to Gafa, or to the River of Egypt. The Anakims or strong Gyants were of the fe Philiftims: & Goliah was of Geth, one of the five Cities above named. They had sometimes five Kings, faith Lyranus. They mastered the Israelites at severall times above 150. yeeres, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by Sampson and Samuel; but in the end this yoke was taken off by David; and laid on themselves.

It is objected, that because these Cities and the Countries adjoyning, were held by the fonnes of Mizraim, therefore did the Ifraelites dispossesses the sonnes of Mizraim, and not of Canaan, by forcing those places.

To this faith Pererius, that although the Palastines or Philistines held it in the time of Josua, yet at the time of the promise it was possest by the Canaanites; as in the second of Deuteronomy. The Hevites dwelt in the Villages unto Gaza. And what marvell, if the Canmanites being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the Philistims were of Caphtor, and so of Mizraim, and not of Canaan, besides Moses, the Prophet Hieremy witnesseth: The Lord will destroy the Philistims: the remnant of the iffue of Caph- Mountain ? tor: and in like manner in the ninth of Amos, the Philiftims are faid to be the reliques of Caphtorim: Have not I brought up Israel out of the Land of Egypt, and the Philistims from Americani Caphtor, and Aram from Kir? fo I reade this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath & Palastinos de Cappadocia, & Syros de Cyrene, this conversion Beroaldus condemneth; where Caphtor is taken for Cappadocia, and Cyrene for Kir. For Cyrene is a City directly West from Egypt, betweene Prolomais or Barce and Apollonia : but Kir in Asia under the Astrians: Junius hath it Kir, and not Cyrene: and so hath the Geneva.

Sap. 16. v.g.

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But Pererius calls Caphtorim Cappadocia, according to the Vulgar translation, to which he is bound: and yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean Cappadocia in Palæstina. Of which feein and not that Cappodocia by the Sea Pontus in the North of Afia the leffe. For whether they inhabited Sethreites, or Cappadocia of Palæstina, it is not certainly knowne. And fure in this maner he may expound Cappadocia to be ambiguous, aswell as he doth Cyrene: taking it here not for Cyrene in Africa, but for a place in Media. For it is written in the second of Kings, that Teglatphalasser King of the Assyrians carried away the inhabirants of Damascus into Kir : and so Josephus seemes to understand this Kir for Cyrene in Media, calling this Cyrene, Media Superior: for it was the manner and policy of the Affyrians to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the Samaritans or If it raelites, and other Nations. And hereof it came that Kir was called Syro-Media: because the Syrians by the Affyrians were therein captived.

Gf the issue of Sem.

†. I. of Elam, Affur, Arphaxad, and Lud.

It remaineth laftly to speake of the Sons of Sem, who are these:

- 1. Alam, or Elam,
- Ashur,
- Arphaxad.
- Lud, and

He posterity of Sem, Moses recountethafter the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Story of the Hebrewes: (For of Some was Abraham descended.)

Of these five sonnes, the Scriptures remember the length of the life of Arphaxadonly, and only the children of him & Aram; the rest are barely spoken of by rehearfall of their names, faving that it may be gathered, that Affur (who was supposed to found Ninive) was also said to be the Father of the Assyrians, whose issues, and the issues of Cham, in stantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the Assyrians, somtimes the Babylonians obtained, according to the vertue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth us, that all the East parts of the World were peopled by Affur, Elam, and Lud (faving India) which I beleeve Noah himselfe first inhabited : and to whom Ophir and Havilab the fons of Jottan afterward repaired, Hi filii Sem ab Euphralia fluvio partem Asia usq and Oceanum Indicum tenuerunt; These sons of Sem (faith S. Hierome) held all those Regions from Euphrates to the Indian Ocean.

Fol. Ant. 1.1.1.7.

Cap. 8.verf.2.

Of Elam came the Elamites, remembred, Atts 2. ver. 9. and the Princes of Persia; which name then began to be out of use and lost, when the Persians became Masters of Babylonia: the East Monarchy being established in them. Some prophane Writers distinguish Elam from Perfia and make the Elamites a people apart. But Sufa (which the Scriptures call Susan)in Elam was the kings seate of Persia (witnesse Daniel:) And I saw (faith he)# a vision, & when I saw it, I was in the Palace of Susan, which is in the Province of Elam. This City is embraced by the River Eulæus (according to Ptolomy) in Daniel, Ulai: and feated

D.14.8.z.

in the border of Susiana. Ashur (as most Historians believe) the second son of Sem, was Father of the Assyrians, who disdaining the pride of Nimrod, parted from Babel, and built Ninive, of equal beauty and magnitude with Babylon, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disprove that opinion. Every mans hand hath beene in this Story, and therefore I shall not need herein to speake much: for the Assyrians so often invaded and spoiled the Israelites, destroyed their Cities, and led them Captives, as both in Divine and Humane letters there is large, and of ten mention of this Nation.

But howfoever Herodot us and D. Siculus extend this Empire, and honour this Nation

with ample Dominion; yet was not the state of the Assyrians of any such power, after fuch time as Sardanapalus lost the Empire. For Senacherib who was one of the powers fillest Princes among them, had yet the Mountaine Taurus for the utmost of his Dominion toward the North-east, and Syria bounded him toward the West, not with standing these valuets of Senacherib in Esay the 37. Have the gods of the Nations dilivered them Volta whommy Fathers have destroyed: as Gozan, and Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden whichwere at Telassar? Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arphad, or the King of the City Sepharuaim, Hena and Joah? All these were indeede but petty Kings of Cities, and small Countries as Haran in Mesopotamia: Resept in Palmyresa: Hamath or Emath in Ituraa, under Libanus: the Isle of Eden: Sepher, and others of this fort. Year Natuchodonofor, who was most powerfull, before the conquest of Egypt, had but Chaldea, Mesopotamia, and Syria, with Palastina, and Phanicia parts thereof. But in this question of Affar, I will speake my opinion freely when I come to Nimrod, whose plantation I have omitted among the rest of the Chusites, because he established the first Empires from whom the most memorable story of the World taketh beginning.

Of Arphaxad came the Chaldeans, faith Saint Hierome, and Josephus; but it must be those Chaldeans about Ur: for the sonnes of Cham possess the rest. It is true that he was the Father of the Hebrewes: for Arphaxad begat Shela, and Shela, Heber, of whom

And that Lud, the fourth sonne of Shem, gave name to the Lydians in Afia the leffe, is the common opinion; taken from Josephus and S. Hierome; but I fee not by what reason he was moved to straggle thither from his friends.

of Aram, and his Sonnes.

Ram the fift and last Son of Shem was the Parent of the Syrians : of which Damas cus was head. Their name was changed from Aram or Aramites by Syrus (faith 100078) Eusebius out of Josephus) which Syrus lived before Moses was borne; the same Eusepand which others call the fon of Apollo. Mejopotamia also being but a Province of Syria, had the name of Aram Naharajim, which is as much to fay; as Syria duorum fluviorum; Syria compassed with two Rivers, (to wit) Tigris & Euphrates. The Scriptures call it Mesopotamia, Syria, and Padan Aram: and the Greekes Mesopotumia simply.

Arife and get thee to Padan Aram (faith Ifaac to Jacob) to the house of Berbuel thy mother's Cenas a See father, and thence take thee a wife. Strabo also remembreth it by the ancient name of Aram Deut. 23.4. or Aramea, as these his owne words converted witnesse: Quos nos syros vocamos, 1919 Jungs.

Syri Aramenios & Arameos vocant, Those which we call Syrians (faith he) themselves call Paralles Psiloso.

Strablis.

Against this opinion, that Aram the some of Sem was the Father and Denominator of the Syrians in generall 2 (and not onely of those in Syria Inier-amnis, which is Mesopotamia) some reade. Genes. 22:21. Kemuel, the Father of the Syrians: where other out of the originall read Kemuel, the fonne of Aram: Neither is it any inconvenience for us to understand the word (Aram) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of some one of note; the rather because in the History of Abraham and Isaac (which was in time long before Kemuels Posterity could be famous) we finde Mesopotamia called Aram; and that with an addition: fometimes with Naharajim, and fometimes of Padan, to diffinguish it from another Aram, which (as it feemes) then also was called Aram. For whereas Junius thinks in his notes upon Gen.25.20. that Padan Aram ought to be restrained to some part of Mesopotamia. (to wit) to that part which Ptolomy calls Ancobaritiss so called from the River Chaboras, which dividing it, runneth into Euphrates) the promifcuous use of Padan Aram, and Aram Naharajim (which latter appellation question lesse comprehends the whole Mesopotamia) may seeme to refine this opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it fignificth as much as the yoke of Syria, which name agreeth with this Region: because the two Rivers, (as it were) you ked together goe along it. The Reliques of the name Padan appeare in the name of two Cities in Ptolomy, called Aphadana: (as Junius hath well noted) the one upon Chabor as, the other upon Euphrates.

The

The Sonnes of Aram were, Sether, and Mesch or Mes.

Flieronia trad. Hebraic.

14.6

Hierem Lam. сар.4.001.21.

Chap.8.5.7.

uz or Hus inhabited about Damaseus, and built that City, faith Josephus and S. Hie. rome. But Tostatus mistaking this opinion, both in them and in Lyra, who also followeth Josephus, affirmeth that Abrahams Steward ElieZer was the Founder thereof, though it were likely that Hus the eldest son of Aram dwelt neare unto his father, who inhabited the body of Syria. For Hus was a Region of the fame, adjoyning to Arabia the Defart, and h to Batanea or Traconitis, whereof the Prophet Hieremy : Rejoyce and be glad O daughter of Edomibat dwellest in the Land of Hus. Hus therefore is seated beyond Jordan, in the East Region of Traconitis, adjoyning to Basan, having Batanea Gaulonitis, and the Mountaine Seir to the East, Edrai to the South, Damaseus North, and Fordan West: havingin it many Cities and people, as may also be gathered out of Hieremy : And all forts of people and all the kings of the Land of Hus. In this Region dwelt Job, descended of Hus, the some of Nahor, the brother of Abraham (faith S. Hierome) and married Dina the Daughter of Facob faith Philo.

Hul the second fon of Aram, S. Hierome makes the Father of the Armenians: and Gi ther the third fon, Parent to the Acarnanians or Carians: which opinion, (because I finder not where to fethim) I do not disprove, though I see no reason why Gesher should leave the fellowship of his owne brethren, and dwell among Strangers in Asia the lesse. Junius gives Hul (whom he writes Chul) the Defart of Palnayrena, as far as Euphrates, where Ptolimie fetteth the City of Cholle.

Gether (faith Josephus) founded the Battrians: but Josephus gave all Noahs children fea thers, to carry them far away in all hafte. For mine owne opinion, I alwayes keep the rule of Neighbourhood, and thinke with Junius (to wit) That Gether feated himfelfeneare his brothers, in the body of Syria, and in the Province of Cassiotis, and Seleucis, when Ptolomy placeth Gindarus, and the Nation by Plinie called Gindareni.

Junius also giveth to Mes or Mesch the North part of Syria, between Cilicia and Me fopotamia, neare the mountaine Massus. The certainty of those Plantations can no other wise be knowne than by this probability, that Aram the father (of whom that great Re gion tooke name) planted his fons in the same Landabout him: for he wanted no score of Territory for himselfe and them; neither then when the World was newly planted nor in many hundred yeares after; and therefore there is no reason to cast them, in the Defart parts of the World, so far afunder. And as necessity and policy held them together ther for a while: fo Ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, set them as funder. For although these sonnes of Aram, and the fonnes of the rest of Noabs children, kept themselves within the bounds of some on large Kingdome; yet therein every one also sought a Province apart, and to themselves; giving to the Cities therein built their owne names, thereby to leave their memory to their Po sterity: the use of Letters being then rare, and knowne to few.

In this fort did the pride of the Spaniards in America cast them into so many Provide ces: every one emulating and disdaining the greatnesse of other, as they are thereby to this day subject to invasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (Nova Hispania and Pernexcepted, because those Countries are unaccessible to Strangers) an easie force will calt

them out of all the rest.

Mes the fourth son is made the Parent of the Maonians: of whom something hathbit spoken already. Arphaxad the third some of Shem, begat Shelab, and Heber. Heber had two fonnes, Phaleg and Jottan: and in Phalegs time was the Earth divided.

t. III. Of the division of the Earth in the time of Phaleg, one of the sonnes of Heber, of the is of Sem.

He many people which at the division (at Phalegs birth) were then living, and the through Plantation of all the East part of the World (at his death) hath made doubt, whether the Earth were divided at either. The Hebrewes (faith Perwins out of Sedar Holam, one of their Chronicles) affirme that this partition happened at the death of Phaleg: and Phaleg was borne in the yeare after the Floud 101. and lived in all 2201 yeares, which numbers added makes 340. And therefore was it fo many yeares after the Floud, ere the children of Noch severed themselves. But to this opinion of the Hebrewes, and the doubt they make how in fo few yeares as 101. (the time of Phalegs birth) fo many people could be increased, Pererius gives this answer, That if 70 persons of the Family of Jacob increased to 600000 fighting men in 215 yeares, (befides women, children, and impotent persons) how much more is it likely, that so soone after the Floud the children of Noah might in a shorter time bring forth many multitudes, having received the bleffing of God, Increase and multiply, and fill the earth? What strength this answer hath, let others judge : for the children of Ifrael were 70. and had 215. yeares time: and the fons of Noah were but three, and had but 101. yeares of time, to the birth of Phaleg.

Others conceive that Phaleg tooke that name after the division, in memory thereof: as Josephus and Saint Augustine, who reason in this manner. If the division were at Pha- Josephus, Anto legs death (which hapned in the yeare, which is commonly held to be the 48.0f Abra- Aug decivit. ham, but was by more likely computation 12. yeares before his birth) then was the division 38. yeares after Nimus, who governed 52. yeares: in the 43. yeare of whose reigne

Abraham was borne. But when Ninus began to rule the Affyrians, 80. yeares before this poin Gentle. division (asthis division is placed by the Hebrewes, Hierome and Chrysostome) then was 15,6,10,0

the earth so peopled in all the East and Northerne parts, as greater numbers have not beene found at any time fince. For Ninus affociating to himselfe Ariaus King of Arabia a people who at that time (faith Diod. Siculus) plurimum opibus atq; armis prastabant. Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men, subdued many Cities in Armenia; received Bar-Zanis into grace; then invaded Media, and crucified Pharnus the King thereof, with his Wife and feven Children; vanquished all those Regions betweene Nilus and Tanais, the Egyptians, Phanicians, the Kingdoms of Syria, and all the Nations of Persia, to the Hyrcanian Sea. For the numbers which followed Ninus (already remembred out of Ctellas) against Zoroaster and others: and Zoroaster on the other side, who made resistance with 400000 prove it fufficiently, that if the division had not happened before the death of Phaleg, there had needed no division at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their partitions, as they fought to be mafters of all, and greater Armies were there never gathered than by Ninus and Semiramis: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit that if the division had beene made at the birth of Phales. there were not then sufficient numbers borne to fill the earth: It was never meant that the earth could be filled every where at the very instant, but by times and degrees. And furely whatfoever mens opinions have beene heerein, yet it is certaine, that the division of tongues and of men must goe neere together with the ceasing of the worke at Babel: and that the enterprize of Babel was left off instantly upon the confufion of Languages, where followed the execution of the division; and so neyther at the birth nor death of Phaleg: for Phaleg was borne in yeare 101. after the Floud, which was the yearethat Nimred came into Shinaar, or ten yeares after he arrived. faith Berofus.

Now if it be objected that Phaleg (the Etymologie of whose name fignifieth division) must have lived without a name, except the name had bin given him at the time of this consustion and partition: to this objection it may be answered, That the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures: for Jacob was called I frael after he had wrestled with the Angel ; Abraham was first Abram; and Edom, Esau; and that Phales being a principall man in this division had his first name upon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly, whereas the Hebrewes, Saint Hierome and Chrysostome account Heber for a great Prophet, if that by giving his forme the name of Phaleg, he foretold the division which followed to this I say, I doe not finde that Heber deserved any such honour, if he had thereupon so called his sonne: for division and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessity; and this Prophesie (if any such had beene) might also have reference to the division, which afterwards fell amongst the Hebrewes themCHAP. 8. S.15. +.5.

But if we give a reasonable time to the building of the Tower and City of Babel, in which time many people (by reason and by demonstrative proofe) might be increased: and that upon the fall thereof the confusion and division followed (whereupon Phaleg tooke name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

> †. IV. Of the sonnes of Joctan the other sonne of Heber.

[I. Elmodad. 2. Saleph, or Salep, or Sheleph. 3. Afamath, or Chat Zar. 4. Jare or Jaraab or Jerath. 5. Hadoram. 6.UZalor Uxal. 7. Dicklach,or Dicla. The fonnes of Jostan were 8. Obal, or Ebal, or Hobal. 9. Abimael. 10.Sheba or Seba. 11. Ophir, or Opir. 12. Havilah, or Chavila, and LI3. Fobab.

LI those sones of Joetan (according to Saint Hierome) dwelled in the East parts of the world, or India, even from the River Cophe or Choas, which is one of the of the world, or *Indus*, branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certaine places of those thirteene Sonnes cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of Mofes being generall: And their dwelling was from Melha as thou goef unto Separ a Mount in the East. Of all the sethirteene Sonnes, there were onely three me morable, (to wit) Sheba, Ophir, and Havilah. Concerning whose names, to avoid confufion, it is to be observed, that among the sonnes of Chush, two of them had also the names of Sheba and Havilah. Abraham had also a third Saba or Sheba, his grand-childe by his wife Ketura. But Seba the sonne of Chush, and Sheba the sorne of Rhegma his Nephew, we have left in Arabia Fælix : and Havilab the fon of Chush upon Tigris. Saba the grandchilde of Abraham was (as some have thought) the Father of the Sab aans in Persia: of which Nations Dionyfius de Orbis fitu, maketh mention. Primum Sabai; post hos sut Passagarda prope vero hos sant Tasci. The first are Sabaans after these be Passagarda; and neere thefe the Tasci. And whereas it is written: But unto the Sonnes of the Concubina which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and fent them away from Isaac his sonne (while he yet lived) Eastward to the East-Countrey : hereupon it is supposed, that this Sabath fonne of Abraham, wandered into Persia: for Persia was accounted the furthermost East Countrey in respect of Judea; which also ovid settethunder the Sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of Abrahams sonnes seated themselves on the borders of Judaa, I rather choosen leave Saba the sonne of Abraham in Arabia the Defart, where Ptolomy setteth a City of

5 av 8 = 16001 भवाक्षम ज्यहिता मो स्वहारा

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Gen.10.30.

Gen. 25.6.

Metam.lib.1.

But Sabathe sonne of Jostan, the son of Heber, (as I conceive) inhabited India itselfe For Dionysius Afer in his Periegesis, (or description of the World) which he wrote in Greeke Verse, among the Regions of India findeth a Nation called the Sabai. Taxilis hot inter medios habitatq, Sabaus, In the middest of these dwellthe Sabai, and the Taxili, saith

of Ophir one of Jostans sonnes, and of Peru, and of that voyage of Salomon.

Phir also was an Iuhabirant of the East Iudia, and (as S. Hierome understands it) in one of the llands plentifull with gold, which are now known by the name of Mo lucca. Josephus understands Ophir to be one of those great head-lands in India, which by a generall name are called Cherfonesi, or Peninsula of which there are two very notorious; Callecut & Malacon, Pererius takes it rightly for an Iland, as Saint Hierome doth

but he fets it at the head-land of Malacca. But Ophir is found among the Moluccas farther East.

Arias Montanus out of the second of Chronicles, the third Chapter and fixth Verse, oathers that Ophir was Peru in America, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called Mare del Sur, or the South Sea; by others Mare pacificum. The words in the second of the Chronicles are these: And he over-layed the house with precious stones for beauty; and of the coronic and the terror of the gold of Parvaim. Junius takes this gold to be the gold of Havilah, remembred by Moses in the description of Paradise: And the gold of that Land is good: fin-Pinlosus ding a Towne in Characene a Province of Sustana called Barbatia; so called (as he thinks) by corruption for Parvaim: from whence those Kings subjected by David, brought this fold with which they prefented him; and which David preferved for the enriching of

But this fancy of Peru hath deceived many men, before Montanus, and Plessis, who alforcoke Ophir for Peru. And that this question may be a subject of no further dispute: it is very true that there is no Region in the World of that name: fure I am, that at least America hath none, no notany City, Village, or Mountaine fo called. But when Franais Pilarro first discovered those Lands to the South of Panama, arriving in that Region which Atabaliba commanded (a Prince of magnificence, Riches and Dominion inferior to none) some of the Spaniards utterly ignorant of that language, demanding by signes b (as they could) the name of the Country, and pointing with their hand athwart a River. or Torrent, or Brooke that ranne by, the Indians answered Peru, which was either the name of that Brooke, or of water in generall. The Spaniards thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly understood them, set it downe in the Diurnall of their enterprise, and soin the first description made, and sent over to Charles the Emperor, all that West part of America to the South of Panama had the name of Peru, which hath continued ever fince, as divers Spaniards in the Indies affured me; which also Acolta the Teluite in his naturall and morall History of the Indies confirmeth. And whereas Montanus also finderhathat a part of the Indies (called Jucatan) tooke that name of Jostan, who as he fupposethnavigated from the utmost East of India to America: it is most true, that Tucatan is nothing elfe in the language of that Countrey but [What is that?] or [What fay you?] For when the Spaniards ask'd the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning) one of the Salvages answered Jucatan (which is) What aske you, or What say you? The like hapned touching Paria, a Mountainous Country on the South fide of Trinidado & Margarita: for when the Spaniards inquiring (as all men doe) the names of those new Regions which they discovered, pointed to the Hils a farre off, one of the people answered, Paria, which is as much to fay, as, high Hils or Mountaines. For at Paria begins that marvellous ledge of Mountaines, which from thence are continued to the Strait of Magellan, from eight degrees of North latitude to the 52. of South: and so hath that Country ever fince retained the name of Paria.

The fame hapned among the English, which I fent under Sir Richard Greenevile to inhabite Virginia. For when some of my people asked the name of that Country, one of the Salvage answered Wingandacon, which is as much to fay, as You weare good clothes, or gay clothes. The same hapned to the Spaniard in asking the name of the Iland Trinidado: for a Spaniard demanding the name of that felfe place which the Sea incompassed, they an-Iwered, Caeri, which fignifieth an Iland. And in this manner have many places newly discovered beene initialed, of which Peru is one. And therefore we must leave ophir among the Moluccas, whereabout fuch an Iland is credibly affirmed to be.

Now although there may be found gold in Arabia it selfe (towards Persia) in Havilah, now Susiana, and all alongst that East Indian shore; yet the greatest plenty is taken up at the Philippines, certaine Ilands planted by the Spaniards, from the East India. And by the length of the passage which Salomons ships made from the red Sea (which was three yeares in going and comming) it seemeth they went to the uttermost East, as the Moluccas or Philippines. Indeede these that now goe from Portugal, or from hence, finish that navigation in two yeares, and fornetimes leffe: and Salomons ships went not above atenth part of this our course from hence. But we must consider, that they evermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the use of the Compasse was knowned twas impossible to navigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore Salamons thips could not finde Peru in America. Neither was it needfull

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Diod.Sicul.L16.

for the Spaniards themselves (had it not bin for the plenty of gold in the East India Ilands farre above the mines of any one place of America) to faile every yeare from the West part of America thither, and there to have strongly planted, & inhabited the richest of those Ilands: wherein they have built a City called Manilia. Salomon therefore necded not to have gone farther off than Ophir in the East, to have sped worse: neither could he navigate from the East to the West in those dayes, whereas he had no coast to have guided him.

Tostatus also gathereth a fantasticall opinion out of Rabanus, who makes Ophir to be a Country, whose Mountaines of gold are kept by Griffins: which Mountaines Solinus affirmeth to be in Scythia Asiatica, in these words: Nam cum auro & gemmis afstuant. Griphes tement universa, alites ferocissima, Arimapi cum his dimicant, &c. For whereas these Countries abound in gold & rich stones, the Griffins defend the one & the other : a kinde of Fowle the fiercest of all other : with which Griffins a Nation of people called Arimafpi make warre. These Arimaspi are said to have been men with one eye onely, like unto the Cyclopes of Sicilia: of which Cyclopes, Herodotus and Aristeus make mention: and so doth Lucan in his third Booke: and Valerius Flaccus: and D. Siculus in the story of Alexander Macedon. But (for mine owne opinion) I believe none of them. And for these Arimashi, take it that this name fignifying One-eyed, was first given them by reason that they used to wear a vizzard of defence, with one fight in the middle to ferve both eies; and not that they had by nature any fuch defect. But Solinus borroweth thefe things out of Pline. who speakes of such a Nation in the extreme North, at a place called Gisolitron, or the Cave of the Northeast winde. For the rest, as all fables were commonly grounded up on some true stories or other things done: so might these tales of the Griffins receive this Morall: That if those men which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect fenses, and were not deprived of halfe their eye-fight (at least of the eye of right reason and understanding) they would contem themselves with a quiet & moderate estate; and not subject themselves to famine, cornin aire, violent heate, and cold, and to all forts of miserable diseases. And though this fable be sained in this place, yet if such a tale were told of some other places of the World where wilde Beafts or Serpents defend Mountaines of gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the world, especially in America, many high and impassable Mountaines, which are very rich and full of gold, inhabited onely with Tygres, Lyons & other ravenous and cruell beafts : unto which if any man ascend (except his strength h very great) he shall be fure to finde the same warre, which the Arima hi make against the Griffins: not that the one or other had any fense of the gold, or seeke to defend that mettall, but being disquieted, or made affraid of themselves or their young-ones, they grow inraged and adventurous. In like fort it may be faid that the Alegartos, (which the Eggs tians call the Crocodyles) defend those Pearles which lye in the Lakes of the Inland: for many times the poore Indians are eaten up by them, when they dive for the pearle. And though the Alegartes know northe pearle, yet they finde favour in the flesh and bloudes the Indians, whom they devoure.

Of Havilah the soune of Jostan, who also passed into the East Indies: and of Mesha and Se pher named in the bordering of the Families of Joctan: with a Conclusion of this discourse touching the plantation of the World.

F Havilab the ionne of Jollan, there is nothing elfe to be faid, but that the general rall opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East India in the Continent, from which ophir past into the Ilands adjoyning. And whereas Ganges is said to water st Havilah, it is meant by Havilah in the East India, which tooke name of Havilah the fon of Jostan:but Havilah, which Pifon compaffeth, was so called of Havilah, the son of Chulh as is formerly proved by this place of Scripture: Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah as thou commest to Shur, which is before Egypt. But that Saulever made Warre in the East India, no man hath suspected. For an end we may conclude, that of the thirteene sonnes of Jostan, these three, Saba, Havilah, & Ophir; though at the first seated by their brethren about the hill Masius or Mesh, Gen. 10.30. (to wit) betweene Cilicia and Mesopotamia; yet at length either themselves or their iffues removed into the East India, leaving the

other Families of Jostan, to fill the Countries of their first plantation, which the Scripture defines to have beene from Mesh unto Sephar. And although S. Hierome take Mesh to be a Region of the East India, and Sephar a Mountaine of the same (which Mountaine. Mantanus would have to be the Andes in Armerica) those fancies are far beyond my understanding. For the word (East) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to Judga, is never farther extended than into Persia. But Mesch is that part of the Mountaine of Mass in the North of Mesopotamia, out of which the River Chaboras springeth which runneth by Charran: and in the same Region we also finde for Sephar (remembred by Moles) Sipphara by Ptolomy, standing to the East of the Mountaine Massus; from whence Johan having many fonnes, some of them might passe into India, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in processe of time.

The other fashion of planting I understand not, being grounded but upon mens imasinations, contrary to reason and possibility. And that this Mountaine in the East was no farther off than in those Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of verez. the Scripture where the same phrase is used: as in Numbers 23. Balac the King of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the Mountaine of the East; which was from the East part of Mesopotamia. For Balac brought Balaam out of Mesopotamia, (witnesse this place of Deuteronomie:) Because they byred Balaam the sonne of Beor, of Pethor in Aram Naha- capazatra rajim, to curse thee: for Aram Naharajim was Syria fluviorum, which is Mesopotamia.

o as aforefaid. This plantation of the World after the floud doth best agree (as to me it seemes) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these be the reports of Reason and probable conjecture; the Guides which I have followed herein, and which I have chosen to goe after; making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their owne fancies, be they ancient or moderne. Neither have I any end herein, private or publikes other than the discovery of truth. For as the partiality of man to himselfe hath disquised all things: fo the factious and hireling Hiftorians of all Ages (especially of these latter times) have by their many Volumes of untrue reports left Honor without a Monument. & Vertue without Memory: and (in stead thereof) have erected Statues and Tropheis to those. whom the darkest forgetfulnesse ought to have buryed, and covered over for evermore. And although the length and diffolving Nature of Time hath worne out or changed the Names and Memory of the Worlds first planters after the floud (I meane the greatest number and most part of them) yet all the foot-steps of Antiquity (as appeares by that which hath bin spoken) are not quite worne out nor over-growne : for Babylon hath to this day the found of Babel; Phanicia hath Ziden, to which City the eldest fon of Canaan gavename ; fo hath Cilicia, Tharfis; and the Armenians, Medes, Hiberians, Cappadocians; Phrygians, the Syrians, Idumeans, Libyans, Moores, and other Nations, have preferred from the death of forgetfulnesse forme signes of their first Founders and true Parents.

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Снар. 1Х.

Of the beginning and establishing of Government.

Of the proceeding from the first Government under the eldest of Families to Rezall, and from Regall ab Colute to Regall tempered with Lawes.



CHAP. 9. S. I.

T followeth now to entreate how the World began to receive Rule and Government, which (while it had feareity of People) under-went no other Dominion than Paternity and Eldership. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldest of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (Elder) was alwayes used both for the Magistrate, & for those of Age

& Gravity: the same bearing one fignification almost in all languages. For in the eleventh of Numbers God commanded Moses to gather together 70 of the Elders of the people.

1.Sam.15.7.

Governour over them: the Hebrew bearing the same sense, which the Latine word Senes or Seniores doth. So it is written in Susanna, Then the Assembly believed them as those that were the Elders and Judges of the People. And fo in the words of those false Judges and witnesses to Daniel, Shew it unto us, seeing God hath given thee the office of an Elder. Demostheres useth the same word for the Magistrate among the Grecians. Cicero in Cato givethtwo other reasons for this appellation: Apud Lacedamonios qui amplissimum Ma gistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic ctiam appellantur Senes; Among the Lacedamonians the chiefe Magistrates, astbey were, so are they called Eldermen: and againe: Ratio & prudentianis essent in senibus, non summum Concilium Majores nostri appellassent Senatum 3 I freason and advisement were not in old men, our Ancestors had never called the highest Councell by the to

name of a Senate.

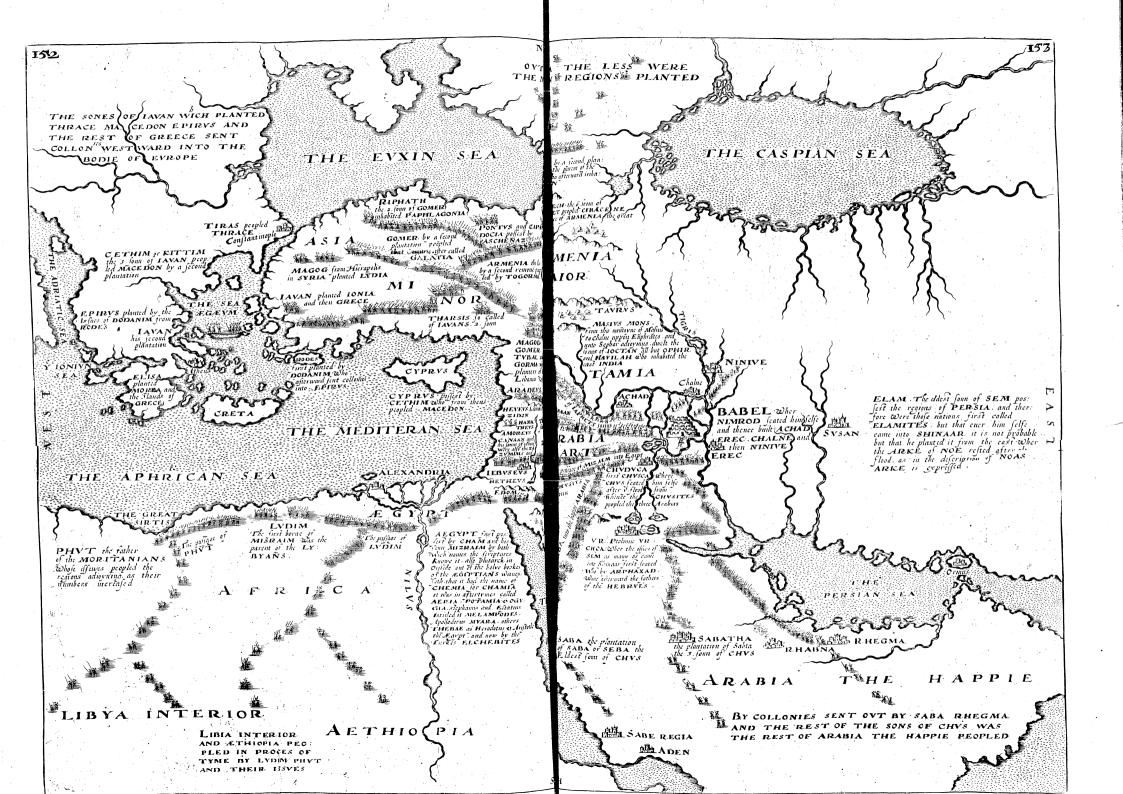
But though these reasons may well be given, yet we doubt not but in this name of (Elders) for Governours or Counsailers of State, there is a figne that the first Governors were the Fathers of Families; and under them the eldeft Sons. And from thence did the French, Italian, and Spaniard take the word (Signor) and out of it (Seignourie) for Lordship and Dominion : fignifying (according to Loyseau) puissance in propriety, or proper power. The kindes of this Seignourie, Seneca makes two: the one, Potestas aut imperium; Power or command : the other, Propriet as aut dominium : Propriety or Mastership : the correlative of the one is the subject, of the other the flave. Ad Cafarem (faith he) potestas omnium pertinet; ad singulos proprietas; Casar hath power over all, and every man propriety in his owne : and againe, Cafar omniaimperio possidet, singuli dominio ; Casar hol. deth all in his power, and every man possesseth his owne. But as men and vice began abundantly to increase: so obedience (the fruit of naturall reverence, which but from excellent feed feldome ripeneth) being exceedingly over-shadowed with pride, and ill examples, utterly withered and fellaway. And the foft weapons of paternall perswasions (after mankind began to neglect and forget the originall and first giver of life) became in all over-weake, either to refift the first inclination of evill, or after (when it became habituall) to conftraine it. So that now, when the hearts of men were onely guided and steered by their owne fancies, and tost to and fro on the tempestuous Seas of the world, while wisedome was severed from power, and strength from charity: Necessity (which bin-3) deth every nature but the immortall) made both the Wife and Foolish understandat once, that the estate of reasonable men would become farre more miserable than that of beafts, and that a generall floud of confusion would a second time over-flow them, did they not by a generall obedience to order and dominion prevent it. For the mighty, who trusted in their own strengths, found others againe (by interchange of times) more mighty than themselves: the seeble fell under the forcible; and the equall from equall received equall harmes. Infomuch that the licentious diforder (which feemed to promife a liberty upon the first acquaintance) proved upon a better triall, no lesse perillous than an unindurable bondage.

These Arguments by Necessity propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed, perswaded all Nations which the Heavens cover, to subject themselves to a Master, and to Magistracy in some degree. Under which Government, as the change (which brought with it leffe evill, than the former mischieses) was generally pleasing: so time (making all men wife that observe it) found some imperfection and corrosive in this cure. And therefore the same Necessity which invented, and the same Reason which approved fovereign power, bethought it selfe of certaine equall rules, in which Dominion(in the beginning boundlesse) might also discerne her own limits. For before the invention of Lawes, private affections in supreme Rulers made their own fancies both their Treafurers and Hangmen: measuring by this yard, and waighing in this ballance, both good

and evill.

For as wisedome in Eldership preceded the rule of Kings; so the will of Kings forewent the inventions of Lawes. Populus nullis legibus tenebatur : arbitria principum prolegibus erant; The people were not governed by anyother lawes than the wils of Princes. Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did those mens vertues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor those mens vices deforme them that were. Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt ; Love fees one while too much, another while flarke nothing. Hence it came to passe, that after a few yeares (for direction and restraint of Royall power) Lawes were established: and that government which

Necessitas eft bilis providentie poteftas.



had this mixture of equality (holding in an even ballance fupreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regall: the other (which had it not) was knowne for Tvrannicall: the one God established in favour of his people: the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this Regall authority, Princes as they were chosen for their vertues onely so did they measure their powers by a great deale of moderation. And therefore (faith Fabius Pictor) Principes, quia justi erant, & religionibus dediti, jure habiti Dit & De aumo Catilia ditti - Princes because they were just and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods. parts.

And though (fpeaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be afcribed to Reafor and Necessity; yet it was God himselfe that first kindled this light in the mindes of men, whereby they faw that they could not live and be preferved without a Ruler and Conducter: God himselfe by his eternall providence having ordained Kings; and the law of Nature Leaders, and Rulers over others: For the very Bees have their Prince; the Decre their Leaders; and Cranes (by order imposed) watch for their owne safety. The pareses most High beareth rule over the Kingdomes of Men; and appointeth over it whom soever he Dams, 222 plasfeth. By me (faith Wisedome, spoken by the Sonne of God) Kings reigne; By me Princes Irov. 8.152 rule; and it is God (faith Daniel) that settethup Kings, and taketh away Kings. And that Daniel. this power is given from God, Christ himselfe witnesseth, speaking to Pilate Thou Tolon 19.24; couldest have no power at all against me except it were given thee from above.

o It was therefore by a threefold Justice that the World hath beene governed from the beginning (to wit) by a Justice naturall: by which the Parents and Elders of Families governed their Children, and Nephewes, and Families; in which government the Obedience was called naturall Piety: Againe, by a Justice divine, drawne from the Lawes and Ordinances of God; and the Obedience hereunto was called Confcience: And lastly, by a Justice civill, begotten by both the former; and the Obedience to this we call Duty. That by these three those of the eldest times were commanded, and that the rule in generall was Paternall, it is most evident : for Adam being Lord over his owne Children, instructed them in the service of God his Creator; as we reade, Cain and Abel brought Oblations before God, as they had beene taught by their Parent, the Father of

†. II..

Of the three commendable forts of Government with their opposites: and of the degrees of hus mane fociety.

Hat other Policy was exercised or State sounded after such time as mankinde was greatly multiplied before the Floud, it cannot be certainely knowne, though it feeme by probable conjecture, that the fame was not without Kings in that first Age: it being possible that many Princes of the Egyptians (remembred among their antiquities) were before the general Floud: & very likely, that the cruell Oppressions in that Age proceeded from some tyranny in Government or from some rougher forme of Rule, than the Paternall.

Berofus ascribeth the rule of the World in those dayes to the Gyants of Libanus, who Berofus mastred (faith he) all Nations from the Sun-rising to the Sun-set. But in the second Age of the World, and after fuch time as the rule of Eldership failed; three severall forts of Government were in feverall times established among men, according to the divers na-

tures of Places and People.

Mankinde.

The first, the most ancient, most generall, and most approved, was the Government of one, ruling by just Lawes, called Monarchy: to which Tyranny is opposed, being also a fole and absolute Rule, exercised according to the will of the Commander, without reipector observation of the Lawes of God, or Men. For a lawfull Prince or Magistrate (faith Ariffotle) is the Keeper of Right and Equity and of this condition ought every Magistrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word: Judges and Officers shalt thou make Deuts 5.2 thee inthy Cities: And these shall judge the people with right eous judgement.

The second Government is of divers principall Persons established by order, and ruling by Lawes, called Aristocracy, or Optimatum potestas; to which Oligarchia (or the particular faction and ulurpation of a few great-ones) is opposed; as the Desem viri, or Trium viri, and the like.

CHAP.9.\$.3.

Now as touching the beginning and order of policy fince the fecond increase of Mankinde, the same grew in this sort: First of all, every Father, or eldest of the Family, gave Lawes to his owneissues, and to the people from him and them increased. These, as they were multiplied into many Housholds (man by nature loving society) joyned their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the Latins call Vicus; of the Greeke which the singuistic hath divers waies and paths leading to it. And as the first House grew into a Village, so the Village into that which is called Pagus, (being a society of divers Villages) so called of the Greeke why, which significe ha Fountaine: because many people (having their habitations not far as funder) dranke of one Spring or Streame of water. To this word the English Hundreds, or (as some thinke) Shires, answereth not unsity.

But as men and impiety began to gather strength, and as emulation and pride between the Races of the one and the other daily increased fo both to defend themselves from out-rage, and to preferve fuch goods as they had gathered, they began to joyne and fet together divers of their Villages, invironing them first with bankes and ditches, and afterwards with wals: which being fo compaffed were then called Oppida; either ab opponendo se hostibus, Because wals were opposed against Enemies; or ab opibus, because thither they gathered their riches for safety and defence : as also they were called Urbes, ab orbe because when they were to build a City, they made a Circle with a Plough (saith Varn) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortific. And although #rbs and Civitas be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that urbs fignified no other than the very wals & buildings, and Civitas was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: fo called of Civis, and that, ab eo quod multitudo coivis, of comming together. But all inhabitants within these wals are not properly Citizens, but onely fuch as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the City, may by turnes become Officers and Magistrates thereof: the rest goe under the named Subjects, though Citizens by the same generall name of Subjects are also knowne. For every Citizen is also a Subject, but not every Subject a Citizen: perhaps also some Citizen (as the chiefe Magistrate, if he be to be termed one of the Citizens) is no Subject; but of this we neede not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken à Magistro, from a Master, and the word (Master) from the Adverbe Magis (as also Magisteria, Precept of Art) or else from the Greeke word (Megistes:) and so the Greekes call them Megistants whom the Latines call Magnates, or Magistratus.

The office and duty of every Magistrate Aristotle hath written in few words. A Magistrate or Prince (saith he) is the keeper of right and equity, but the same is best taught by so Saint Paul, who expressed both the cause efficient, and finall, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordained, together with their duties and office. A Magistrate is the Minister of Godfor thy wealth; but if thou doe evill, seare: for he beareth not the sword for nought. For he is the Minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evill. He also teacheth in the same place; That every soile ought to be subject to the higher powers, because they are by God ordained, and that whosever resisteth that power, resisteth God, the giver and fountaine thereof: and shall not onely be therefore subject to the judgement and condensation of Man, but of God: For ye must be subject (saith he) not because of wrath onely, but also for conscience sake.

The examples are not to be numbred of Gods punishments upon those that have resigned Authority, by God ordained and established. Neither ought any Subject therefore to resist the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with injustice or cruelty: for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the Commandement of obedience is without distinction. The Prophets and Christ himselfe subjected themselves to the power of Magistracy. Christ commanded that all due to Casar should be given unto him: and he payed Tribute for himselfe and Peter. Hieremy commanded the Israelites (even those that were Captives under Heathen Kings) to pray for them and for the peace of Babylon. So Abraham prayed for Abimelech, and Jacob blessed the King

of Egypt: Andit is acceptable in the fight of our Saviour (faith Paul) that yee make Supplicate nons and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authority: and if for fuch Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did Saint Chrylostome in his Homily to the people preferre Monarchicall Gouernment, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) than that they should be wanting: Prestat Regem tyrannum habere quam nullum; Better a tyrannous King, than no King: to which also Tacitus subscribeth: Prastat (faith Tacitus in the first of his History) sub malo principe este quam nullo ; It is better to have abad Prince than none at all. And be they good Kings (which is generally prefupposed) then is there no liberty more fafe, than to serve them: Neg enim libertas tutior ulla est (faith Claudian) quam Domino servire bono: No liberta faith he) more (afe for us than to be servants to the vertuous. And certainely how foever in may be disputed, yet is it safer to live under one Tyrant, than under 100000. Tyrants: under a wife man that is cruell, than under the foolish and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as Azefilaus answered as Citizen of Sparta that defired an alteration of the Government. That kinde of rule which a man would disdaine in his owne house, were very unfit to governe great Regions by.

Lastly, as many Fathers erected many Cottages for their many children: and as (for the reason before remembred) many Housholds joyned themselves together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: so when these Cities and Citizens joyned together, andestablished Lawes by consent, affociating themselves under one Governour, and Government; they so joyned, were called a Commonwealth: the same being sometimes governed by Kings; sometimes by Magistrates; sometimes by the people themselves.

6. III.

of the good Government of the first Kings.

Ow this first Age after the Floud, and after such time as the people were increased and the Families became strong and dispersed into severall parts of the World, was by ancient Historians called Golden: Ambition and Coverousnesse being as then but greene, and newly growne up, the seeds and effects whereof were as yet but potentiall, and in the blowth and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then sought for no larger Territory than themselves could compasse and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, than sufficient to defend them from cold and tempess: they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curiosity of dyet, than to maintaine life: nor for any other apparrell, than to cover them from the cold, the Raine and the Sunne.

And fure if we understand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient simplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truly be cast upon those elder times: but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may be attributed more to any one time than to another, (I meane to one limited time and none else) it may be doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages: and all times have brought forth of both forts. And as the infancy of Empirie, (when Princes plaied their Prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience) might be called the Golden Age: so may the beginning of all Princes times be truely called Golden. For be it that men affect honour. it is then best purchased; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deservings have commonly the least impediments: and if ever Liberality overflow her banks and bounds; the fame is then best warranted both by policy and example. But Age and Time doe not onely harden and shrinke the openest and most Jovial hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torne estates before their eyes, and (withall) perswadeth them to compassionate themselves. And although there be no Kings under the Sunne whose meanes are answerable unto other mens desires; yet such as value all things by their owne respects, doe no sooner finde their appetites unanswered, but they complaine of alteration, and account the times injurious and yron. And as this falleth out in the Reigne of every King, so doth it in the life of every man, if his dayes be many: for our younger yeares are our Golden Age; which being eaten up by time, we praise those seasons which our youth accompained; and (indeed) the greivous alterations in our felves, and the paines and diseases which never part from us but at the grave

Ethic 5

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Rom.13.40

Ver. 1.

bid.v.5.

Treen. 297. Gen. 20.17. © 27.10. CHAP.10. S.I.

Tacit in Dial. de Orat.

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Eccles.7

Aynob.lib.z.

w/d.6.7.

Verus nobilis nonna(citus

led ft.

make the times feeme so differing and displeasing : especially the quality of mans nature being also such as it adoreth and extolleth the passages of the former, and condemnets the present state how just soever: Fit humana malignitatis vitio, ut semper netera in lande, prasentia in fastidio sint; It comes to passe (saith Tacitus) by the vice of our malignity, that we alwayes extell the time past, and hold a he present fastidious: For it is one of the errours of wayward Age: Quod fint laudatores temporis acti That they are praisers of fore-passed times, forgetting this advice of Salomon: Say not then, Why is it that the former dayes were better then these? for thou doest not inquire wisely of this thing: to which purpose Seneca; Majores nostri questi sunt, & nos querimur posteri querentur, eversos, esse mores, regnare nequitiam in deterius res hominum & in omne nefas labi : Our Ancesters have complained, we to doe complaine our children will complaine, that good manners are gone, that wickednesse doth reigne, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into allevill. These are usuall the discourses of Age and M isfortune. But hereof what can we adde to this of Arnobius? Nova res quandoq; vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus : quibus capit nova fuit & repentina : What soever is new intime shall be made old: and the ancientest things when they tooke beginning were also new and sodaine. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontenument of present times have made Golden, this we may set downe for certaine, That as it was the vertue of the first Kings, which (after God) gave them Crowns: so the love of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crownes on their heads. And as God gave the obedience of Subjects to Princes: fo (relatively) he gave the care is and justice of Kings to the Subjects; having respect, not onely to the Kings themselves, but even to the meanest of his Creatures : Nunquam particulari bono servit omne bonum; The infinite goodnesse of God doth not attend any one onely: for he that made the small and great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings have of all theirs, which makes them beloved of all theirs; and by a generall love it is, that Princes hold a generall obedience: For, Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum: All humane power is rooted in the willor dispositions of men.

6. IV. Of the beginning of Nobility: and of the vaine vaunt thereof without vertue.

Nd with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authority began also other degrees and differences among Subjects. For Princes made election of others by the same Rule, by which themselves were chosen; unto whom they gave place, trust, and power. From which imployments and Offices sprung those Titles, and those de grees of Honour, which have continued from Age to Age to these dayes. But this Nobility, or difference from the Vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the Succession of Bloud, butto Succession of Vertue, as hereafter may be proved. Though at lengthin was fufficient for those whose Parents were advanced, to be knowne for the Sonnes of fuch Fathers: and so there needed then no endevour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, upon whom glory or worldly Nobility necessarily descended. Yet hereof had Nobility denomination in the beginning, That fuch as excelled o thers in vertue, were so called : Hinc dictus Nobilis, quasi virtute pra aliis notabilis. But after fuch time as the deserved Honour of the Father was given in reward to his Posterty, Saint Hierome judged of the Succession in this manner: Nibil alind video in Nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod Nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent; I see no other thing to be affected in Nobility, t han that Noblemen art by a kinde of necessity bound, not to degenerate from the vertue of their Ancestors For if Nobility be Virtus & antique divitie; Vertue and ancient riches, then to exceed in all those things which are extra hominem, as riches, power, glory, and the like, doe no otherwise define Nobility, than the word (animal) alone doth define a reasonableman. Orifhonour (according to L. Pives) bee a witnesse of vertue and well-doing and Nobility (after Plutarch) the continuance of vertue in a Race or Linage: then are tholein whom Vertue is extinguished, but like unto painted and printed Papers, which ignorant men worship instead of Christ, our Lady, and other Saints :men in whom there remaine but the dregs and vices of ancient Vertue: Flowers, and Herbes, which by change of foile and want of manuring are turned to Weedes. For what is found praife-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountaines,

if in all the rest of their course they run foule, filthy, and defiled? Exterra fertili producitur aliquando Cicuta venenosa, er ex terra sterili pretiosum aurum; Out of fruitfull ground Pimin Excel ariseth sometimes poysoning Henbane, and out of barren soyle precious Gold. For as all things confift of matter and forme, fo doth Charron (in his Chapter of Nobilitie) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobilitie: the forme (which gives life and perfect being) he maketh to be Vertue, and Qualitie, profitable to the common-weale. For he is truely and entirely Noble, who maketh a fingular profession of publike Vertue, serving his Prince and Countrie, and being descended of Parents and Ancestors that have done the like. And although that Nobilitie, which the fame, Authour calleth perfonall, (the fame which our felves acquire by our Vertue and well defervings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both naturall by Descent, and also personall; yet if Vertue be wanting to the naturall, then is the personall and acquired Nobilitie by many degrees to be preferred: For (faith Charron) this Honour (to wit) by Descent, may light upon first aone, as in his owne nature is a true Villaine. There is also a third Nobilitie which he calleth Nobilitie in Parchment, bought with Silver or Favour: and these be indeed but Honours of affection, which Kings with the change of their fancies wish they knew wel how to wipe offagaine. But furely if we had as much fense of our degenerating in worthimeffe, as we have of vanitie in deriving our felves of fuch and fuch Parents, we should rather know fuch Nobilitie (without Vertue) to be shame and dishonour, than Noblenesse land glory to vaunt thereof. What calamitie is wanting (faith Bernard) to him that is borne Bernar Land. in since, of a Potshare body and barren minde? for (according to the same Father) Dele considerad fucum fuzacis honoris hujus, & male coronat anitorem gloria, & c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of the ill-crowned glory, that then thou maiest consider by selfe nakedly: for thou camest naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Camest thou thence with thy Mytre, or glistering with Jewels, or garnished with Silkes, or adorned with Feathers or Suffed with Gold? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as certain morming clouds, which doe or will soone passe over, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poore, and pretched and miserable man, and blushing, because he is naked, and weeping because he is borne, andrepining because he is borne to labour, and not to honour.

For as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference betweene it and dust: which if thou dost not believe (faith S. Chrysostome) looke into the Sepulchres of Monu- Chrysoma. i. ments of thy Ancestors, and they shall easily personade thee by their owne example, that thou art deinomposita dul and dirt: fo that if man seem more Noble and beautifull than dust this proceedeth not from whe diversitie of his Nature but from the cunning of his Creatour.

For true Nobilitie standeth in the Trade Of vertuous life: not in the fleshly Line: For bloud is brute, but Gentry is Divine.

And how foever the custome of the World have made it good, that Honours be cast by birth upon unworthy Issues: yet Solomon (as wife as any King) reprehendeth the same in his Felllow-Princes: There is an evill (fairh he) that I have feene under the Sun, as an er- Eccles Co rour that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth: Folly is let in great excellencie.

CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus: and of memorable things about those times.

That Nimrod was the first after the Floud that reigned like a Soveraigne Lord; and that his beginning seemeth to have beene of just authoritie.

He first of all that reigned as Soveraigne Lord after the Floud was Nimrod, the Sonne of Chush, distinguished by Moses from the rest (according to Saint Augustine) in one of these two respects: either for his eminencie, and because hee was the first of same, and that tooke on him to command others: or else in that hee was begotten

by Chush, after his other children were also become Fathers; and of a later time than fome of his Grand-children and Nephewes-Howfoever, seeing Moses in expresse words 10me 01 nis Grand-Child, other mens conjectures to the contrary ought to have calleth Nimrod the Sonne of Chulh, other mens conjectures to the contrary ought to have

This Empirie of Nimrod, both the Fathers and many later Writers call tyrannical: no respect. the fame beginning in Babel, (which is) confusion. But it seemeth to me that Me. lanchton conceived not amisse hereof: the same exposition being also made by the Author of that worke called Onomasticum Theologicum, who affirmes that Nimrod was therefore called Amarus Dominator, Abitter or severe Governour, because his formeof rule seemed at first farre more terrible than Paternall authority. And therefore is he into this respect also called a mightie Hunter: because he tooke and destroyed both Beasts & Theeves. But Saint Augustine understands it otherwise, and converts the word (ante) by (contra) affirming therein, that Nimrod was a mightie Hunter against God: Sie ergo incl. ligendus est Gigas ille, Venator contra Dominum; So is that Giant to be understood, a Hunter against the Lord.

But how soever this word (a mightie Hunter) be understood; yet it rather appearant that as Nimrod had the command of all those, which went with him from the East into Shinaar: fo, this charge was rather given him, than by him usurped. For it no whereis found, that Noah himselfe, or any of the Sonnes of his owne body came with this troup into Babylon: no mention at all being made of Noah (the yeeres of his life excepted) inthe fucceeding Story of the Hebrewes; nor that Sem was in this disobedient troup or among

the builders of Babel.

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The fame is also confirmed by divers ancient Historians, that Nimrod, Suphne, and Ji. Etan were the Captaines and Leaders of all those which came from the East. And though Sem came not himselfe so farre West as Shinaar (his lot being cast on the East parts)ye from his Sonnes Nephew Heber, the name and Nation of the Hebrewes (according to the generall opinion)tooke beginning, who inhabited the Southermost parts of Chalden,a bout the Citic of "r; from whence Abraham was by God called into Charran, and thence

And because those of the Race of Sem which came into Chaldea, were no partners in the unbeleeving workeof the Tower: therefore (as many of the Fathers conjecture) did they retaine the first and most ancient language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to Noah; and Noah to Sem and his Islues: In familia Heber remansit hee lingui; In the Family of Heber this Language remained (faith Saint Augustine out of Epiphanius) and this Language Abraham used; yea, it was anciently and before the Floud the generall speech: and therefore first called (faith Calestinus) lingua bumana: the human tongue.

We know that Goropius Becanus following Theodoret, Rabbi Moses, Agyptius, Vergan, and others is of another opinion; but how foever we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolve, that none of the godly feed of Sem were the chiefe Land ders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that some one wa by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that Nimrod rather had it by july

authorities than violence of usurpation.

6. II.

That Nimrod, Belus, and Nimus were three distinct persons.

DEngo, and out of him Nauclerm, with others, make many Nimrods, Eufebius confounds him with Belw, and fo doth Saint Hierome upon Ofe; and these words of S. Augustine seeme to make him of the same opinion: Ibi autem Ninus regnabat post mortem patris sui Beli, qui primus illic regnaverat 65. annos. There did Ninus reigne af ter the death of his Father Belus, who first governed in Babylon sixtie five yeeres. But it could not be unknowne to Saint Augustine, that Nimrod was the establisher of that Empire: Moses being plaine and direct therein. For the beginning of Nimrods Kingdome (faith he)

was Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chaine, in the Land of Shinaar; wherefore Nimrod was the first King of Babel. And certainly it best agreeth with reason, that Ninus was the third, and not one with Nimrod, as Mercator (led by Clement) supposed: for in Nimus time the World was marvelloufly replenished. And if S. Augustine had undoubtedly taken Belus for Nimrod, he would have given him the name which the Scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for those words of S. Augustime (qui primus illic regnaverat; Who was the first that reigned there) supposed to be meant by Belus: those words doe not disprove that Nimrod was the Founder of the Babylonian Empire. For although Julius Cafar overthrew the liberty of the Romane commonwealth, making himselfe perpetuall Dictator, yet Augustus was the first established Emperor: and the first that reigned absolutely by soveraigne authority over the Romans, as an Emperour.

The like may be faid of Nimrod, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternity laying the foundation of foveraigne Rule, as Cafar did; and yet Belus was the first, who peaceably, and with a generall allowance exercised such a power. Pererius is of opinion, that Belus and Nimrod were the same, because many things are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. yeeres after the floud (as they account) that Belus reigned; but fuch agreement of times proves it not. For fo Edward the third, and his grand-child Richard the fecond, were kings both in one yeere: the one dyed; the other

in the fame yeere was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that Nimrod and Belus were one) is far more probable than that of Mercator; who makes Ninus and Nimrod to be the same. For it is plaine that the beginning of Namrods Kingdom was Babel, and the Towns adjoyning but the first and most

famous worke of Ninus was the City of Nineves

Now whereas D. Siculus affirmeth, that Ninus overcame and suppress the Babylonians, the same rather proveth the contrarie, than that Ninus and Ninus d were one person. For Ninus established the seate of his Empire at Nineve in Asyria, whence the Babylomians might (perchance) in disdaine thereof fall from his obedience, whom hee recovered againe by ftrong hand; which was case: Babylon being not walled till Semira-

> ___Dicitur altam Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis Urbens.

Semiramis with wals of bricke the Citie did inclose.

Further, where it is alledged, that as the Scriptures call Nimred mightie: so Justine hath the same of Ninus, which is one of Mercators arguments; It may be answered, that such an addition might have beene given to many other Kings aswell. For if wee may beleeve fustine; then were Vexoris King of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia, mighty Kings before Ninus was borne. And if we may compare the words of Moses (touching Nimrod) with the undertakings of Ninus, there will be found great difference betweene

For whereas Mercator conceiveth, that it was too early for any that lived about the time of the confusion of languages, to have invaded and mastered those Cities so far removed from Babel, namely, Erec, Accad, and Chalne: which worke he therefore ascribeth to Nimus, as a man of the greatest undertaking; and consequently would have Nimrod to have beenelong after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of Nimred and Nimus to belong to one person, to wit, to Ninus: to these things to make some answer. First, I doe not find that supposition true, That ever Nimrod invaded any of these Cities; but that he founded them and built them from the ground, being the first after the floud, that conducted the children of Noah into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or crected to his hands.

Befides, whereas these Cities in many mens opinions are found to stand far away from Babylon, I finde no reason to bring me to that beleefe. The Citie of Accad, which the September 1 tuagint cals Archard; & Epiphanius, Arphal; Junius takes it to be Nisibis in Mesopotamia: for the Region thereabout the Cosmographers (faith he) call Accadent for Assadene. Others

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understand Nisibis and Nineve to be one City: fo doe Strabo and Stephanus confound it with Charran, but all mistaken. For Nisibis, Accad, and Charran are distinct places. Though I cannot deny Accedene to be a Region of Mesopotamia, the same which Arias Montanus out of S. Hierome calls Achad: and io doe the Hebrewes also call Nishbis, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the City of Erec, which the Septuagent call Orech; S. Augustine Oreg, and Pagninus, Erec, this place Junius understands for Aracca in Sustana: but there is also a City in Camagena called Arace: and indeed likelihood of name is no certaine proofe, without the affiltance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third City (called *Chalneh*) forme take it for *Calinifis*: of which *Am*, Marcellinus. S. Hierome takes it for Selencia; Hierofolymitanus for Ctefiphon: others does thinke it to be the Agram upon Euphrates, destroyed and razed by the Persians. But let Moses be the Moderator and Judge of this dispute, who teacheth us directly, that these Cities are not feated in so divers and distant Regions; for these be his words: And the beginning of his Kingdome (speaking of Nimrod) was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalnehinth Land of Shinaar: fo as in the Valley of Shinaar, or Babylonia, or Chaldea (being all one) we must finde them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) thinke with Viterbiens, that these foure made but one Babylon, than that they were Cities farre removed, and feverall provinces, did northe Prophet Amos precifely distinguish Chalne from Bah. lon. Goeyou (faith Amos) to Chaine, and from thence goe you to Hamath, and then to Gathe the Philistims. The Geneva translation favouring the former opinion, to set these Cities out of Shinaar, hath a marginall note expressing that Shinaar was here named, not that all these Cities were therein seated, but to distinguish Babylon of Chalde, from Babylon in E. gypt: but I find little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of Nim. rods Empire there was no fuch Babylon, nor any City at all to be found in Egypt. Babylon of Egypt being all one with the great City of Cairo, which was built long after, not fare from the place where stood Memphis the ancient City, but not so ancient as Babylon upon Euphrates. Now that Chaine is fituate in the Valley of Shinaar, it hath been formerly proved in the Chapter of Paradife. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote fituation of these three Cities from Babylon, we may continue in our opinion, That Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus, were distinct and successive Kings.

6. III.

That Nimrod, not Affur, built Nineve: and that it is probable out of Efay 23.13. that Affin built Ur of the Chaldees.

TOw as of Nimrod: fo are the opinions of Writers different touching Affar, and touching the beginning of that great state of Babylon and Assyria: a controverfie wearisomely disputed without any direct proofe, conclusion, or certainty But to me (of whom, where the Scriprures are filent, the voyce of Reason hath the belt hearing) the interpretation of Junius is most agreeable; who besides all necessary consequence doth not dis-joyne the sense of the Scriptures therein, nor confuse the under Randing thereof. For in this fort he converteth the Hebrew Text: Erat enim principium regni ejus Babel, & Erech, & Accad, & Chalneb, interra Shinaaris: èterra has processit in Assyriam, ubi adificavit Nineven; (which is) For the beginning of his Kingdome was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Chalneb, in the land of Shinaar: and hee with forth of this land into Affyria, and built Nineve. So as Junius takes Affur in this place, not for any person, but for the Region of Asyria: the land being so called in Moses time, and before it. For certainly, theother construction, (where the word Affar is taken for Affar the sonne of Sem) doth not answer the order which Moses observeth through a the Bookes of Genesis, but is quite contrary unto it. For in the beginning of the tenth Chapter he setteth downe the sonnes of Noah, in these words: Now these are the Generations of the Sonnes of Noah : Sem , Ham , and Japheth, unto whom sonnes wert borne after the floud: then it followeth immediately: The sonnes of Japheth wet Gomer, &c. fo as Japheth is last named among Neahs sonnes, be he eldest or your gest: because he was first to be spoken of: with whom (having last named him) he proceedes and fets downe his iffue, and then the iffue of his fonnes: first, the iffue of Gomer, Japhets eldest sonne; and then speakes of Javan and his sonnes: for of the

rest of that Familie he is filent. Anon after he numbreth the sonnes of Ham, of which Chush was the eldest: and then the sons of Chush and Mizraim; and afterward of Cantan; leaving Shem for the last, because he would not dis-joyne the Storie of the Hebrewes. But after he beginneth with Sem, he continueth from thence by Arphaxad, Shela, and Heber, unto Abraham, and so to Jacob, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to have brought in one of the fonnes of Shem in the middle of the generations of Ham, had been eagainst order; neither would Moses have past over so sleightly the erection of the Assiran Empire, in one of the sonnes of Shem, if he had had any such meaning: it being the storie of Shems sonnes which he most attended. For he nameth Nimrod apart, after the rest of the sonnes of Chulb, because he founded the Babylonian and Assyrian Empire: and in the eleventh Chapter he returnes to speak of the building of Babel in particular, having formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with those other Cities which Namrod founded in shinaar. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, fo also in the eleventh hee maketh no report of Shem, till fuch time as he had finished so much of Nimrod as he meant to touch : and then he beginneth with the iffue of Shem, which he continue th to Abraham and Ifrael. And of Junius opinion touching Affar, was Calvin: to which I conceive that P. Comelor, in historia Scholastica, gave an entrance, who after he had delivered this place in fome other fenfe, he useth these words : Vel intelligendum non est de Assur filio Sem, &c. led Affurtid est, Regnum Asyriorum) inde egressum est, quod tempore Sarug proavi Abraha mi factum eft; (which is) Or elseit is not to be understood of Affur the sonne of Sem, &c. but Affur (that is, the Kingdome of the Affgrians) came from thence (videlicet from Babylon) orwasmade out of it : which happened in the time of Sarug the great grand-father of Abraham. After which he reconcileth the difference in this fort: If you take the ancient Belas (meaning Nimrod) to be the first Erecter of the Assirian Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true, Quantum ad initium; Respecting the beginning; but others conceive that it had beginning from Ninus, which is also true, Quantum ad regni ampliationem; Regarding the enlargement of the Empire. To this I may adde the opinion of Epiphanius, confirmed by Gedrenus, who takes Affur to be the fonne of Nimrod: and fo doe doth Methodius, and Viterbienfis, Saint Hierome; and Cyrillus, and now laftly Torniellus: Torniel Annal, who (faith he) took eupon him that name of Affar after he had beaten the Astrians, as far in Gen. 15. Scipio did of Africanus, after his conquest in Africa: and that Assur was a common name to the Kings of Asspria, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as Psalme 81. Efay 10.065. &c. but to helpe the matter, he makes Nimrod of the race of Shem and the sonne of Irari. But Rabanus Maurus, who was Arch-bishop of Ment in the yeere of Christ 854. an ancient and learned Writer, understands this place with Commelor, or Commestor with him, agreeing in substance with that translation of Junius : to which words of Mofes he giveth this fense: De bacterra Affriorum pullulavit imperium, qui ex nomine Nini, Beli filii, Ninum condiderunt, urbem magnam, &c. Out of this land grew the Empire of the Assyrians, who built Ninus the great Citie, so named of Ninus the Janne of Belus. On the contrarie Calvin objecteth this place of Efay: Behold the land of the Chaldaans, this was no people, Affur founded it by the inhabitants of the Wilderne se; than which there is no one place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diversitie in the translation and understanding infomuch as Michael de Palatio upon Esay (though in all else very diligent) passeth it over. But Calvin seemeth hereby to inferre, that because Assure founded the state of the Caldaans, therfore also Assur rather than Nimrod established the Affirian Empire, and built Nineve: contrary to the former translation of Funius, and to his owne opinion. Now out of the Vulgar (called Hieromes translation) it may be gathered that Affar both founded and ruined this Estate or City of the Chaldeans, by Esay remembred: unto which Citie, People, or State, he plainly telleth the Tyrians that they cannot trust, or hope for reliefe thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this Citie of Chaldaa, and that Estate, an example unto those Phanicians, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which Citie of Chaldea being of strength, and carefully defended, was (not with standing) by the Affirians utterly wasted and destroyed: whereby he giveth them knowledge, and foretelleth them, t hat their owne Citie of Tyre (invincible, as themselves thought) should also soone after be over-turned by the same Asfirians: as (indeed) it was by Nabuchodonofor. And these be the words after Hierome: Ecce terra Chaldeorum, talis popolus non fuit, Assur fundavit eam, in captivitatem traduxorunt robuftos ejus, suffoderunt domos ejus, posuerunt camin ruinam, (which is) Behold

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Behold the land of the Chaldeans, such a people there were not (or, this was no people, after the Geneva) Assur(or the Assyrians) founded it, they carryed away their strong men captive, they undermined their houses, and ruined their Citie. The Septuagint expresse it but in a part of another Verse, in these words: Et interra Chaldasrum, & hac desolata est ab Assyriis, quoniam murus ejus corruit, making the sense perfect by the preceding Verse, which all together may be thus understood: If thou goe over to Chittim (which is Macedon or Greece) yet thou shalt not rest (speaking to the Tyrians) neither in the Land of the Chaldaans , for this is made desolate by the Assirians because their wals fell together to the ground. Pagni. nus and Vatablus convertit thus: Ecce terra Chasdiim, iste populus non erat illic olim; nam Affur fundavit cam navibus erexerunt arces illius contriverunt edes ejus posuit cam in rui. 19 nam: which may be thus Englished: Behold the Land of the Chaldeans, this people was not once therein inhabiting : for Affur built it a harbour for ships, they erected the Towers theref. and againe brake downe the houses thereof, and ruinated it. Junius in the place of ships fers the word (pro Barbaris) that is, for the Barbarians : and the Geneva, by the Barbarians. But this is undoubted that the Prophet Efar (as may be gathered by all the fense of the Chap. ter) did therein affure the Trians of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fellon them: wherein (for the more terrour) he maketh choice to note the calamities of those Places, Cities, and Regions, by whose Trade the state and greatnesse of the Tyrians was maintained; as by the Cilicians from Tharfis; from the Macedonians, and other Grecians under the name of Cittim; also by the Egyptians, the Chaldaans, and the rest. For Tyren was then the Mart Towne of the World most renowned. And (as it appeares in our difcourse of Paradise) not the least part of her chiefe merchandize came in by the Citie Ur or Urchoa in Cheldea, where the body or chiefe streame of Euphrates (even that stream which runneth through Babylon and Otris, which now falleth into Tygris) had his paffage into the Persian Gulfe: though now it be stopped up. For (as we have heretofore noted) the Arabians (that descended from Sheba and Raamah) dwelling on the east bankes of the Perfian Gulfe, trading with the Tyrians (as those of Eden, Charran, and Chalne did) transported their merchandize by the mouth of Tygris, that is, from Teredon; & of Euphrates, that is, from "r or "rchoa: and then by Babylon, and thence by River and over Land they conveyed it into Syria, and fo to Tyre: as they doe this day to Aleppo. So then Ur of the 3 Chaldees was a Port Towne, and one of those Cities which had Intelligence, Trade, and Exchange with the Tyrians: for it stood by the great Lakes of Chaldea, through which that part of Euphrates ran, which passage is now stopt up. Ejus cursum vetustas abolevit (faith Niger.) And Plinie: Locus ubi Euphratis oftium fuit, flumen salsum; Time hath worm away the Channell of Euphrates: the place where the month thereof was, is a Bay of falt water. These things being thus, certainly (not without good probabilitie) we may expound the Citie of the Chaldees, whose calamities Esay here notethfor terror of the Tyrians, to be the Citie anciently called ur; and (by Hecataus) Camerina; by Ptolomie, urchoa: and by the Greeks, Chaldeopolis, The Citie of Chaldea: which the fonnes of Shem, untill Abrahums time inhabited. And whereas in all the Translations it is said, that Assur both four po ded it and ruined it: it may be understood, that Affar the Founder was the sonne of Shem; and Assur the destroyers were the Assyrians, by whom those that inhabited #r of Chaldaa, were at length oppressed and brought to ruine: which thing God fore feeing, commanded Abraham thence to Carran, and fo into Canaan. And if the Head brew word by Vatablus and Pagninus converted (by ships) doe beare that sense, the same may be the better approved; because it was a Port Towne: and the River so farreup as this Citie of ur was in ancient time navigable, as both by Plinie and Niger appearance reth. And if the word (for the Barbarians) or (by the Barbarians) be also in the Hebrew Text, it is no lesse manifest, that the most barbarous Arabians of the Desart were and are the confronting, and next people of all other unto it. For Chaldea is now cal-so led Arachaldar, which fignifieth defart Lands, because it joyneth to that part of Arabia so called: and Cicero (calling those Arabians by the name of Itureans) addeth, that they are of all other people the most salvage; calling them, Homines omnium maxime

So as this place of Esay, which breedeth some doubt in Calvin, proveth in nothing the contrarie opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former translation of Junius, nor the interpretation of Comestor and Rabanus. For though other men have not conceived (for any thing that I have read) that Affer is in this place diverfly taken (as for the fonne

of Sem, when he is spoken of as a Builder of ur_5 and when as a Destroyer thereof, then for the Asyrian Nation) yet certainely the evidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seeme to enforce it. And so this Founding of the Citie of the Chalders by Asur (into which the most of the posterity of Sem that came into Shinaar, and were separate for the Idolatrie of the Chustes and Nimrodians, retired themselves) hath nothing an it to prove that the same Assur built Nineve, or that the same Assur was all one with Ninus; except we will make Affur, who was the sonne of shem, both an Idolater, and the sonne of Belus. For (out of doubt) Nimus was the first notorious sacrificer to Idols: and the first that set up a Statue or Image to be honoured as God. Now if Assar must be fo of that Race, and not of the Familie of Sem, as he must be if he founded Nineve, then all those which seeke to give him the honour thereof, doe him by a thousand parts more injurie, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Besides, if this supposed Assur whom they make the Founder of Nineve (and so the Sonne of Belus) were any other, and not the same with Ninus; then what became of him -Certainely he was very unworthy and obscure, and not like to be the Founder of such an Empire and fuch a Citie, if no man have vouchfafed to leave to posterity his expulsion thence, and how he lost that Empire againe, or quitted it to Ninus: whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) farre differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the story of that age written by prophane Authors, that Nimrod founded Babel, Erech, and Accad, and Chalne, the first workes and beginnings of his Empire, according to Moles: and that these workes being finished within the Valley of Shinaar, he looked further abroad, and fet in hand the worke of Ninus, lying neere unto the fame streame that Babel and Chalne did: which work his grand-child Nines afterward amplified and finished. as Semiramis (this Ninus his wife) did Babylon. Hence it came to passe, that as Semiramis was counted the Foundresse of the Citie which she onely finished: so also Ninus of Nineve: Quam quidem Babylonem potuit instaurare, She might repair e or renew Babylon, faith S. Augustine. For fo did Nabuchodonofor vaunt himselfe to be the Founder of Babylon alfo. because he built up againe some part of the wall, over-borne by the furie of the River:

which worke of his stood till Alexanders time, whereupon he vaunted thus: Is not this Danas ? great Babel which I have built?

of the Acts of Nimrod and Belus, as farre as now they are knowne.

Ut to returne to the Storie, it is plaine in Moses, that Nimrod (whom Philo interprete transfugium, and Julius Africanus surnamed Saturne) was the establisher of the Babylonian Monarchie, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his Empire in the beginning confifted of those 4. Cities before remembred; Babel, Erech; Accad, and Chalne: and that from hence he propagated his Empire into Affyria; and in Affyria built foure more Cities (to wit) Nineve, Rehoboth, Celah, and Refen. And feeing that he spent much time in building Babel it selfe and those adjoyning, and that his travailes were many ere he came into Shinaar: that worke of Babel (fuch as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of Nineve, and the other Cities of Affyria which he builded (confidered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficulty than any thing performed by his Successors in many years after: to whose undertakings time had given so great an increase of people; and the examples and patternes of his beginning so great an advancement and encouragement: in whose time (faith Glycas) all these Nations were called Meropes, à sermonis linguarum terraq; divisione; By reason that the earth and the speech were then divided.

Belus, or Bel, or Jupiter Belus, succeeded Nimrod, after he had reigned 114 yeares; of whose acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that, he spent much of his time in dif-burdening the low Lands of Babylon, and drying and making firme ground of all those great Fens and over-slowne Marishes which adjoyned unto it. For any of his Warres or conquests there is no report, other than of his begun enterprise against Sabatius King of Armenia, and those parts of Scothia which Berosus calls Scothia Saga, whose some and successor Barzanes became subject and Tributarie to Ninne, that

followed the warre to effect, which was by his Father Belm begun-

CHAP.10.\$.7.

That we are not to marvell how so many Kingdomes could be erected about these times: and of Vexoris of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia.

Hat fomany Kingdomes were erected in all those Easterne parts of the World fo soone after Numrod, (as by the storie of Ninus is made manifest) the causes were threefold (namely) Opportunitie, Example, and Necessitie. For opportunitie being a Princesse liberall and powerfull, bestoweth on her first Entertainers many times more benefits, than either Fortune can, or Wisedom ought; by whose presence alone the understanding mindes of men receive all those helpes and supplies, which they either want or wish for: so as every Leader of a troupe (after the division of tongues and dispersion of People) finding these faire offers made unto them, held the power which they possest, and governed by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their diffined places. For it cannot be conceived, that when the Earth was first divided, mankinde straggled abroad like beasts in a Desert; but that by agreement they disposed themselves, & undertooke to inhabiteall the knowne parts of the World and by diffinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from Babylin and Shinaar, which had Kings, and were peopled in Ninus time, would not have been possest in many hundreds of yeeres after, as then they were; neither did those that were fent, and travelled far off (order being the true Parent of prosperous successe) undertake To difficult enterprises without a Conductor or Commander. Secondly, the Example of Nimrod with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humor that aspired. Third ly, Necessitie resolved all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and of honested positions, enjoy the harvest of their owne Travailes: nor those which were of little ftrength, secure themselves against forcible violence: nor those which sought afterange proportion of greatnesse, either possesse the same in quiet, or rule and order their own

That these causes had wrought these effects, the undertakings & Conquests of Ninn (the fon of Belus) made it apparent; for he found every where Kings and Monarchies,

what way foever his Ambition led himin the Wars.

But Nimrod (his Grand-father) had no companion King, to us known, when he find tooke on him Soveraigntie and fole commandement of all those the children of Noal, which came from the East into Babylonia: though in his lifetime others also raised themfelves to the same estate; of which hereafter. Belus (his sonne and Successor) founds. batius King of Armenia and Scythia, sufficiently powerfull toresist his attempts: which Sie batius I take to be the same, which Justine calls Tanais; and should conjecture, the Mizraim had beene his Vexoris, were it not that I vehemently suspect some errour, (3) Justine placeth him) in the time of that Vexoris, who by many circumstances seemes of me, rightly accounted by the Judicious and Learned Reineccius, all one with the great 34 fostris, that lived certaine Ages after Ninus. This Belus, the fecond King of Babylon, regg ed 65. yeeres, according to the common account.

See more of this, l. 2. of thisn first Part. cap.

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§. VI.
Of the name of Belus, and other names affines unto it.

Hence this fecond King and Succeffour of Nimrod had the name of Bel, of Belus, question hath been made: for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by Ninus, than affumed by Belus himselfe.

Cyrillus against Julian calls the Father of Ninus Arbelus, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himselfe to be called a god: which were it so, then might the name of Belus be thence derived. But Bel, as many Writers have observed, fignifieth the Sunin the Chaldean Tongue; and therefore did Ninus and Semiramic give that name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sun, which the Babylonians worshipped as a god. And as this Title was affurned in after-times by divers others of the Chaldaan Princes, and Babylonian Satrapa: fo was it used (in imitation) by the chiefe of the Cartha; ginians and other Nations, as some Historians have conceived.

To this Bel, or Belus, pertaine (as in affinitie) those voyces of Baal, Baalim, Belphegor, Beelphagor, Belsebub, and Beelsephon. Those that are learned in the Hebrew and Chaldman, convert the word Baal by the Latine, Princeps militiæ, Chiefe in the Warre, though Daniel was so called (faith Suidas)Ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum; In honour of his expounding fecrets. Saint Hierome makes Bel, Beel, and Baal, to have the fame fignification: Hieroin Ofec. and faith, that the Idoll of Babylon was so called, which Ninus in memorie of his father fet up to be worshipped: to which that he might adde the more honour and reverence, he made it a Sanctuarie and refuge for all offenders. Hence (faith Lyranus) came Idola-Lyrin Sapini trie, and the first use of Images into the World. Isidore doth interprete Bel by Vetus, old Saloment. orancient; adding, that as among the Affyrians it is taken for Saturne and the Sunue: fo 1/14.18.611. in the Punicke or Carthaginian Language it signisieth God: Glycas makes it an Assyrian name properly: and Josephus a Tyrian. He also affirmeth that the Idoll which the Moabites worshipped (by them erected on the Mountaine Phegor, or Peor, and called Baal) is the same which the Latines call Priages, the god of Gardens; which also was the opinion Hieronin of of Saint Hierome. But that the word Bel, or Beel, was as much to fay as God, appeareth by 64.09. the word BeelZebub, the Idoll of Accaron. For Bel, or Beel foundeth (God) and Sebub (Flies or Hornets:) by which name (notwithstanding) the Jewes expresse the Prince of Devils. But the Prophet Ofe teacheth us the proper fignification of this word from the voice of God himselfe; And at that day (fatth the Lord) thou shalt call me Ishi, and shalt call me no more Baalim: for I will take away the name of Baalim out of their mouthes. For although the name of Baal or Bahal, be justly to be used towards God; yet in respect that the same was given to Idols, God hath hated it, and forbad it. And the using of the word Bel among the Chaldeans for the Sunne, was not because it properly signifies the Sun, but because the Surine there was worshipped as a God: as also the Fire was, tanquam So. lis particula. As for the words compounded (before remembred) as Belphegor, and Belsephon, Belsephon is expounded out of Facius, Dominus specula vel custodia. The Lord of the Watch-Tower, or of the Guard: the other word noteth the Idoll, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is also written Belpeor, or Baalpeor: and Peor (they fay) is as much as Denudavit; and therefore the word joyned expresseth a naked Image. Some there are that call this Belus the sonne of Saturne: for it was used among the Ancients to name the Father Saturne, the sonne supiter, and the Grand-childe Hercules. Saturni di- Autode aquit. cuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regumq; qui urbes condiderunt senissimi; primogeniti corum libs. Joves Junones; Hercules verò nepotes eorum fortissimi; The ancientest of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called Saturnes; their first-borne, Jupiters and Junoes; their valiant Nephewes, Hercules. But this Belus (faith L. Vives) was famous by reason of his warlike fonne Ninus, who caused his father to be worshipped as a God by the name of Jupiter Babylonius, whom the Egyptians (transported by the Dreames of their An-Diodlas) riquitie) make one of theirs. For Neptune (fay they) upon Libya the Daughter of Epaphus begat this Jupiter Belus, who was father to Agyptus. They adde, that this Bem, carry ing a Colonie to the River of Euphrates, there built a Citie in which he ordained Priests after the Egyptian manner. But were there any Belus the sonne of Epaphus and I so, or of Neptune and Libya, or (with Eusebius) of Teglonus, who after the deatle of Apis married Isis, (Cecrops then reigning in Athens) the same was not this Babylonian Belus of whom we speake, but rather some other Belus, of whom the Egyptians so

of the worshipping of Images begun from Belus in Babel.

Sfor the Babylonian Belus, he was the most ancient Belus, and the Inventer of Astronomie, if Plinie say true: from whence the Egyptians might borrow both the name and the Doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his Statue or Image was honoured as a God, the fame Author affirmeth that it did remaine in his

Of the Sepulchre of Belas, Strabo writeth thus: Over the River faith he) there are gar-Strabolis ... dens, where they say the ruines of Belus his Tombe, which Xerxes brake up, are yet remaiping. It was a square Pyramis made of Briske, a furlong high, and on every side it had a furlong in breadth. It appears by Cyril against fulian, that he obtained divine worthip yet Listons Juliais.

Greg. Neocafar.

AmbranP (al.

Eufeb.1.7.c.18-

Ang.c.13. Lact.lib.z.c.2.

living: for so he writes of him (calling him Arbelus.) Arbelus, vir superbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à subditis Deitatis nomen accepise: Persever arunt igitur Assprii finitima illis gentes facrificantes ei Arbelus, a man very proud and arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was ever honored by their subjects with title of Deitie; (or with the name of God.) The Affrians therefore, and the bordering nations have perfevered, facrifcing to him. Even Arius alfo, whom Suidas calls Thuras, who succeeded next after Ninias, was made an Idol-god among them, if we credit Suidas.

After Ninus (that is, after Ninias) Thuras reigned (faith Suidas) whom they called after the name of the Planet Mars; a man of sharpe and fierce disposition, who bidding bat. taile to Caucasus of the stocke of Japheth, slue him. The Asyrians worshipped him form their God, and called him Baal (that is) Mars; thus farre Suidas. Neither is it unlikely but that many among Idolatrous nations were Deified in their life-times, or foone after: though I denie not but that the most of their Images and Statue were first erected with out divine worship, onely in memorie of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as Glycas rightly conceiveth; and so afterward the Devill crept into those woodden and brazen carcal fes, when Posteritie had lost the memorie of their first invention. Hereof Isidore speaken in this manner: Quos autem Pagani Deus afferunt, homines fuerunt, & pro uniuscujusq; wi ta meritis vel magnificentia, coli apud suos post mortem caperunt : sed (Damonibus persui dentibus) quos illi pro sua memoria honoraverunt minores Deos existimarunt : ad istaven magis excolenda accesserunt Poetarum figmenta; They were men (faith he) whom the Pagam: affirmed to be gods: & every one for his merits or magnificence began after his death to beh noured of his owne. But at length (the Devils perswading) they accounted them lesser god whose memories they honoured: and the Fittions of the Poets made the opinions (concerning the honour of the dead much more superstitious.

And that the worshipping of Images was brought in by the Pagans, and Heathen Na tions, it is not Isidore alone that witneffeth; but Gregory: Gentilitas (faith he)inventrix & caput est Imaginum; Gentilisme is the inventresse and ground of Images: and Ambrosc; Gen tes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei The Gentiles adore wood, as it were the Image God. Eufebius also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshiping of Images a custom borrowed of the Heathen. The like hath Saint Augustine against Adimantus. Et verente (faith Lastantius) ne religio vana sit, si nihil videant quod adorent. They feare their Religio

would be vaine should they not fee that which they wor ship.

And (out of doubt) the Schoolemen shift this fearefull custome very strangely. For feeing the very workemanship it forbidden, how can the heart of a wife Christian sail fie it felfe with the distinction of Doulia and Hyperdoulia, which can imply nothing but fome difference of worshipping of those Images after they are made? And it is of a things the most strange, why religious and learned menshould straine their wits to defeat the use of those things, which the Scriptures have not onely no where warranted, buter presly in many places forbidden, and cursed the practisers thereof. Yet this doctrined the Devill was fo strongly and subtilly rooted, as neither the expresse Commandement of God himselfe, I hou shalt not make any graven Image, nor all the threatnings of Most and the Prophets after him, could remove, weed it, or by fear, or by any perswasions led the hearts of men from it. For where shall we find words of greater weight, or of plaint instruction than these : Take therefore good beed to your selves (for yee saw no Image in the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire that wee corrupt not you felves, and make you a graven Image or representation of any Figure, whether it be the like ufe of Male or Female.

And besides the expresse Commandement, Thoushalt make thee no graven Image, and the prohibition in many Scriptures, fo it is written in the Booke of Wifedome, That the invention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredome: and the finding of them the corruption of life : for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for ever.

And whereas the Schoolemen affirme, that the Prophets spake against the Wo shipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest that Moses spake of Images of the living God, and not of Baal and the rest of that nature, For you faw no Image (faith Moses) that day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb. Surely it was excellently faid of Basil; Noli diquam in illo formam imaginari,ne circumscribas eum mentetua : Doe not imagine any form to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy minde too. Now, if the great Bas thought it a prefumption unlawfulll to represent a pattern of the infinite God to our outline thoughts and mindes, how farre doe those men presume that put him under the greazie Penfill of a Painter, or the rustie Axe or other Instrument of a Carpenter or Carver?

For as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God began in Babel: so did the Devill transport and spred this invention into all the Regions adjoyning; and into Egypt and Greece.

CHAP.10 \$.7.

The Romanes for a while refifted the erection of these Idols and Images, refusing to fet them in their Temples for 170 yeeres; observing the Law of Numa, who thought it impictie to resemble things most beautifull, by things most base. But Tarquinias Priscas afterwards prevailing, and following the vanitie of the Grecians (a Nation of all others o under the Sunne most deluded by Satan) set up the Images of their gods; which (as S. Angustine witnesseth) that Learned Varro both bewailed, and utterly condemned: and which Seneca thus derideth; Simulachra deorum venerantur, illus supplicant, genu posito illa adorant; & cum bæc suspiciant fabros qui illa fecere contemnunt; The Images of the gods are worshipped, those they pray unto, with bended knees those they adore; and while they so greatly admire them, they contemne the Handi-craft smen that made them: which also Sedulius the Poet in this fort scoffed at:

Heumiseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sinistro Relligiosa sibi sculpunt simulachra, sunmas Factorem fugiunt, & qua fecere verentur. Quis furor est? que tanta animos dementia ludit? Ut volucrem, turpema; bovem; torvuma; Draconem; Semi-hominema;-canem supplex homo pronus adoret;

Ah wretched they that worship vanities, And confecrate dumb Idols in their heart, Who their owne Maker (God on high) despise, And feare the worke of their owne hands and art. What furie ? what great madnesse doth beguile Mens mindes ? that man should ugly shapes adore Of Birds, or Buls, or Dragons, or the vile Halfe-dogge-halfe-man on knees for aide implore-

And though this device was barbarous, and first, and many yeeres practised by Heathen Nations only, till the Jewes were corrupted in Egypt, yet it is not Seneca alone that laugheth to scorne the ignorant stupiditie of his Nation: but Justin Martyr remembreth how the Sybils inveighed against Images: and Hospinian, how Sophocles taught, that it was permicious to the foules of mento erect and adore those Babels. Strabo and Herodotus witnesse, that the Persians did not ered or set up any Statue of their Gods. Lycurgus nevertaught it the Lacedamonians, but thought it impietie to represent immortall Pnatures by mortall Figures. Eusebius also witnesseth in his fixt Booke de praparatione Evangelica, that it was forbidden by a Law in Serica, or among the Brachmans in India, that Images should be worshipped. The same doe Tacitus and Crinitus report of the ancient Germans. Many other Authors might be remembred that witnesse the disdaine which the Heathen themselves had of this childish Idolatrie: of which Hospinian hath written at large in his Tract, de origine Imaginum. And it was truely said, Omnia mala exempla bonis inities orta sunt, All ill examples have sprung from good beginnings. The Heathenat first made these Status and Images, but in memorie of such remarkeable men, as had deferved best of their Countries & common-wealths: Effigies hominum (faith Pliny) non folebant exprimi, nisi aliqua illustri causa perpetuitatem merentium: Men were not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for some notable cause to bee perpetually remembred. And though of the more ancient Papifis, some have borrowed of the Gentiles (as appears in Lastantius) that defence for Images: That Simulachra are proclementis literarum, at per ea discerent homines Deum invisibilem cognoscere: Images say they, (& so before them the Heathen said) are in stead of Letters, whereby men might learne to know the invisible God in which understanding perhaps they no otherwise esteemed them than pictures indeed; yet as that of Baal or Bel set up in memory of Belus the Babylonian, became afterward the most reverenced Idoll of the World, by which so many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himselfe) were milled and cast away: so those very stocks and stones

CHAP.II. S.I.

and painted canvases (called the pictures of Christ our Ladie, & others) were by thousands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but esteemed to have life, motion, & understanding. Originorant people, not of the Book of Wisedome) when we passe through the raging waves, on these stocks more rotten than the Ship that carrieth ris.

This Heathen invention of Images became fo fruitfull in after-times, breeding aninfinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to distinguish them into degrees and or. ders ; as Dit consentes, seu majorum gentium, selecti, Patritii, insigniores, dit medit : Coun. felling gods, or gods of the mightiest Nobilitie, select gods, Patrian, gods of marke, and Com. mon gods (which the Romanes called Medioxum) dir infimi, and terrestriall Heroes, and multitudes of other gods, of which Saint Augustine hath made large mention in his to Booke de Civitate Dei. But (faith Lattantius) among all those miserable soules and rotten bodies, worshipped by men more like to their Idols, did Epimenides Cretensis (by what good Angell moved I know not) erect in the Athenian Fields, Altars to the unknowne God, which stood with the same title and dedication, even to the times of S. Paul: who made them first know to whom these Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might difcerne the difference betwixt that light which Were capable of graces and the obscure and stinking mist wherein the Devill had so many yeeres led and mis-led them. And it sufficed not that the multitude of these gods was b great in generall, or that every Nation had some one which tooke particular and singular great at general, of that in Crete, Ifis in Egypt, in Athens Minerva, in Samos June, in Papha, care of them, as Jupiter in Crete, Ifis in Egypt, in Athens Minerva, in Samos June, in Papha, Venus, and so of all other parts; but every Citie, and almost every Family had a goda C.p.17. 218-31. part. For, as it is written in the second of Kings, the men of Babel made Succoth Benoth and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima, and the Avin made NibhaZ and Tartak, and the Sephervaims burnt their children in the fire to Adram. lech. All which how plainly hath the Prophet Efay derided . Men cut down Trees, rink them burne a part of them, make readie their meat, and warme themselves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he maketh a god; an Idoll, and prayeth unto it: but God hath shut theires from fight, and their heart from under standing. It is therefore fafest for a Christian tob leeve the Commandements of God fo direct against Idolatrie, to believe the Prophes,

6. VIII.

Idolasrie; I speake as unto them which have under standing, judge ye what I say.

Of the Warres of Ninus: and lastly of his Warre against Zoroaster.

and to believe S. Paul: who speaketh thus plainly and feelingly, My beloved, flye from

"Nto this Belus succeeded Ninus, the first that commanded the exercise of 16 latrie, the first that injuriously invaded his Neighbour Princes, and the first the without shame or feare committed adulterie in publique. But as of Belus that is no certaine memorie (as touching particulars:) fo of this Ninus (whose Storie is gr thered out of Prophane Authors) I finde nothing so warrantable, but that the sameny be disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For although that piece of Berofus set of and commented upon by Annius, hath many good things in it, and giveth great light (s Chrytaus noteth) to the understanding of Diodorus Siculus, Dion, Halicarna seus, & others: yet Lodovicus vives, B. Rhenanus, and others after them, have laid open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment; proving directly that it cannot be the same Berosus whichlived in Alexanders time, cited by Athenaus and Josephus: and whose Statue the Athenians crected, faith Plinie. Yet it is from him chiefely, that many have gathered the fuccession of the Babylonian and Assirian Princes, even from Nimred to the eighteenth King Ascatades, & to the times of Josua. For of Metasthenes an Historian, of the Race of the Persian Priests, there are found but certain Papers; or some few lines of the Chaldaan and Af fyrian Monarchies: but he afterwards in the collection of the Persian Kings is not without

Ctesias or Cnidus (a Citie joyning to Halicarnasseus) who lived together with Cyru the younger, and with Artaxerxes Mnemon, gathered his Historie out of the Persian Re cords, and reacheth as far upwards as Ninus and Semiramis: and though in the Storie of Cyrus the younger, Xenophon approveth him in some things, and Atheneus, Paulanius and Tertullian cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the times and Prin-

ces with whom he lived, and fo incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of Ninus, and especially of Semiramis; as what soever his reports were, times have configmed his workes, faving some very few excerptions lately published.

And therefore in things uncertaine, feeing a long difcourfe cannot be pleafing to men of judgement, I will paffe over the acts of this third Affyrian, in as few words as I can expresse them. S. Augustine affirmes that Ninus mastered all Asia, India excepted. Others fay that he wanne it all, fave India, Battria, and Arabia. For he made Aricus of Arabia the companion of his Conquests, with whom he entred into a straight league of amitie, because he commanded many people, and was his kinsman, and a Chuste, and the neerest Prince confronting Babylonia. His first enterprize was upon Syria, which he might easily fubdue, both because he invaded it on the sodaine, and because it lay next him: and also because the Arabians and their king Aricus (which bordered Syria) affisted him in the Conquest thereof.

The king of Armenia, BarZanes, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aide him in his Warre against Zoroaster: for from Armenia he bent himselfe that way toward the East; but that ever he commanded the leffer Afia, I doe not believe, for none of his Succeffors had any possession therein.

His third Warre was against Pharnus, king of the Medes, whom it is fayd that he overthrew, and cruelly murtherd with his feven Children, though others affirme, that they all died in one battaile against him. Whether he invaded Zoroafter before the building or amplifying of Nineve, or after, it is uncertaine. It is faid that he made two expeditions into Batteria: and that finding little or ill successe in the first, he returned, and set the worke of Nineve forward: and then a second time entred Battria with 1700000. Foot, and 200000. Horse, and 10000 fixe hundred Chariots: being encountred by Zoroaster with foure hundred thousand. But Ninus prevayling, and Zoroaster being slaine, Augdecinic he entred farther into the Countrie, and besieged the chiefe Citie therof, called Battra Dei. or Bactrion (faith Stephanus:) which by a paffage found, and an affault given by Semiramis (the wife of Menon) he entred and possest. Upon this occasion Ninus both admiring her supplied with judgement and valour, together with her person and externall beautie, fancied her so o firongly, as (neglecting all Princely respects) he tooke her from her husband, whose eyes he threatned to thrust out if he refused to consent. He therefore yeelding to the passion of love in Ninus, and to the passion of forrow in himselfe, by the strong persuafions of shame and dishonour, cast himselfe head-long into the water, and died.

CHAP. XI.

Of ZOROASTER, supposed to have beene the chiefe Author of Magick Arts: and of the dievers kinds of Magicke.

That Loroafter was not Cham, nor the first Inventer of Astrologie, or of Magicke: and that there were divers great Magicians of this name.



Oroaster King of the Bactrians, Vincentius supposeth to be Cham the fonne of Noah: A fancie of little probabilitie. For Cham was the Paternall Ancestor of Ninus, the Father of Chus, the Grand-father of Nimrod, whose some was Belus, the Father of Nims. It may be that Vincentius had heard of that booke which was called Scriptura Cham, devised by some wicked Knave, and so intituled: of which Sixtus Senensis hath made the due mention.

It is reported by Cassianus, that Sevenus Abbas gave the invention of Atagicke Calsianinolas. to Cham the sonne of Noah: so did Comestor in his Scholasticall Historie: which Art (faith he) with the 7. liberall Sciences he writin 14. Pillers: seven of which were made of braffe, to refift the defacing by the waters of the Floud; and 7.0f bricke against the injurie of fire. There was also another devised discourse, which went under

Lib.IA.

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Cap.44.

Athenda 4.

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Tofeph.cont.An-

CHAP.II. S.2.

Wid.07.

Scally in Eufe. Foscophilb.1.

Antiq.c.4.

the title of Prophetia Cham. Cassianus out of Serenus hath somewhat like to this of Comestor. These be Cassianus words: Cham (filius Noah) qui superstitionibus istis & sarrilegis fuit artibus infectus, sciens nullum se posse super his memorialem librum in Arcamprorsusin. ferre, in quaerat cumpatre justo, &c. Cham (the sonne of Noah) who was infested with these Superstitions, and sacrilegious Arts, knowing that be could not bring any booke or memoriall of that nature into the Arke, wherein be was to remaine with his godly Father, caused the Precepts and Rules thereof to be graven in metall and hard stone.

The first Booke of the first part

S. Augustine noteth that Zoroaster was said to have laught at his birth, when all other children weepe; which prefaged the great knowledge which afterward he attayned unto: being taken for the Inventer of naturall Magicke and other Arts; for the Corrupter, to faith Plinie and Justine. But I doe not thinke that Zoroaster invented the doctrine of the Horoscopes or Nativities: or first found out the nature of herbs, stones, and mineralls, or their Sympatheticall or Antipatheticall workings; of which, I know not what King of Chaldea is also made the Inventer. I rather thinke that these knowledges were far more ancient, and left by Noah to his fonnes. For Abraham who had not any acquaintance with Zoroafter, (as Josephus reporteth) was no leffe learned heerein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then living: differing from the wisedome of aftertimes in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cause, and giver of life and vertue to Nature and all Naturall things; whereas others (forgetting Gods infinite, dispersed, and universall power) admired the instruments, and did attribute propera ftrength to the things themselves, (from which the effects were sensible) which belonged to that wisedome, Which being one, and remaining in it selfe, can doe all things, and

Now whether this Zoroafter (over-throwne by Ninus) were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted For Zoroaster the Magician, Ctesias calls Oxyartes, whom Plinie finds of a later time. And if Zoroafter were taken away by a Spirit (being in the middest of his Disciples) as some Authors report, then Zoroaster, slaine by Ninns,

was not the Magician: which is also the opinion of Scaliger.

Againe Josephus and Cedrenus affirme, that Seth first found out the Planets, or wandring Starres, and other Motions of the Heavens : for if this Art had beene invented by Zoroa. 3 fer, he could not have attained to any fuch excellencie therein, in his owne life-time; but being a man (as it feemeth) of fingular judgement, he might adde fornewhat to this kind

of knowledge, and leave it by writing to posteritie.

But of this Zoroafter there is much dispute: and no leffe jangling about the word and ert of Magicke. Arnobius remembreth foure, to whom the name of Zoroafter, or Zoroafter was given: which by Hermodorus and Dinon feemeth to be but a cognomen, or name of art, and was as much to fay, as aftrorum cultor. The first, Arnobius calleth the Bactrian, which may be the same that Ninus overthrew: the second, a Chaldean, and the Astronomer of Ninus: the third was Zoroaster Pamphylius, who lived in the time of Cyrus and his familiar: the fourth, Zoroaster Armenius, the Nephew of Hostianes, which followed at Xerxes into Greece: betweene whom and Cyrus there past threescore and eighteent yeares. Suidas remembreth a fift, called Personedus sapiens : and Plato speaketh of Zoroafer the fon of Oromasdes; which Picus Mirandula confirmeth.

Now of what Nation the first and chiefe Zoroafter was, it is doubted. Plinie and Lattius make him a Persian. Gemisthius or Pletho, Ficinus and Steuchius, make him a Chaldaan. But by those bookes of one Zoroaster, found by Picus Mirandula, it appeareth plainely, that the Author of them was a Chaldean by Nation, though the word (Chaldean) was as often given to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishment of Nations. Porphyrius makes the Chaldai and Magi divers; Picus the same. But that this Zoroaster was a Chaldean both by Nation and Profession, it appeareth by his Bookes, se which (faith Picus) were written in the Chaldean tongue; and the Comment in the same language. Now that the Magi and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of those bookes of Zoroaster, which in an Epistle of Mirandula to Ficinus, he faith, tobe intituled, Patris Ezre Zoroaftris, & Melchior magorum oracula.

6. II.

Of the name of Magia: and that it was anciently farre divers from Conjuring and Witch-

TOw for Magick it selfe; which Art (faith Mirandula) pauci intelligent, multi re-picalen juit prehendunt; Few understand, and many reprehend; Et sicut Canes ignois semper allatrant; As Dogs barke at those they know not: so they condemne and hate the things they understand not: Ithinke it not amisse (leaving Ninus for a while) to speake fomewhat thereof.

It is true that many men abhorre the very name and word (Magos) Because of Simon Maeus, who being indeed, not Magus, but Goes, (that is) familiar with evill fpirits, usurped that title. For Magicke, Conjuring, and Witchery, are far differing Arts, whereof Plinie being ignorant scoffeth therat. For Nero (faith Plinie) who had the most excellent Ma-plin.l.30.bill gicians of the East fent him by Tyridates King of Armenia, who held that Kingdome by Nat.

his grace, found the art after long fludy and labour altogether ridiculous.

Magus is a Persian word primitively, whereby is exprest such a one as is altogether popular ea conversant in things divine. And (as Plato affirmeth) the Art of Magicke is the Art of Apul. worshipping God: To which effect Apolloniss in his Epistles expounding the Word Platoin Alcie; o (unyos) faith, that the Persians called their gods ways: whence he addeth that Magus is either sign of on segment ms sear (that is) that Magus is a name sometime of him that is a God by nature; sometimes of him that is in the service of God in which latter sense it is taken, Math. 2. v. 1. And this is the first and highest kind: which Piccolominie calleth piccol de Doffer divine Magicke : and these did the Latines newly intitle Sapientes or Wisemen: For, the Properbitge feare & worship of God is the beginning of knowledge. These Wisemen the Greeks call Phi- John Hag. lofophers: the Indians, Brachmans: which name they fomewhat neerely retaine to this day, calling their Priefts Bramines; among the Egyptians they were termed Priefts, with the Hebrewes they were called Cabalists, Prophets, Scribes, and Pharisees: amongst the Babylonians they were differenced by the name of Chaldwans and among the Persians. Magicians : of whom Arnobius (fpeaking of Hoftanes, one of the ancient Magicians) modernio fits. Magicians: of whom Arnovies (Ipeaking of responses, one of the analysis in music Falicis useth these words: Et verum Deum merita majestate prosequitur, & Angelos ministros Dei, mutic Falicis sed veri, ejus venerationi novit assistere. Idem damonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis 366, inimicos; Sosthenes (for fo M. Falix called him, not Hostanes) ascribeth the due majestie to the true God, & acknowledgeth that his Angels are ministers and messengers which attend the worship of the true God. He also bath delivered that there are Devils earthly and wandering, and enemies to mankinde.

His Majestie also in his first Booke of Demonologie c. 3. acknowledgeth, that in the Perfiantongue the word (Magus) imports as much as a contemplator of divine and heavenlie sciences; but unjustly so called, because the Chaldeans were ignorant of the true divinitie. And it is also right which His Majestie avoweth, that under the name of Magicke all other unlawfull Arts are comprehended, and yet doth His Majestie distinguish it from Necromancie, Witchcraft, and the rest: of all which he hath written largely and most learnedly. For the Magicke which His Majestie condemneth, is of that kinde where removelee ites of the Divell is a partie. Daniel in his fecond chapter nameth four kindes of those Wife- cap. 1. men: Arioli, Magi, Malefici, and Chaldet. Arioli the old Latine translation calleth Sophistas: Vatablus and Pagninus Genethliaces, or Physicos, or Philosophers, or (according to the note Of Vatablus) Naturalists: Nempe funt Magi apud Barbaros, quod Philosophi apud Gracos (scilicet) divinarum humanarumq : rerum scientiam profitentes : For the Magi are the same with the Barbarians, as the Philosophers are with the Gracians (that is) men that professe the knowledge of things both divine and humane. The Greeke & the English call them Inchanters , Junius, Magicians ; Castalion, Conjecturers : in the Syrianthey are all foure by one name called Sapientes Babylonis , The Wifemen of Babel.

The second fort Varablus, Pagnin, Junius, and our English, call Astrologers; Hierome and the Septuagint, Magicians.

The third kind are Malefici, or Venefici; in Hierom, Págnin, and the Septuagint, Witches or Poyloners: in Jumus, er aftigiatores of Sorcerers, as in English.

That Witches are also rightly so called Venefici, or Poysoners; and that indeed there is a kinde of Malefici, which without any Art of Magicke or Mecromancie use the helpe

5. II.

De vit. fantt.

Glyc. Annal.

See upon his Comment.in

Aug de Civit

Deil.18.c.z.

fol. 180.

of the Devill to doe mischiefe, His Majestie confirmeth in the first Chapter of his second Booke : speaking also in the fift Chapter of their practice, to mixe the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Divell prepared; and at other times to make pictures of Waxe, or Clay, or otherwise (as it were Sacramentaliter) to effect those things, which the Devill by other meanes bringeth to passe.

The fourth, all Translators call Chaldaans: who tooke upon them to foretell all things to come, as well naturall as humane, and their events: and this they vaunted to performe

by the influences of the Starres by them observed, and understood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which have made odious the very name of Magicke, having chiefly fought (as is the manner of all to impostures) to counterfeit the highest and most noblest part of it, yet so as they have also crept into the inferior degrees.

A fecond kind of Magicke was that part of Astrologie, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kinds of agriculture and husbandrie : which was a knowledge of the

motions and influences of the Starres into those lower Elements.

Phile Judeus goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of Magicke or Aftrologie, toge. ther with the motions of the Starres and other heavenly bodies, Abraham found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in Chaldaa: Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit Creatorem, (faith Jo. Damascen) Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature. Josephus reporteth of Abraham, that he instructed the Egyptians in Arithm. ticke and Astronomie, who before Abrahams comming unto them knew none of thesesciences.

And so doth Archangelus de Burgo, in desence of Mirandula against Garfias: Alexander & Eupolemon dicunt, quod Abraham santtitate & sapientia omnium prastantisimus Chaldaos primum, deinde Phanices, demum Agypties facerdotes Aftrologiam & divina docuerit; Alexander (faith he meaning Alexander Polyhistor) and Eupolemon affirm. that Abraham the holyest and wisest of men, did first teach the Chaldeans, then the Phanici-

ans ; lastly, the Egyptian Priests, Astrologie and divine knowledge.

The third kind of Magicke contayneth the whole Philosophie of nature : not the brabblings of the Ariftotelians, but that which bringeth to light the inmost vertues, and draweth them out of Natures hidden bosome to humaneuse: Virtutes in centro centri la tentes . Vertues hidden in the center of the center, according to the Chymifts. Of this for were Albertus, Arnoldus de villanova, Raymond, Bacon, and many others: and before these in elder times, and who better understood the power of Nature, and how to apply things that worke to things that suffer, were Zoroaster before spoken of: Apollonius Tyaneus membredby S. Hierome to Paulinus; in some mens opinion Numa Pompilius among the Romans : among the Indians, The spian : among the Egyptians, Hermes : among the Babylo. mians, Budda : the Thracians had Zamolxis : the Hyperboreans (as is supposed) Abbans & the Italians, Petrus Aponensis. The Magick which these men profest, is thus defined: Me gia est connexio à virosapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruentent Spondentibus, ut inde opera prodeant won fine corum admiratione qui causam ignorant: Megich is the connexion of naturall agents and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by anis man, to the bringing forth of such effects, as are wonderfull to those that know not their cause. In all these three kindes, which other men divide into foure, it seemeth that Zorosfa Town mundo was exceedingly learned: especially in the first and highest. For in his Oracles he confesseth God to be the creator of the Universall: he beleeveth of the * Trinity, which he could not investigate by any naturall knowledge: he speaketh of Angels, and of Paradift. approveth the immortalitie of the foule : teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, & Love, discourfing of the Abstinence and Charitie of the Magi: Which Oracles of his, Pfellus, Ficinal, Patritius, and others have gathered and translated.

Of this Zoroafter, Eufebius in the Theologie of the Phanicians, using Zoroafters Owne words : Hac ad verbum (cribit (faith Eusebius) Deus primus incorruptibilium, sempittinus,ingenitus,expers partium, sibiipsi simillimus, bonorum omnium auriga, muneranonexpectans, optimus, prudentissimus, pater juris, fine doctrina justitiam perdoctus, natura per fectus, sapiens, sacranatura unicus inventer &c. Thus writeth Zoroafter word for word. God the first incorruptible, everlasting, unbegotten, without parts, most like himselfe, the guidt of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wifest, the father of right, having learned justice without teaching perfect, wife by nature, theonly inventer thereof.

Sixtus Senenfis speaking of the wisedome of the Chaldenns, doth distinguish those wife

men into five orders, (to wit) Chascedim, or Chaldwans: Asaphim, or Magicians: Chartumim : (which he translates Ariolie, or Sophists) Mechasphim, or Malefici, or Venefici, Witches, or Poyloners; and Gazarim, Augures, or Aruspices, or Diviners.

Chascedim were those which had the name of Chaldaans, which were Astronomers ? Hi calorum motus diligentissime spectarunt; These did most diligently contemplate the moti-

ons of the heavens: whom Philo in the life of Abraham describeth.

Asaphim were in the old Latine translation called Philosophers: of the Septuagint and of Hierome, Magicians: Qui de omnium tam divinarum quam humanarum rerum causis Philosophatisunt . Who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well divine as humane : of whom Origen makes Balaam (the fon of Bear) to be the first: but Laertius ascribeth the Laertist invention of this art to Zoroastres the Persian.

Chartumim, or Inchanters, the Disciples (faith Saint Augustine, Plinie, and Justine) of another Zoroastres: who corrupted the admirable wisedome of the Magi, which he re-

ceived from his Ancesters.

CHAP.II. S.2.

Mechasphim, or Venefici, or Witches, are those which we have spoken already out of His Majesties booke of Damonologia.

Gazarim.or Aruspices (after Saint Hierome) which divine from the entrailes of beasts flaine for facrifices: or by Gazarim others understand Augures, who divine by the flying.

finging or feeding of birds.

By this distinction we may perceive the difference betweenethose wise mer, which the kings of Babylon entertained; and that the name and profession of the Magi among the ancient Persians was most honest. For as Pencer truely observeth, Praerant religioni Per-Pencer delle sica ut in populo Dei Levita, studiisq, vera Philosophia dediti erant : nec quisquam Rex Per- mag sul, 136, 136, farmm poterat effe, qui non antea Magorum disciplinam scientiama; percepisset . The Magi (faith he) were the chiefe Ministers of the Persian Religion as the Levites among Gods people, & they were given to the fludies of true Philosophie neither could any be King of the Persians. who had not first beene exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the Magi. Sixtus Senensis. in the defence of Origen against Polychronius and Theophilus, hath two kinds of Mazicke. his owne words are these: Et ne quem moveant pramisa Polychronij & Theophili testi- Biblio sollaria monia, sciendum est duplicem esse Magiam, alteram ubiq; ab Origine damnatam qua per fadera cum damonibus inita aut vere aut apparenter operatur; alteram ab Origine laudatam. qua ad practicen naturalis philosophia pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad invicem agentium ac patientium. That the teltimonies of Theophilus and Polychronius (laith he) may not move any man, it is to be understood that Magicke is of two forts, the one every where condemned by Origen; which worketh (whether truely or feemingly) by covenants made with Devills: the other commended by Origen: which appertaineth to the practicke part of natural Philosophie, teaching to worke admirablethings by the mutuall application of naturall vertues, agent and suffering reciprocally

This partition Hierome doth embrace in the first of his Commentaries upon Daniel: where confidering of the difference which Daniel makes betweene these four kinds of wife Men formerly remembred, he useth this distinction: Ques nos hariolos: caterà imondiès (idest) incantatores interpretati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui verbis rem peragunt: Magi, qui de singulis philosophantur; malesici, qui sanguine utuntur & victimis & sepe contingunt corpora mortuorum : porro in Chaldais Genethliacos significari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem fuam eo quod fint Philosophi Chaldaorum : & ad artis hujus fcientiam Reges quoq: et Principes ejusalem gentis omnia faciunt: unde er in nativitate Domini Salvatoris ip si primum ortum ejus intellexerunt, & venientes sanctam Bethlehem adoraverunt puerum, stella desuper ostendente; They whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret Ino chanters, seeme to me such as performe things by words; Magicians, such as handle every thing philosophically; Witches, that use bloud and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead : further among the Chaldrans I take them to be fignified by the name of Conjecturers upon nativities whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common custome takes Magicians for Witches who are otherwise reputed in their owne Nation: for they are the Philosophers of the Chald cans: yea King and Princes of that Nation doe all that they doe according to the knowledge of this Art : whence at the nativitie of the Lord our Saviour they first of all understood his birth, and comming unto holy Bethlebem, did worship the Childe: the Starre from above sheming him unto them. By this therefore it appeareth that there is,

Lucet Trias. cujus Monas est princeps.Cuncta namq, perfecit tradidu secunda. Pfel. & Ficin. Depræp.Ezjang.

lib. 1 cap.7.

Liu.2 fol.26

Hieronia Da-

Pet.Mar.Lec.

Fol.804

great difference betweenethe doctrine of a Magician, and the abuse of the word. For though some Writers affirme, that Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fædere facto utitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcung; That he is called a Magician now-adaies, who having entred league with the Divell, ufeth his helpe to any matter : yet (as our Saviour faid of Divorce) it was not so from the beginning. For the Art of Magicke is of the wisedome of Nature; other Arts which undergoe that title, were invented by the falfhood, subtlety, & envie of the Devil. In the latter there is no other doctrine, than the use of certaine ceremonies, Per mala fidem: By an evill faith: in the former no other ill, than the investigation of those vertues and hidden properties which God hathgiven to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that worke, to things that fuffer. And though by the Jewes those excellent to Magicians, Philosophers, & Divines, which came to worship our Saviour Christ, weretermed Mechaschephim, or Mecasphim; yet had they no other reason than common custome therein. Consuetude autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit ; Common custome (faith S. Hierome) understandeth Witches under the name of Magicians : And antiquitie (isaith Peter Martyr) by the word (Magi) understood good and wise men. Quid igitur expavescis Magi nomen formidolofe, nomen Evangelio gratiofum, quod non maleficum & veneficum. fed sapientem sonat & Sacerdotem? O thou fearefull one (saith Ficinus) why doubtest thou Mar.Ficin.parto use the name of Magus, a name gracious in the Gospell, which doth not signific a Witch or Conjurer but a wife man and a Prieft? For what brought this flander to that fludy and profession, but onely idle ignorance, the Parent of causelesse admiration? Causa fuit mirifi. centia quorundam operum, qua (re vera) opera naturalia sunt : veruntamen quia procuratione damonum, naturai ipsas vel conjungentium, vel commiscentium, vel aliter ad operandum expedientium facta (unt, opera damonum credebantur ab ignorantibus hac. De operibus hu. jusmodi est Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi impropriè vocant : The marvel. Gul. Parificulde coufneffe of some workes, which (indeed) are naturall, hath beene the cause of this slander: but because these workes have beene done by procurement of Divels, joyning the natures together or mingling them, or how soever fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the workes of the Divels by the ignorant. Among these workes is natural Magicke, which men call very improperly Necromancie.

The first Booke of the first part

Mirandula in his Apologie goeth further : For by understanding (faith he) the uttermost activitie of naturall agents we are assisted to know the Divinitie of Christ: for otherwise(to use his owne words) ignoratis terminis potentia & virtutis rerum naturalium, sa nos dubitare illa eadem opera, qua fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia; The termes or limits of naturall power and vertue not understood, we must needs doubt whether those ver workes which Christ did, may not be done by naturall meanes: after which he goeth on in this fort : Ideo non hæretice, non super stitiose dixi, sed verissime & Catholice per talem Magiam adjuvari nos in cognoscenda divinitate Christi: Therefore I sayd not heretically, not Superstitionsly, but most truely and Catholikely, that by such Magicke we are furthered in knowing the Divinitie of Christ. And seeing the Jewes and others, the enemies of Christian Religion, doe impudently and impiously object, that those Miracles which Christ wrought were not above Nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed: Mirandula a man for his yeares fuller of knowledge than any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reason avow, that the uttermost of Natures workes being knowne, the workes which Christ did, and which (as himselfe witnesseth) no man could doe, doe manifeltly testifie of themselves, that they were performed by that hand which held Nature herein but as a Pencill, and by a power infinitely supreme and divine; and thereby those that were faithlesse, were either converted or put to silence.

That the good knowledge in the ancient Magicke is not to be condemned: though the Divell bere, as in other kindes, hath fought to obtrude evill things, under the name and colour of good things.

Eeing therefore it is confessed by all of understanding, that a Magician (according to the Persian word) is no other than, Divinorum cultor & interpres : A studious ob-I ferver & expounder of divine things: and the Art of it felfe (I meane the Art of naturall Magicke)no other, Quamnaturalis Philosophia ab soluta consummatio; Than the ab-Solute perfettion of naturall Philosophie: Certainely then it proceeds from ignorance, and no way forteth with wife and learned men, promifeue, and without difference and diffinction to confound lawfull and praise-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to use S. Pauls words) with those beggerly rudiments, which the Divell hath shuffledin, & by them bewitcheth and befooleth graceleffe men. For if we condemne natural Magicke, or the wiledome of Nature, because the Divell (who knoweth more than any man) doth also reach Witches and Poyfoners the harmefull parts of Herbes, Drugges, Minerals, & Excrements: then may we by the fame rule condemne the Physician, and the Art of healing, For the Divellalfo in the Oracles of Amphiaraus, Amphilochus, Trophonius, and thelike taught men in Dreames what Herbes and Drugges were proper for fuch and fuch difeafes. Now no man of judgement is ignorant, that the Divell from the beginning hath fought to thrust himselfe into the same imployment among the Ministers and Servants of God, changing himselfe for that purpose into an Angell of Light. He hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath thrust in his Prophets among those of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of Astrologie; by giving adivine power to the Starres, teaching men to effecte them as gods, and not as infitruments. And (as Bunting Bunting Bunting Bunting observeth) it is true, that judiciall Astrologie is corrupted with many superstitions: but the abuse of the thing takes not away the Art; confidering that heavenly bodies (as even generall experience sheweth) have and exercise their operation upon the inferiour. For the Sunne, and the Starre of Mars doe drie; the Moone doth moiften, and poverne the Tides of the Sea. Again, the Planers, as they have feverall and proper names, fo have they feverall and proper vertues: the Starres doe also differ in beautie and in magnitude: and to all the Starres hath God given also their proper names, which (had they not influences and vertues different) needed not: He counteth the number of the Starres, and Platition calleth them by their names. But into the good & profitable knowledge of the celeftiall influences, the Divell ceafeth not to flueffe in his Superstitions: and so to the knowledge of the fecret vertues of Nature hath he fastened his doctrine of Characters, Numbers and Incantations; and taught men to believe in the strength of Words and Letters: (which without Faith in God are but Inke or common breath) thereby either to equall his own with the All-powerfull Word of God, or to diminish the glory of Gods creating Word. by whom are all things.

Moreover, he was never ignorant, that both the wife and the simple observe when the Sea-birds for fake the shores and fly into the Land, that commonly some great storme followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow, betoken faire weather; that the crying of Crowes and bating of Ducks, foreshew raine: for they feele the Ayre moistened in their Quils. And it is written in Hieremie the Prophet. Eventhe Storke in Cap. 8. ver. ? the syre knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, or the Swallow. Hereupon, this enemie of Mankinde, working upon these as upon the rest of Gods creatures, long time abused the Heathen by teaching them to observe the flying of Fowles, and thereby to judge of good or ill successe in the War:and(withall) to looke into their entrailes for the fame, as if God had written the secrets of unsearchable providence in the livers & bowels of birds and beafts. Again, because it pleased God somtimes by Dreames not onely to warne and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but Heathen Princes also, as Generally Abimelech to restore Sarato Abraham : because he admonished 70seph, and by Dreame informed Jacob, Laban, Pharao, Salomon, Paul, Ananias, the Magi of the East, and others. Job 33.174 For at it is remembred in Job: In Dreames and Visions of the night, when sleepe falleth upon men de then God openeth the eares, that he might cause man to returne from his enterprize: therefore, I say, doth the Divellalso practise his Divinations by Dreames, or (after Pa leg. 24.cap. rifiensis) divinitatis imitationes, his mocke-divinitie. This in the end grew so common, as Aristides compiled an Ephemerides of his owne Dreames: Mithridates of those of his Concubines. Yea the Romanes finding the inconvenience hereof, because all dreams (with- codex dema-) out distinction of cases) were drawne to Divination, forbad the same by a Law, as by tester Mather the words of prohibition (aut narrandis somniis occultam aliquam artem divinandi) it may matthe of appeare. Likewise by the Law of God in Deuteronomie, cap. 13. seducing Dreamers were ordered to be flaine. Yet it is to be contemned, not that Marcus Antonius wastolda re- Aux de cure medy in his Dreame for two grievous diseases that opprest him; nor that of Alexander promortion as Macedon for the cure of Piolomies poisoned wound; nor that which Saint Augustine goden reporteth of a Millanoife, whose son (the Father dead) being demanded a debtalready paid, was told by his Father in a dreame where the Acquittance key to discharge it inch

Levit.20

that of Astrages of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, for a fmuch as the cause is not in our selves, this place denieth dispute.

§. IIII.

That Daniels misliking Nabuchodonosors condemning of the Magicians, doth not justifie

But it may be objected, that if fuch Divinations as the Heathens commonly used were to be condemned in them, who tooke on them very many and strange Revelations; how came it to passe that Daniel both condemned it. velations; how came it to paffe that Daniel both condemned the haftie fentence of to Nabuchodonosor against the Magicians of Chalden, and in a fort forbad it? especially confidering that fuch kind of people God himselfe commanded to be slaine. To this, divers answers many be given. First, it seemeth that Daniel had respect to those Chaldeans, because they acknowledged that the Dreame of the king, which himselfe had forgotten, could not be knowne to any man by any Art either Naturall or Diabolicall: For there is none other (faid the Chaldeans) that can declare it before the king, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh: and herein they confessed the power of the Ever-living God.

Secondly, it may be conjectured (and that with good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any evill or unlawfull Arts, but were meerely Magicians and Naturalists: and therefore when the king commanded, to kill all, Daniel perswaded the contrary, and called it a hasty judgement, which proceeded with furie without examination. And that some of those mens studies and professions were lawfull, it may be gathered by Daniels instruction: for himselfe had bin taught by them, and was called chiefe of the Inchanters: of which some were termed Soothfayers, others Aftrologians, others Chaldwans, others Magi or Wife-men : and therefore of

Thirdly, Daniel misliked and forbad the execution of that judgement, because it was unjust. For howsoeverthose men might deserve punishment for the practice of unlawfull Arts (though not unlawfull according to the Law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltlesse. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Divell himselfe could not know. So then in Daniels dislike, and hindering of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the Magicians, there is no absolute justifying of their practice and profession.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemne the right use of them.

TOtwithstanding this mixture every where, of good with evill, of falf-hood with truth, of corruption with cleannesse and purity: The good, The truth, The puritie in every kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worshipping of God by Sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forebare to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, because the Divell in the Image of Bal, Aftaroth, Chemoth, Jupiter, Apollo, and the like was fo adored.

Neither did the abuse of Astrologie terrifie Abraham (if we may beleeve the most ancient and religious Historians) from observing the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it dehort wife and learned men in these dayes from attributing those vertues, influences, and inclinations to the Starres and other lights of Heaven, which God hath given to those his glorious creatures.

The Sympatheticall and Antipatheticall working of Herbes, Plants, Stones, Minerals, with their other utmost vertues, sometimes taught by the Divell, and applyed by his Ministers to harmefull and uncharitable ends, can never terrific the honest and learned Phyfician or Magician from the using of them to the helpe and comfort of Mankind: neither can the illufions, whereby the Divell betrayeth fuch men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the observations of Dreames; so farre as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make use of them.

Lastly, the prohibition to marke slying of Fowles (as signes of good or evill successed hathno reference at all to the crying of Crowes against Raine, or to any observation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be given. For if we confound Arts with the abuse of them, we shall not onely condemne all honest Trades and enterchange among men (for there are that deceive in all professions) but we shall in a short time burg in forgetfulnesse all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obscure and cover it over with a most scornefull and beggarly ignorance: and (as Plinie teacheth) we should shew our selves ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaq; lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce: Unthankfull we should shew our selves towards those, who with paines and care have discovered unto us light in this light.

Indeed not only these naturall knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the Mathematicks also and Professers thereof: though those that are excellentive To learned judge of it in this fort: In speculo Mathematico verum illud, quod in omni scibili culan comi quaritur, elucet; non modò remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate: In the Theologo.i. Glasse of the Mathematickes that Truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind of Known ledge : not in an obscuring, but in a neere and manifest representation,

\$. VI. Of the divers kindes of unlawfull Mazicke.

T is true that there are many Arts, if we may so call them, which are covered with the name of Magicke: and esteemed abusively to be as branches of that Tree, on whose root they never grew. The first of these hath the name of Necromancy or Goetia: and of this againe there are diverse kindes. The one is an Invocation at the graves of the dead, to whom the Divell himselfe gives answer in stead of those that seeme to appeare. For certaine it is, that the immortall foules of men doe not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they give motion and understanding to the living: death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soule: and therefore the soule is not to be found in the Graves.

A second practice of those men, who pay Tribute or are in league with Satan, is that of conjuring or of rayfing up Divels, of whom they hope to learne what they lift. These men are so distract, as they believe that by terrible words they make the Divell to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keepe out a Mouse) they therein(as they suppose)insconce themselves against that great Monster. Doubtlesse, they forget that the Divell is not terrified from doing ill and all that is contrary to God and goodnesse, no, not by the fearefull word of the Almighty: and that he feared not to offer to fit in Gods seate, that he made no scruple to tempt our Saviour Christ, whom himselfe called the Sonne of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an unworthy wretch will yet resolve himselfe, that he can draw the Divellout of Hell, and terrifie him with a Phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which the Divels seeme to use, is but thereby to possesse themselves of the bodies and soules of those which raise them up; as His Majestie in his Booke aforenamed hath excellently taught: That the Divels obedience Sumin minuted is only fecundum quid, scilicet ex pacto; respective, that is, upon bargaine.

Icannot tell what they can docupon those simple and ignorant Divels, which inha-de divisioning bite lamblicus imagination; but fure I amtherest are apt enough to come uncalled: and distribute inbite impuseus imagination; one time ramine tent and paffals, doe no way need any fuch confideration; of alwains attending the cogitations of their fervants and vaffals, doe no way need any fuch confideration; of inforcement.

Or it may be that these Conjurers deale altogether with Cardans mortall Divels, fol-que possibile lowing the opinion of Rabbi Avornathan and of Porphirius, who taught that these kinde impossibili. of Divels lived not above a thousand yeares : which Plutarch in his Treatise de Oraculo- L'Vive incap rum defectu confirmeth, making example of the great god Pan. For were it true that the Angderinit Divels were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they al-Datib.to. wayes feare those words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly maste- cusaexor. 1.23 red. But the Familiar of Simon Magus when he had lifted him up in the Ayre, saft him headlong out of his clawes, when he was fure he should perish with the fall. If this perhaps were done by S. Peters Prayers (of which S. Peter no where valunteth) yet the fame Eures will Etta ! prancke at other times upon his owne accord the Divell played with Theodotus: who the said. transported(as simon Magus was supposed to have beene) had the same mortall fall that he had. The like successe had Budas, a principall pillar of the Manichaean Heresie, as So- Lib. 1.6.217 crates in his Ecclefiafticall History witnesseth; and for a manifest proofe bereof we see in

Eufeex Artapan & Polyhi.

CHAPILIS.7.

2. Theff. 2.

Exercitat.l.z.

Plian.1.6.

met.hiftor.

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every day, that the Divell leaves all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallowes, for whom at other times he maketh himselfe a Pezasus, to conveigh them in haste to places far distant, or at least makes them so thinke : For to those that received not the truth (faith Saint Paul) Godsball send them frong illusions. Of these their supposed transportations (yet agreeing with their confessions) His Majestie in the second Booke and the fourth Chapter of the Demonologie, hath confirmed by unanswerable reasons, that they are meerely il-Infive. Another fort there are who take on them to include Spirits in Glaffes & Crystals. of whom Cufanus: Fatui sunt incantatores, qui in ungue & vitro volunt spiritum includere. quia Spiritus non clauditur corpore: They are foolish Inchanters, which will shut up their pirits within their nailes or in Glasse: for a Spirit cannot be inclosed by a body.

There is also another Art besides the afore-mentioned, which they call Theurgia, or White Magick; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Invocation they draw out of Heaven, and communicate withall. But the administring Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creator; fo feeing they are most free Spirits, there is no man fo abfurd to thinke (except the divel have corrupted his understanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of Heaven by threats. Wherefore let the professiours thereof cover themselves how they please by a professed puritie of life, by the ministerie of Infants, by fasting and abstinence in generall; yet all those that tamper with immateriall substances and abstract natures. either by Sacrifice, Vow, or Inforcement, are men of evill faith, and in the power of Sa-10 tan. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are Divels, which willingly obey.

Other forts there are of wicked Divinations: as by fire, called Pyromantia: by water,

called Hydromantia: by the ayre, called Mataotechnia, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other is Fascination or Witchcraft: the Practifers whereof are no leffe envious and cruell, revengefull and bloudy, than the Divell himselfe. And these accursed creatures having sold their soules to the Divell, worketwo wayes: either by the Divell immediately, or by the art of poyloning. The difference be tweene Necromancers and Witches, His Majestie hath excellently taught in a word : that

the one (in a fort) command; the other obey the Divell.

There is another kind of pettie Witchery (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beafts and Birds, of which Pythagor as was accused, because an Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the Olympian fields. But if the same exceeded the Art of Falconrie, yet was it no more to be admired then Mahomet's Dove, which he had used to feed with Wheate out of his eare: which Dove, when it was hungrie, lighted on Mahimets shoulder, and thrust his Bill therein to finde his breake-fast : Mahomet perswading the rude and simple Arabians, that it was the Holy Ghost that gave him advice. And certainly if Banks had lived in elder times, he would have shamed all the Inchanters of the World: for who foever was most famous among them, could never master or instruct any beaft as he did his Horfe.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by In chantments (which the Marsians a people of Italie practifed : Colubres disrumpit Marsia cantu : inchanting Marsia makes the snakes to burst.) That it hath beene used it appeares, Pfalme 58.6. though I doubt not, but that many Impostures may be in this kinde, and even by naturall causes it may be done. For there are many Fumes that will either draw them out or destroy them; as womens haire burnt, and the like. So many things may be layed in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other Magicke or Inchantments than to draw out a Mouse with a piece of tosted Cheese.

6. VII.

Of divers waves by which the Divell (cemeth to worke his wonders.

But to the end that we may not dote with the Manichees, who make two powers of gods: that we doe not give to the Divellany other dominion than he half (not to speake of his abilitie, when he is the Minister of Gods vengeance; as when Egypt, according to David, was destroyed by evill Angels) he otherwise worked but three wayes. The first is by moving the cogitation and affections of men: The fecond by the exquisize knowledge of Nature and the third by deceit, illusion, and false femblance. And that they cannot worke what they would, G. Parifienfis giveth three causes: the first, a naturall impotency: the second, their own reason disswading them from daring overmuch, or indeed (and that which is the only certaine cause) the great mercy of the Creator, Tenens eos ligatas (faith the fame Author) velut immanissimas bel- simpanisae lum. S. Augustine was of opinion that the Frogges which Pharach's Sorcerers produced university as the were not naturall, but that the Divell (by betraying of their fenfes that looked on) made them appeare to be fuch. For as Varius observeth, those Frogges of the Inchangers were not found corrupted as those of Moses were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof faith Saint Augustine : Nec fane Damones naturas creant, sed qua à Deo creata funt commutant, ut videantur effe quod non funt : The Divels create not any natures but so change those that are created by God, as they seeme to be that which they be not : of which in the 83. question he giveth the reason. Damon quibusdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentia, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet, (that is) The Divell fils with certaine clouds all passages of the understanding, by which the beame of the minde is wont to open the light of reason.

And as Tertullian in his Booke de anima rightly conceiveth, if the Digell can possesse himselfe of the eves of our mindes and blinde them, it is not hard for him to dazell those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the Divellentreth in, beginning with the fantasie, by which he doth more easily betray the Maxima vis est other faculties of the foule: for the fantasie is most apt to be abused by vaine appre-

Aquinas on the contrary held that those Frogges were not imaginarie, but such indeed as they seemed : not made Magica artis ludibrio, which indeed agreeth not with the Arts but (according to Thomas) Per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationeme By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. And this I take to be more probable. For Moses could not be deceived by that sleight of false semblance; and Saint Augustine in another case like unto this (to wit of the turning of Diomedes his companions into Birds, per attiva cum passivis, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not perswaded that

Saint Augustine beleeved that of Diomedes. And this opinion of Thomas, G. Parisiensis a man very learned also confirmeth. For speaking of naturall Magick he useth these words: Deleg 024 feb De hujusmodi autem operibus est subita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum & vermium, aliorumq, animalium quorundam:in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verum adhibitis adjutoriis, qua ipsa semina natur a confortant & accuunt, it a ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus natura videatur (qua tardius talia efficere consuevit) sed potentia Damonum, &c.to which he addeth: Qui autem in his docti sunt, talianon mitantur, sed solum Creatorem in his glorificant: In such workes (faith he) the sodaine generation of Frogges and Lice, and Wormes, and some other creatures is: in all which Nature alone worketh; but by means strengthening the Seeds of Nature, & quickning them; in such wise that they so hasten the worke of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant not to be the worke of Nature, which usually worketh more leisurely, but they think it is done by the powers of Divels, But they who are learned in these Arts marvaile not at such working but glorificthe Creator. Now

power, but of God onely. For shall we fay, he causeth sometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempests; and can infect the ayre, as well as move it or compresse it; who knowes not that these things are alfo natural. Or may it be objected that he fore-telleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion. It is true, that he sometimes dothit; but how ? Inelder ages he stole his knowledge out of the predictions of the Prophets: and he foretold the death of Saul, at fuch time as he was in his own possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath lived from the infancic of the world to this day, and observed the Ephez 2. 56 successe of every counsaile: he that by reason of his swift motions can informe him-Diabolus magfelfe of all places, and preparations: he that is of counfaile with all those that studie & numbabetrepractife subversion and destruction: he that is Prince of the ayre, and can thence bet-resimilaries ter judge, than those that inhabite the earth: if he should not sometimes, yea if he momentum

by these two waves the Divels doe must frequently worke, (to wit) by knowing the ut-

termost of nature; and by illusion: for their is no incomprehensible or unsearchable

to give impediment) it were very strange. For we see that wise and learned men doe day de Angule Ang oftentimes

should not very oftentimes ghesse rightly of things to come (where God pleaseth not queris megating and due de dripped

oftentimes by comparing like causes conceive rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the Divell doubteth, and would willingly keepe his credit, he ever, more answereth by Riddles: as

Croefus Halympenetrans magnam subvertit opum vim:

If Crasus over Halvs goe, Great Kingdomes he shall overthrow.

Which answer may be taken either way: either for the overthrow of his own King. dome, or of his Enemies. And thus far we grant the Divell may proceed in predictions, which (otherwise) belong to God onely, as it is in Esay: Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods; shew us at all times and certainly what to come. Solius enim divina intelligentia ac sapientia est, occulta no se de revelare; It isoni, proper to Gods understanding and wisedome to know and reveale hidden things.

de legib.c.24.

S.VIII.

That none was ever raised from the dead by the power of the Divell: and that it was not the true Samuel which appeared to Saul.

TO conclude, it may be objected that the Divell hath raised from the dead: and that others by his power have done the like, as in the example given of Samuel raised by the Witch of Endor: which were it true, then might it indeed beaffirmed, that some of the Divels acts exceeded all the powers of nature, false semblance, and other illusions. Justine Martyr was sometime of the opinion, that it was Samul indeed; and so was Ambrose, Lyra, and Burgensis, from which authorities those men borrow strength which so believe. But Martyr changed his opinion; and so did S. Angustine, who at first seemed to be indifferent: For in his questions upon the Old and New Testa ment, he accounted it deteftable to think that it was Samuel which appeared: and these be his words elsewhere to the same effect: In requie sunt anima piorum à corpore separata impiorum autempænas luunt donec istarum ad vitam aternam illarum verò ad aternammortem quasecunda dicitur, corpora reviviscant: The soules of the godly separated from their bodin are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies of the just rise to eterny life, and of the wicked to an eternall and second death.

And (besides S. Augustine) Justine Martyr, Helarius, Tertullian, Athanasius, Chrysostom, and others, believed firmely, and taught it: that the foules of men being once separate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all: Credere debemus (faith Cyrill) quim à corporibus fanctorum anima abicrint tanquam in manus charifsimi patris Bonitatidivina commendari. We must believe when the soules of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the divine Goodnesse, as into the hands of a most deare Father. If then they be in Heaven, the power of the Divell cannot stretch so high: if in Hell, Ab infirno nulla est redemptio: From hell there is no redemption. For there are but two habitations after death: Unum (faith Augustine) in igne aterno; alterum in regno aterno; The one international ternall fire; the other in God's eternall Kingdome. And though it be written in Jure Pontificio, that many there are who believe that the dead have againe appeared to the living; yet the Glosse upon the same Text findes it ridiculous: Credunt & male, quia sunt Phantasmata (faith the Glosse) They believe, and they believe amisse, because they be but Phantasmes or Apparitions. For whereas any fuch voyce hath beene heard, faying, I am the Souleof fuch a one : Hec oratio à fraude atq, deceptione diabolica est; That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Divell, faith Chry fostome. Likewise of the same, faith Tertullian Absit ut animam cujuslibet sancti nedum Propheta, à damonio credamus extractam; Godforbid that we should thinke that the soule of any boly man, much lesse of a Prophet, should be

It is true that the Scriptures call that apparition, Samuel; so doe they the wooden images, Cherubins: and false brazen gods are gods, and the like. And whereas these of the contrary opinion build upon that place of the 26. of Ecclefiafticus (a booke not numbred among the Canonical Scriptures, as S. Augustine himselfe in this Treatise, if it be his, De cura pro mortuis agenda, confesseth) yet Siracides, following the literall sense and phrase of the Scriptures, proveth nothing at all: Forthough the Divell would willingly per-

fwade, that the foules (yea even of just men) were in his power; yet so farre is it from the promifes of the Scriptures, and from Gods just and mercifull nature, and so contrary to all divine reason, as Saint Augustine (or whosoever wrote that booke before cited) might rightly terme it a detestable opinion so to thinke. For if God had so absolutely forsaken Saul, that he refused to answer himeither by Dreames, by Urim, or by his Prophets . it were fortish to conceive, that he would permit the Divell, or a wicked Witch, to raise a Prophet from the dead in Sauls respect: it being also contrary to his own divine Law to 1 Kin. 17.223 askecounfell of the dead; as in Deuteronomy 18. and elsewhere. Therefore it was the 2 kings 4:240 Divell, and not the foule of a dead body, that gave answer and advice.

But because Helias and HeliZeus had raised some from the dead by the power of God; northurn ere uni those Divels which S. Augustine calleth Ludisscatores animantium sibi subjectorum; Mock quam excitavits ers of their owne vassals, casting before their eyes a semblance of humane bodies, and framing founds to their eares like the voyces of men, doe also perswade their gracelesse and accurfed attendants, that themselves both possesses, have power over the soules of men. Eludit Diabolus aciem tum (pectantium, tum etiam cogitantium, faith L. Vives; The Divell beguileth the sense both of the beholders, in of those that so imagine. These then are the bounds of the Divels power, whom if we will not feare, we must feare to sinne. For when he is not the instrument of Gods vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himselfe his voluntary vaffall: Potest ad malum invitare, non potest trahere, saith S. Augustine; be can alo lure, but he cannot enforce to evill. Such as thinke otherwise, may goe into the number re-

> Nam veluti pueri trepidant atq: omnia cœcis In tenebris metuunt : sic nos in luce timemus.

We feare by light, as children in the darke.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of Ninus, and of his Wife Semiramis, and of other of her Atts.

Of the magnificent building of Nineve ly Ninus: and of Babylon by Semiramis.

It to come backe to Ninus the amplifier and finisher of Nineve: whether he performed it before or after the overtnrow of uncertain. As for the City it felf, it is agreed by all prophane Writers, that it exceeded all other in circuit, ther he performed it before or after the overthrow of Zoroafter, it is and answerable magnificence. For it had in compasse 440. stadia, or Justin 123 furlongs; the wals whereof were an hundredfootupright, and had fuch Subditionals

quest.

a breadth as three Charriots might passe on the Rampire in front: these wals were garnished with 1500. Towers, which gave exceeding beauty to the rest, and strength, no lesse admirable for the nature of those times.

But this City (built in the Plaines of Assyria, and on the bankes of Tygris, and in the region of Eden) was founded long before Ninus time; and (as ancient Historians report, and more lately Nauclerus) had the name of Campfor, at fuch time as Ninus amplified the fame, and gave it a wall, and called it after his owne name.

For these workes of Babylon and Nineve begun by Nimrod in Chaldea, and in Assyria, Herodisi Ninus and Semiramis made perfect. Ninus finished Nineve, Semiramis Babylon: where Juliulia. in the fought to exceed her husband by far. Indeed in the first Age when Princes were Diod. 12.07 3 moderate, they neither thought how to invade others, nor feared to be invaded: labouring to build Towns and Villages for the use of themselves and their people, without either Wals or Towers, and how they might discharge the earth of Woods, Bryars, Bushments, and Waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But Semiramis living that Age, when Ambition was in firing youth: and purposing to follow the con-

Fult.Martyrin collog.cum Tryphone in refp.ad Orthogueft.52 Ambrin Luc. LT.C.T.L.wain Reg.1.Aug.ad De Civit.Dei, L.13.6.8.

Aun.de ver.A. Fust Martad Orthodox.9.75. Hilar .Pfa!. 2. Tert. de anima Athanaf q.13. in Evang.Mat.

26.7.5 Episcopi.

drawn up againe by a Divell.

AElian li.7.22

quest which her husband had under-taken, gave that beauty and strength to Babylon which it had.

6. II.

Of the end of Ninus: and beginning of Semiramis reigne.

 \blacksquare His flie did after the death of her husband *Ninus*: who after he had maftered B_4 . Gria, and fubjected unto his Empire all those Regions betweene it and the Mediterran Sea, and Hellespont (Asia the leffe excepted) and finished the worke of Ni neve, he left the World in the yeare thereof 2019. after he had reigned 52. yeares. Plu-10 tarch reporteth that Semiramis defired her husband Ninus, that he would grant unto her the absolute soveraigne power for one day. Diod. Siculus out of Athenaus, and others, speakes of five dayes. In which time (moved either with defire of rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her husband Menon, who perished for her) she caused Nimus her husband to be flaine. But this feemeth rather a fcandall cafton her by the Greekes,

Howfoever Ninus came to his end, Semiranis took on her after his death the fole me of the Affyrian Empire: of which, Ninus was faid to be the first Monarch, because he changed his feat from Babylonia in Chaldaa, to Nineve in Affyria. Justin reports that Se miramis (the better to invest her self, and in her beginning without murmure or offence to 20 take on her fo great a charge) presented her selfe to the people in the person of her some Ninias or Zameis, who bare her externall forme and proportion without any fensible

This report I take also to be fained, for which many arguments might be made. But as she ruled long, so she performed all those memorable acts which are written of her by the name of Semiramis, and fubscribed that letter which she sent to the King of India(her last challenge and undertakenconquest) by her owne name. And were it true that her fonne Ninias had fuch a stature at his Fathers death, as that Semiramic (who was very personable) could be taken for him; yet it is very unlikely that she could have held the Empire from him 42 yeares after by any fuch fubtilty : (for fo long the reigned after the 30 death of her husband:) but it may be true that Ninias or Zameis (being wholly givento his pleasures, as it is written of him) was well pleased with his Mothers prosperous government and undertakings.

6. III.
Of Semiramis parentage and education, and Metamorphofis of her Mother.

Ome Writers (of which Plutarch is one) make this famous woman to have been of base parentage, calling her after the name of her Country, a Syrian. Berofit Cals her after the name of her City wherein she was borne, Semiramis Ascalonzis, of Ascalon, the ancient City and Metropolis of the Philistims. Others report her be the daughter of Derceta, a Curtizan of Ascalon, exceeding beautifull. Others fay that this Derceta or Dercetis, the mother of Semiramis, was fometimes a Recluse, and had profest a holy and a religious life; to whom there was a Temple dedicated, feated on the banke of a Lake adjoyning to Afcalon; and afterward falling in love with a godly young man, she was by him made with childe, which (for feare of extreme punishment) she conveyed away, and caused the same to be hidden among the high reedes which grew on the bankes of the Lake: in which (while the childe was left to the mercy of wilde beafts) the same was fed by certaine birds, which used to feed upon or neere those waters. But I take this tale to be like that of Lupa the Harlot that fostered Romulus. For fome one or other adjoyning to this Lake, had the charge and fosteridge of this childe, who being perchance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to cover her dishonor and breach of vow; norwithstanding which she was cast from the top ofher Temple into the Lake adjoyning, and (as the Poets nave in made) changed by *Venus* into a Fish, all but her face, which stil held the same beauty & hur mane shape. It is thought that from this *Derceta* the invention of that Idoll of the *Philiphara* into a Fish, all but her face, which stil held the same beauty & hur mane shape. It is thought that from this *Derceta* the invention of that Idoll of the *Philiphara* into a Fish, all but her face, which stil held the same beauty & hur mane shape. It is thought that from this *Derceta* the invention of that Idoll of the *Philiphara* into a Fish, all but her face, which stil held the same beauty & hur mane shape. It is thought that from this *Derceta* the invention of that Idoll of the *Philiphara* into a Fish and a mans face, and a sinker body. was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adjoyning, and (as the Poets have fair mane shape. It is thought that from this Derceta the invention of that Idoll of the top whereof the Chaldaan Priests made the observation of the start is true, that Dagon had a mans face, and a fishes body lower over-topped the ordinary cloude. firms (called Dagon) was taken: for it is true, that Dagon had a mans tace, and a true to the lower over-topped the Chaldaan Priefts r into whose Temple when the Arke of God was brought, the Idol fell twice to the ground ground.

CHAP.12. S.4.5. of the History of the World. ground: and at the fecond fall there remained onely the Trunke of Dagon, the head beground: and at the recondition that the converted that place. Vatablus, Pagninus, and Juing broken with the figure of the figure of the head in white it by Dagon only, which figure a fifth, and fo it onely appeared: the head

Formy selfe I rather think, that this Dagon of the Philistims was an Idoll representing Triton, one of those imaginary Sea-gods under Neptune. For this City being maritimate (asallthose of the *Philistims* were, and so were the best of *Phanicia*) used all their devotions to Neptune, and the rest of the petty goods which attended him.

S. IV.
Of her Expedition into India, and death after discomfiture: with a note of the improbability,

But for her Pedigree, I leave it to the Affyrian Heralds: and for her vicious life, I afcribe the report thereof to the envious and lying Grecians. For delicacy and case doe more often accompany licentiousnesses in men and women, than labour and hazzard doe. And if the one halfe be true which is reported of this Lady, then there never lived any Prince or Princesse more worthy of fame than Semiramis was, both for the workes she did at Babylon and elsewhere, and for the warres she made with glorious o faccesse: all but her last enterprise of India, from whence both Strabo and Arianus report that she never returned : and that of all her most powerfull Army there survived but onely twenty persons: the rest being either drowned in the River of Indus, dead of the famine, or flaine by the word of Staurobates. But as the multitude which went out are more than reason hath numbred: so were those that returned lesse than could have escaped of fuch an Army, as confifted of foure millions and upwards. For these numbers which she levied by her Lievtenant Dercetaus, (saith Suidas) did confist of Foot-men three millions; of Horse-men one million; of Chariots armed with hookes on each side, Swid 58.45 dies; one hundred thousand; of those which fought upon Camels as many; of Camels for burden two hundred thousand; of raw Hides for all uses three hundred thousand; of Galalies with brazen heads three thousand, by which she might transport over Indus at once three hundred thousand Souldiers: which Gallies were furnished with Syrians, Phanicians, Cilicians, and men of Cyprus. These incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the earth was able to nourish (had every man and beast but fed upon grasse) are taken from the authority of Ctessas whom Diodorus followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports: fo Diodorus himselfe hath nothing of certainty, but from Xernes expedition into Greece and afterwards: whose Army (though the same was farre inferiour to that of semiramis) yet it had weight enough to overload the beliefe of any reasonable man. For all Authors consent, that Xernes transported into Greece an Armic of 1700000 and gathered together (therein to passe the Hellespont) three thousand Gallies, as Herodotus out of the severall Provinces whence those Gallies were taken hath

But of what multitude foever the Army of Semiramis confifted, the fame being broken and overthrowne by Staurobates upon the bankes of Indus, canticium cantavit extremum; the fang ber last fong; and (as Antiquity hath fained) was changed by the gods in to a Dove (the bird of Venus) whence it came that the Babylenians gave a Dove in their

Of the Temple of Belus built by Semiramis: and of the Pyramides of Egypt.

Mong all her other memorable & more than magnificent works (befides the wall of the City of Babylon) was the Temple of Bel, erected in the middle of this City, of the City of Babylon) was the Temple of Bet, erected in the line invironed with a wall carryed four four forms of great heighth and beauty, having on the Core of the four fibe raifed tach square certaine Brazen Gates curiously engraven. In the Core of the square she raised Qz

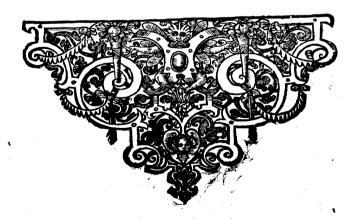
By beholding the ruines of this Tower have many Travailers beene deceived; who suppose that they have seene a part of Nimrods Tower, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of Bel: (except this of Bel were founded on that of Nimrod.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense every yeare were burnt in this Temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense every yeare were burnt in this Temple did Nabuchodonosor adorne with the spoiles of Hierusa. (saith Herodotus.) This Temple did Nabuchodonosor adorne with the spoiles of Hierusa. I this Temple Xerxes evened with the soile; which Alexander is said to have repaired, This Temple Xerxes evened with the soile; which Alexander is faid to have repaired, by the perswassions of the Chaldeans. I deny not that it might have beene in his desire by the perswassions of the Chaldeans. I deny not that it might have beene in his desire by the perswassions of the Chaldeans. I deny not that it might have beene in his desire performe any such works. The Egyptians (saith Proclus) inhabiting a low and levels personned, and given to the same superstition of the Stars that the Chaldeans were, erected ground, and given to the same superstition of the Stars that the Chaldeans were, erected ground, and for the same superstition, saith Pliny. Of these Pyramides, Bellonius a carefull observed fraities (who being in Egypt, mounted by steps to the top of the highest) may ver of rarities (who being in Egypt, mounted by steps to the top of the highest) may ver of rarities (who being in Egypt, mounted by steps to the top of the highest) may ver of rarities (who being in Egypt, mounted by steps to the top of the highest in large and the set to make superstition of the steps and seen set to the top of the highest in large seen as the second seen as a sec

Bellon-LZ.

Proclin Timeo

ceth this report: Le meilleur archer qui seroit a sa sommitte, a tirani unificate to the peine pour eit l'envoyer hors de sa base qu'elle ne se tembast sur les degrez, The peine pour eit l'envoyer hors de sa base qu'elle ne se tembast sur les degrez, The bast Archer standing on the top of one of these Pyramides, and shooting an Arrow from thence into the ayre as farre as hee can, with great difficulty shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall upon some of the degrees or steps.

Finis Libri primi.





THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE VV ORLD:

the birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction of the

Temple of Salomon.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the time of the birth of Abraham: and of the use of this question, for the ordering of the Story of the Assyrian Empire.

of some of the successors of Semiramis: with a briefe transition to the question, about the time, of the birth of Abraham.



CHAP.I.S.I.

Frer the death of Semiramis, Ninias or Zameis succeeded her in the Empire, on whom Berosus Annianus bestowes the conquest of Battria, and the overthrow of Zoroaster; contrary to Diodorus, Justine, Orosius, and all other approved Writers. For Ninias being esteemed no man of warre at all; but altogether seminine, and subjected to ease and delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this Nimias of any moment, other than that out of jealousie hee every yeare changed his Provinciall Governours, and built Colledges

for the Chaldman Pricits, his Aftronomers: nor by Arius his fucceffor, whom Suidus callett Thuras; but that he reduced againe the Battrians & Caspians, revolted (as it seemeth) in Ninias his time: nor of Aralius, the successor of Arius; but that he added sumptuosity, invented jewels of gold and stone, and some engins for the warre: I will for this present passethem over, and a while follow Abraham, whose wayes are warrantable, (till we meete these Assyrians againe in this story) by whom and by whose issue we shall best give date to the Kings of Babylon: Abraham living at once with Ninus, Ninias, Semiramis, Orinias, & Xernes or Balanius. For otherwise if we seek to prove things certain by the uncertaine, and judge of those times, which the Scriptures set us downe without errour, by the reignes of the Assyrian Princes: we shall but patch up the story at adventure, and leave it in the same consustion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures doe not helpe us, Mirum non est in rebus antiquis Historiam non constare; No Plus in These marvaile if then in things very ancient, History want assurance.

The better therefore to finde out, in what age of the World, and how long these Asyrian kings reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of Abrahams birth, and in what yeare the same hapned after the floud. Now since all agree, that the

fortieth three yeare of Ninus was the birth-year of Abraham; by proving directly out of the Scriptures, in what yeare after the floud the birth of Abraham hapned, we shall there. by set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much jangling betweene by let all the letters, which follow the Hebrew account, and others: the most part making 292.or 293. yeares; others 352. yeares betweene Abrahams birth and the floud: a matter often disputed, but never concluded.

Architechus de temporibus (as we finde him in Anneus) makes bur 250. yeares from the floud to Ninus: then feeing that Abraham was borne in the fortieth three yeere of Ninus, according to Eusebius and S. Augustine, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the yeare of Abrahams birth was in the yeer after the floud 293.or, as the most 10

part of all Chronologers gather, the yeare 292. Now, fince I doe here enter into that never resolved question, and Labyrinth of times, it behoveth meto give reason for my owne opinion: and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walk aside, and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather chook to endure the wounds of those darts, which Envie casteth at novelty, than to goe on setly and fleepily in the easie wayes of ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many en rors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diversity.

A proposall of reasons or arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham was borne in the year 292. after the Flowd, and not in the yeare 352.

Hose which seeke to prove this account of 292. yeares, betweene the general floud and Abrahams birth, ground themselves, first on these words of the Scripture: So Terah lived 70 yeares, and begot Abraham, Nahor, and Haran: secondly, upon the opinion of Josephus, S. Augustine, Beda, Isidore, & many of the ancient Hebrews before them : authorities (while they are flightly lookt over) feeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembred, the later Chronologers gather these arguments. First out of the words as they lie; That Terah 4 70. yeares begot Abraham, Nat hor and Haran: and that Abraham being the first named, Abraham being the worthiest, Abraham being the fon of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest fonne of Terah, and so necessarily borne in the seventieth yeare of his life. Secondly, it was of Abraham that Moses had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heire of the bleffing; and not of Nahor and Haran: for the scope of this Chapter was to set downethe Genealogy of Christ, from Adam to Abraham, without all regard of Naher and Haran.

It is thirdly objected, that if Abraham were not the eldest sonne, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtfull. For it cannot then bee proved, that Abraham was borne more affuredly in the 130. year of Terah his age, that in the 131. 132. &c. Moses having no where set downe precisely that Abraham went into Canaan that very yeare, in which his Father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that Terah begat Abraham at 130. years: feeing A.

braham himselfethought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. yeares.

The answer to one of the objections proposed, shewing that Abraham made but one journey out of Mesopotamia into Canaan : and it after his Fathers death.

O answer all which objections, it is very easie, the way being prepared thereton by divers learned Divineslong fince, and to which I will adde somewhat of mine owne, according to the small talent which God hathgiven me. Now forafmuch as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, unlesse the time of Abrahams journey into Canaan be first considered of; before I descend unto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method so farre, asco searching to a strange tradition concerning his travailes, that serveth as a ground for this opinion & a bulwarke against all that can be faid to the contrary.

But it is conceived that Abraham made two journies into Canaan; the latter after his

Fathers death, the former prefently upon his calling; which he performed without delay, not flaying for his fathers death at Haran: a conjecture, drawn from a place in the Emy, not the Hebrewes, where it is written, By faith Abraham (when he was called) obeyed God Ho. II. 8. to goe out into a place which he should afterward receive for inheritance: and he went out, not knowing whither he went. This supposition (if it be granted) serves very well to uphold the opinion, that can ill stand without it. Let us therefore see whether we may give credit to the supposition it selfe.

Surely, that Abraham first departed Charran or Haran after the death of Terah his Father, the same is proved, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of St. 10 Stephen: And after bis Father was dead, Godbrought him into this Land, where ye now awell, Alista that was, out of Haran into Canaan. Against which place so direct and plaine, what force hath any mans fancy or supposition, perswading, that Abraham made two journies into Canaan; one before Terahs death, and another after: no fuch thing being found in Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability; or reason to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alledged can picke any argument, proving, or affoording any strong presumption, that Abraham past into Canaan, and then returned unto Haran, from Holais. whence he departed a fecond time: then I thinke it reason, that he be believed in the rest. But that he performed the commandement of God after his Fathers death, leaving Ur and Haran for Canaan, it is as true as the Scriptures themselves are true. For after his Father was dead, (faith Martyr Stephen) Godbrought him into this Land. And, as Beza noteth, if Abraham made a double journey into Canann, then must it be inferred; that Moses omitted the one, and Stephen afterwards remembred the other: and whence had Stephen, faith Beza, the knowledge of Abrahams comming into Canaan, but out of Moses? For if Stephen had spoken any thing of those times, differing from Moses, he had offered the Jewes, his adverfaries, too great an occasion both of scandalizing himselfe, and the Gospell of Christ. Indeed we shall finde small reason to make us think that Abraham passed and repassed those wayes, more often than he was enforced so to doe; if we consider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearifome journey, than the strength of his faith in Gods promise: in which if any thing would have brought him to despaire, he had more cause than ever man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborne nations: a nation of valiant and refolved Idolaters. He was befieged with famine at his first arrivall, and driven toffie into Egypt for reliefe. His wife was old, and he had no fonne to inherit the promife. And when God had given him Isaac, he commanded him to offer him up to himselfe for facrifice: all which discomforts he patiently and constantly underwent.

Secondly, let us confider the wayes themselves, which Abraham had to passe over; the length whereof was 300. English miles; and through Countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himselfe over the great river of Euphrates, to travell through the dangerous and barren Defarts of Palmyrena, and to climbe over the great and high mountaines of Libanus, Hermon or Gilead: and whether these were easie walkes for Abraham to march twice over, containing, as aforefaid, 300 miles in length, letevery reasonable man judge. For if he travelled it twice; then was his journey in all 1800. miles from Ur to Haran: and from Haran twice into Canaan. But were there no other argument to disprove this fancy; the manner of Abrahams departing from Haran hath more proofe (that he had not animum revertendi, not any thought of looking backeward) than any mans bare conjecture, be he of what antiquity or authority foever. For thus it is written of him, Then Abrahamtooke Sara bis wife, and Lot his brothers fon, and Gentage all their substance that they possest, and the soules that they had gotten in Haran: & they departed to go to the land of Canaan, & to the land of Canaan they came. Now if Abraham brought all with him that was deare unto him; his wife, and kinfinen, and his, and their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walke it backe againe for his pleasure, in so warme, dangerous, and barrena Country as that was: or if he could have been ethereto moved, it is more likely that he would have then returned, when he was yet unfettled, and prest with extreme famine at his first arrivall. For had his Father beene then alive, he might have hoped from him to receive more affured comfort and reliefe, than among the Egyptians, to whom he was a meere stranger both in religion and Nation.

What the cause might bee of Abrahams returne to Haran, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the Scriptures have fent him backe thither, about

Gen.24.

Gen. 24-35.

Gen.28

36.0℃.

the time of his fathers death: fo they perhaps, if they were urged, could fay little elfe. than that without such a second voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should doe well to make plaine, if it benot over-troublesome. They fay that Abraham was in Haran at his Fathers death, or some time after, being then by their account 135. yeares old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite undone the businesse, which, as we reade, was within foure or five yeares after that time his greatest, or (as may seeme) his onely care? Did not he binde with a very so Jemne oath his principall fervant, in whom he reposed most considence, to travaile into those parts, and seeke out a Wife for Isaac his sonne? and doth it not appeare by all circumstances, that neither he nor his servant were so well acquainted in Mesopotamia, 10 that they could particularly defigne any one woman, as a fit match for Isaac? Surely if Abraham had beene there in person so lately, as within source or five yeares before, he would not have forgotten a matter of fuch importance; but would have trusted his own judgement, in choosing a woman, fit for her piety, vertue, and other defireable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his onely fonne, who was then five and thirty yeares old; before which age most of the Patriarchs after the Floud had begotten children: rather than have left all at randome to the confideration of a fervant, that neither knew any, nor was knowne of any in that Country. But let it be supposed (if it may be beleeved) that either Abraham forgot his businesse when he was there, or that somewhat hapned which no man can devise; What might be the reason, that Abrahams man, in doing his Ma 10 fters errand, was faine to lay open the whole ftory of his mafters prosperity, telling its newes, that Sarah had borne to him a fon in her old age ? If Abraham himselfe, a more certaine Author, had so lately beene among them, would not all this have beene anide tale? It were needlesse to stand long upon a thing so evident. Whether it were lawfull for Abrahamto have returned backeto Haran, would perhaps be a question hardly anfwerable: confidering how averse he was from permitting his sonne to be carryed this Gen.24.6.3 8. ther, even though a wife of his owne kinred could not have beene obtained without his personall presence. Jacob indeed was sent thither by his Parents, to take a Wife of his owne linage; not without Gods especiall approbation, by whose bleffing he prospered in that journey; yet he lived there as a fervant; fuffered many injuries; and finally was driven to convey himselfe away from thence by flight. For although it be not a fertence written, yet out of all written examples it may be observed, that God allowed not in his fervants any defire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken, and transplanted them. That briefe faying, Remember Lots wife, containes much matter Let us consider Mesopatamia, from whence Abraham was taken, and Egypt, out of which the whole Nation of the Ifraelites were delivered: we shall find, that no bleshing issued from either of them, to the posterity of the Hebrewes. When Ezechias was visit ted with an honourable Embassie from Babel, it seemes that he conceived great pleasure in his minde, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the prophesie which thereupon he heard by Esay, made him to know, that the counsell of God was not agreed to ble to fuch thoughts: which more plainely appeared in a following generation, when by the waters of Babylon they fate downe and wept. Concerning Egypt we reade, that Sefac and Neco Kings of Egypt brought calamity upon Ifrael: also that their confidence in the Egyptian succours was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to returne into Egypt I doe not remember, nor can readily finde; but it is found in Deuteronomy, that God had faid, They (hould no more returne that way; which is given, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to returne to Egypt, for the multiplying of his Horses. Whether the Lord had laid any such injunction upon Abraham of not returning to Mesopotamia, I cannot say; many things doe argue it probably: That he never returned, all circumstances doe (to my understanding) both strongly and neces-

But because this double passage of Abraham is but an imagination; and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perswade those of judgement or understanding: I take it sufficient, that S. Stephen hath directly raught us, that Abraham left Haran, his father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to proveit, I will beleeve as they doe. For all the travailes of Abraham are precisely set downe in the Scriptures : as first from ur or Camerina in Chaldea to Haran or Charran : and then from Haran (after his Fathers death) to Sichem; from Sichem

he removed to a mountaine betweene Bethel and Haie: thence into Egypt; from Egypt he returned thither againe, where Lot and he parted, because their flockes and heards of Cattell were more than could be fed in that part: from thence the fecond time hee removed to Mamre, neere Hebron: and thence having purfued Amraphel, and refcued Lot, heafter inhabited at Gerar, in the border of Idumea under Abimeles: and after neere unto it at Bersabe, at which time he was ready to offer up his some Isaac on the mountaine Moriab. But this fiction of his retrait to Haran or Charran, appeareth not in any one ftory, either divine or humane. Now, if it may be supposed, that braham had made any former journey into Canaan, as Levita his Cabala hath fained, it should in reason be therewithall beleeved, that he would in those his first travailes have provided himself of some certaine feate, or place of abiding: and not have come a fecond time, with his wife, kinfmen, family, goods and Cattel, not knowing whereon to rest himselfe. But Abraham when hecame from Charran, past through the North part of Canaan, thence to Sichem, and the Genzasi Plaine of Moriah: where finding no place to inhabite, he departed thence to Bethel, and Haie: and so from Nation to Nation, to discover and find out some sit habitation: from whence againe, as it is written in Genesis the eleventh, He went forth going and journying towards the South: and alwayes unfettled. By occasion of which wandring to and fro, fome fav, the Egyptians gave him and his the name of Hebrai.

Further, to prove that he had not formerly beene in the Countrey, we may note, Montenature to that ere he came unto Bethel and Haie, and at his first entrance into Canaan, God appeared unto him, faying, Unto thy feed will I givethis Land, shewing it him as unto a stranger therein, and as a Land to him unknowne. For Abraham without any other provident care for himselfe, beleeved in the Word of the living God: neither sending before, nor comming first to discover it; but being arrived, he received a second promise from God, that he would give those Countries unto him and his feed to inhabite and

Laftly, what should move any man to thinke, that Moses would have omitted any fuch double journey of Abrahams, feeing he fetteth downe all his paffages else-where long and short ? as when he moved from Sichem, and seated betweene Haie and Bethel, the distance being but 20. miles: and when he moved thence to the valley of Mamre, being but 24. miles: and when heleft Mamre, and fate downe at Gerar, being leffe than fixe miles; No, Moses past over all the times of the first age with the greater brevity, to hasten him to the story of Abraham: shutting up all betweene the Creation and the Floud in fixe chapters; which age lasted 1656. yeeres: but he bestoweth on the story of Abraham, fourteene chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleventh, and ending with his death in the five and twentieth; and this time endured but 175. years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that Moses forgot or neglected any thing concerning Abrahams travels, or other actions: or that he would fet downe those small removes of five miles, and omic those of three hundred. For such a journey ingoing and comming would have ministred some variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inserting and adding to Abrahams storie.

6. IIII.

The answer to another of the objections proposed, shewing that it was not unlikely, that Terali Should beget Abraham in his bundred and thirtieth yeere.

TOw touching the objection, where it is faid, that it was very unlikely that Terah should beget Abraham in his 130. yeere, feeing Abraham himselfe thought it 3 wonder to have a fon at an hundred: this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed mif-cast, and mistaken: Abraham having respect onely to Sarah his wife, when he spake of their many yeares. For when the Angel said unto Abraham in his Tent doore at Mamre, Loe Sarah thy wife shall have a Son, it followethin the next verse, Now Abraham and Sarah were old and fricken in age, and it reased to be with Sarah after the manner of women: therefore Sarah laughed, Gre.

So then in that it is said, it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women, it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on Abraham. For Abraham by his fecond wife Keturah had many fonnes after Sarahs death, as Zimron, Jock han, Medan, Midien, Ishbak, and Shueb: and the eldest of these was borne 37. yeares after Isas: and the

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CHAP.I.S.

Origen.hom.11.

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youngest forty yeeres after. What strangenesse then, that Terah being 130. yeeres old youngent forcy years old should beget Abraham, will they fay, may be gathered from this supposed despaire of A. inounce beget 25. Inounce of All braham at one hundred yeeres: For Sarah died in the yeere of the world 2145. and Isaac braham at one hundred yeeres. was borne in the yeare 2109. and Abraham did not marry Keturah till Sarah was buried. Was normed. So if we deduct the number of 2109, out of 2145, there remaineth 36. And therefore if Abraham begat 5. sons 36. years after this supposed wonder, & when Abraham was 137. yeares old: it is not strange that his father Terah should beget Abraham at 130. And if Civit.deid.16.6. Book, obed, and Jeffe, who lived so many yeares and ages after Abraham, begat sonnesate 100. yeares, or neere it, it cannot be marvailed at, that Terah begat Abraham at 130 and Abraham othersat the fameage and seven yeeres after.

> The answer to two more of the objections: Shewing that we may have certainty of Abrahams age from the Scripture, though we make not Abraham the eldest Sonne: and that there was great cause, why in the story of Abraham his two brethren should be respected.

T followeth now to speake something to the objection, which brings Abrahams age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest son of Terah, and borne -when Terab was 70. years old. For Abrahams age being made uncertaine, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That we cannot be certaine of Abrahams age, unlesse we make him the eldest sonne, is false. For it is plaine in the Scriptures, that when Terah was 205. which was the yeare of his death: then was Abraham 75. And if you aske, how Ica judge of times, either preceding or fucceeding, by knowing that Abraham departed Ha ran at that age: I answer, That Saint Stephen hath toldus, that Abrahams departure sollowed the death of his Father Terah: and Terah died at 205. fo as the 75. yeare of Abraham was the 205. yeare of Terab: which knowne, there can be no errour in theaccount of times succeeding. Now to come to the objection, where it is said, That Moss had no respect unro Nachor and Haran, because they were out of the Church, but to 4braham onely, with whom Godeftablished the Covenant, and of whom Christ descent ded according to the flesh, &c. I answer, that Moses for many great and necessary canfes had respect of Nachor and Haran. For the succession of Gods Church is not withele fed by Abraham alone, but by the iffues of Nahor and Haran, were they Idolaters or o therwise. For Nakor was the Father of Bethuel, & Bethuel of Rebecca, the mother of Israel. and Haran was the Parent of Lot, Sarah, and Milcah: and Sarah was mother to Ifaac, and grandinother to Jacob: Milcab alfo the wife of Nahor, and mother of Bethuel, was Jacobs great grandmother: and the age of Sarab the daughter of Haran is especially noted, in that it pleased God to give her a son at 90. years, and when by nature she could not have conceived. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet because both Nahor and Abraham married the daughters of their brother Haran; and because Isas married Rebecca the grand-childe of Nabor; and Jacob, Lea, and Rachel, the daughters of Labar, the grand-childe also of Nabor: it was not superfluous in Mofes to give light of these mens times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange gods, as it is 30f.24.2. yet I fee no cause to thinke, that they still continued Idolaters. For they beleevedand obeyed the calling of Abraham, leaving their naturall Countrey, and Cityof Ur in Chaldea, as Abraham did, and removed thence all, except Haran, who died before his Father Terab, ere they left Chaldea; but Lot, his forme, followed Abraham into Canaan; and Sarah, the fifter of Lot, Abraham married. Nahor also, who remained at Charran, gave his sonnes daughters to Isaac, and Jacob, his owne kins-men: he himselfe ha ving also married in his owne Family; not thinking it pleasing unto God to mixe themfelves with strangers and Idolaters. And that these men at length believed in the God of Abraham, it can no way be doubted. For when Laban had seene the servant of Abraham standing at the Wel beside Charran, he invited him to his Fathers house in this manner : Come in, thou bleffed of Jehovah, &c. And when this fervant of Abrahams demanded an answer as touching Rebecca, then answered Laban and Bethuel, and faid; This thing is proceeded of Jehovah: meaning, that it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherin he acknowledged Gods providence. Likewise in the following verse it is written; Take, goe, that fre may bethy Masters fins mife, even as Ichovah bath faid. This their oftenufing

of the name of Jehovah, which is the proper name of the true God, it is a figne that they had the knowledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of S. Chry fostome, and some later Writers, as Cajetan pleaster, Musculus, Calvin, Mercer, and others, that Laban was an Idolater, because hee retained certaine Idols, or household Gods, which Rachel stole from him; yet that he beleeved in the true God it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of Abraham and of Nahor, and he called Abrahams fervant, bleffed of JEHOVAH, as aforefaid. So as for my self I dare not avow, that these men were out of the Church, who, sure I am, were not out of the faith.

\$. VI.

That the naming of Abraham first of the three brethren, Gen. 11. v. 26. doth not prove that he was the eldest: together with divers reasons proving that Abraham was not the eldest for of Terah.

-O the maine objection; which I answer last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that strive to shorten the times, endeavour to prove that Abraham was the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70. yeare of Terahs life: grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the Scripture; And Terah lived Gen. 1. 26 70. yeeres, and beget Abraham, Nahor, and Haran: To this I fay, that although Abraham in this verse be first named, yet the same is no proofe at all that he was the eldest and firstborne sonne of Terah. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore eldest inbloud and birth, neither dothit appeare, that it pleased God to make especiall choice of the first sonnes in nature and time: for Seth was not the first-borne of Adam; nor Isaac of Abraham; nor Jacob of Isaac; no Juda and Joseph of 74cob; nor David the eldeft of Jeffe; nor Solomon of David: as is formerly remembred.

But it is written of Noah: Noah was 500. yeeres old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and 74phet: shewing that at the 500. yeare of his age he began to beget the first of those three sonnes. For according to S. Augustine, speaking generally, Nec attendendus est in his ordo Aug. qualt super ativitatis, sed significatio futura dignitatis : in qua excelluit Abraham : The order of nati-Gen. 25. vitie is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignitie in which Abraham as preferred. And therefore as in the order of the sonnes of Noah : so is it here; where tis faid, that Terab lived 70. yeares, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran: For it was ateere Terah began to beget Sonnes, himselfe being begotten by his Father Nacher at 29. as other his Ancestors were at 30. The like also happened to Noah: for whereas ddam begat Seth at 133. Enoth Kenan at 90. Kenan Mahalaleel at 70. Mahalaleel Jared at 60. Noah was yet 500. yeares old when he began to beget the first of his three sonnes. saforefaid. And S. Augustine, in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion hat Abraham was the youngest of Terahs sonnes, than otherwise: though for his excelency he was worthily named first. His owne words are these: Fieri enim potuit ut poterior sit generatus Abraham : sed merito excellentiæ, qua in Scripturis valde commendatur rior fuerit nominatus. It might be, saith he, that Abraham was begotten later: but was first named in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture hee is much commended. So as the haming first or last proveth nothing who was first or last borne: either in those issues of Noah, or in these of Terab: Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touthing his election or spirituall blessing; for Moses nameth first the children of the promife, & the eldest and first in Gods favour. Pietas ergo, wel ipsapotius electio divina, que conitem secumetrahit pietatem, & Deitimorem, primas partes dat Semo in liberis Noa,& Arahamo in liberis Thare: Piety, faith he or rather divine election, which doth evermore draw with it or after it, piety and the feare of God gave place and precedency to Sem among the chiltren of Noah, and to Abraham among those of Thare.

For the rest it is manifest, that Abraham entred Canaan in the 75. yeare of his age. And was in Canaan that Hagar bare him Ismael, when Abraham had lived 86. yeares. It was General Gerar (the South border of Canaan) that Sarah bare Isaac, when Abraham had confuned 100. yeares. It was from the valley of Mamre in Caman that Abraham role out, when he rescued Lot and overthrew Amraphel: and he had then but the age of 83. yeares: editis as manifelt that he parted from Haran after his Father Terah was dead. But if Allera

Gcn.24.31. Gen.24.500

Gen.12.

180

Gen.14.

Terah begat Abrahamat 70. yeare old, then must Abraham have been 135. yeares when he first set his foot in Canaan, seeing Terah must be dead ere he parted, and so 70. added to 135. make 205. the true age of Terah: which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembred. For he entred at 75. he rescued Lot at 83. he had Ismael at 86.

The second Booke of the first part

he at Isaac at 100. proved by the former places. Moreover, if Abraham were the eldest sonne of Terah, and borne in the 70. yeare of his age: then had Terah lived till Isaac had beene 35. yeares old, and Ismael, 49. both which must then have beene borne in Mesopotamia, and therein fostered to that age: unlessewe should either deny credit to S. Stephen, who faith that Abraham departed from Mesepota. mia after his Fathers death: or else beleeve the interpretation of Daniel Angelocrator, who w in his Chronologia antoptica, saith it was about his Fathers death: because the Greek word may be transported by the Latine fub, as well as by post: which though elsewhereit may be, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about Terahs death, which were 60. yeares before. Wherefore supposing Abraham to have been borne in the seventy year of Terah; we must give those times and places of birth to Abrahams children, which no authority will warrant; For A. braham had no children in Ur of Chaldaa, nor in Haran, nor in ten yeares after his arrival into Canaan. For the yeare of Terahs death, in which Abraham left Haran, was the year of the World 2083. and the yeare of Ismaels birth was the Worlds yeare 2094. which maketh 10. yeares difference. And that Isaac was borne in Canaan, and was to be offered, upon the mountaine Moriah therein, 39 miles from Berfabe, where Abraham then inhabi. ted:and that three Angels first of all appeared to Abraham in the valley of Mamre, no man

And therefore it cannot be that any of Abrahams fonnes were borne in Mesopotadoubteth. mia; nor while Terablived; nor in lesse than ten yeares after Terabs death: and then consequently was not Abraham the eldest sonne of Terab, nor borne in the 70. yeare of

Thirdly, whereas Abrahamcame into Canaan at 75. if Terah had begotten him at 76 then had Terah lived but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which must also have beene the full age of Terah: but Terah lived 205. yeares; and therefore was not Abraham borness the 70. yeare of Terah.

Fourthly, the ages of Lot and Sarah make it manifest, that Haran was the elder, if m the eldest brother of Abraham; for Sarah or Isah wanted but ten yeares of Abraham age: Isaac being borne when Abraham was 100. and Sarah 90. yeares old.

It followeth then, that if Abraham had been the elder brother of Haran, Haran mil have begotten Sarah at nine yeares old: for granting that Haran was borne but oneyeare after Abraham, and Sarah within ten yeares as old as Abraham, then of necessity mult Haran begether, when he had lived but nine yeares; which were too ridiculous to im-

And that Ifeah was Sarah, Rab. Solomon affirmeth; both names, faith he, bearingthe gine. fame fignification; and names of principality. Againe, to what end was the word Ifth or Fisheab inserted in this place, if Sarah were not meant thereby . For, to speake of my thing superstuous, it is not used in Gods Booke: and if Iseah had not belonged to the story, it had beene but an idle name to no purpose remembred.

Now if it had been etrue (as those of the contrary opinion affirme) that Moles had no respect of Nahor and Haran, who were notwithstanding the Parents of Bethueland Rebecca, the mother of Ifrael, and of Christ: what regard then had Moses of Iscab in this place, were she not Sarah, but otherwise an idle name of whom there is nothing else first

The age also of Lot disproveth the eldership of Abraham: for Lot was called anold man when Abraham was but 83. years old: And if Lot were of a greater age than Abraham ham, and Haran were Father to Lot, Sarah, and Milcah; Abraham marrying one of Harans daughters, and Nahor the other, Sarahalfo being within ten yeares as old as Abrahamil may appeare to every reasonable man (not obstinate and prejudicate) that Haran was the eldest some of Terah, and not Abrahams: who also died first, and before his Father lest Ur in Chaldea. Also Lyra reasoneth against the opinion of Abrahams eldership, upon the fame place of Genefis: drawing argument from the age of Sarah, who was but ten years younger than Abraham himselfe. Lyra his words are these Si igitur Haran fuit junior igh Abraham

Abraham, sequitur quod non habebat decem annos quando genuit Saram : imo nec octo, esc. and afterward, & ideo melius videtur dicendum, quod Abraham fuit ultimo natus de tribus filis Thare, tamen nominatur primo, propter ejus dignitatem: & quia ponendus erat caput Hirpis & generationis sequentis : & quiaprimo factaest ei repromissio expressa de Christo. Gout supra dictum est de Sem, &c. If therefore (faith Lyra) Haran was younger than Ahraham bimselfe, it followeth that he was not ten yeeres old when he begat Sarah: And therfore it feemeth better to be faid, that Abraham was the last borne of the three sonnes of Thare. nemeribelesse he is named first for his dignitie, both because hee was to be ordained head of the flocke and generation following, and because the promise of Christ was first made unto him. o as before it is faid of Sem.

Aconclusion of this dispute, noting the Authors on both sides : with an admonition, that they which shorten the times make all ancient stories the more unprobable.

Therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reason, that Haran was the eldest sonne of Terah, and not Abraham: and that Abraham was borne in the 130. yeare of Terahs life, and not in the 70. yeere. For Abraham departing Charran after Terah died, according to S. Stephen, and that journey by Abra- Action, all bam performed when he was 75. yeares old; these two numbers added make 205. yeers the full age of Terab: feeing that when Terab died, then Abraham entred Canaan. For Geniade my selfe, I have no other end herein than to manifest the truth of the Worlds Story. I reverence the judgements of the Fathers: but I know they were mistaken in particulars. Saint Augustine was doubtfull, and could not determine this controversie. For what soever is borrowed from him out of his fixteenth Booke de Civitate Dei cap. 15. the fame may be answered out of himselfe in his five and twentieth question upon Gen. But Saint Augustine herein followed Josephus and Isidor: and Beda followed S. Augustine. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanitie, that the Hebrewes and Fosephus sought to make Abraham the first borne: as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did Josephus together with Nicholas Damascenus (thinking thereby to glorifie the Jewish Nation) make Abraham a king, entitling Sarah by the name of Queene Sarah : and faid that Abraham was followed with 318. Captaines, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him; trecentos & octodecim prafectos habuit : quorum singulis infinita multitudo parebat. And that Pharas invading him with a great Armie, tooke from him his Wife Sarah: Such fables argue that Josephus is not to be beleeved, but with discreete reservations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. yeares from the Floud to Abrabam, is upheld by many of the Hebrewes. But how should we value the opinion of such Chronologers, as take Amraphel for Nimrod? Surely, if their judgement in fuch matters were worthy to be regarded, it would have appeared in fetting downe the succession of the Persian Kings under whom they lived, whose Historie was not so farre remote in time, as these antiquites, nor wanting the light of many good writers. Yet groffely have they erred therein, and so familiar are their mistakings in all things of like nature, that we feldome find their opinion rehearfed without the confutation treading on the heeles of it. They of the Romane religion are also generally on the same side: it being a thing usuall among them, to maintaine whatfoever they have beene formerly knowne to hold and beleeve. Contrariwise, of the more ancient, Theodoret, and some following him: of later times, Beroaldus, Codoman, Peucer, Calvin, Junius, Beza, Broughton, Doct. Gibbons, and Moore, with divers of the Protestants, hold Abraham to have beene borne in the 130. yeare of his Father Terah. From these (as in a case not concerning any point in Religion) divers of the same Religion; and those neverthelesse good Authors, as Bucholcerus, Chitreus, Functius and others, are very averfe herein, especially Josephus Scaliger with his Sethus Calvifius, proclaiming Beroaldus an Arch-heretike in Chronologie, and condemning this opinion of his as poylonous. Contrariwife, Augustinus Torniellus a Priest of the Congregation of Saint Paul, a judicious, diligent, and free writer, whose Annales are newly ferforth, very earneftly defends the opinion, which I have already delivered; not alledging Beroaldus, nor any Protestant writer, as being perhaps unwilling to owe thankes to heretikes. For my felfe I doe neither millike the contrary opinion, because commonly

commonly those of the Romish Religion labour to uphold it; nor favour this larger account of times, because many notable men of the Protestant writers have approved it; but for the truth it selfe. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and resi. monies of Scripture, I will adde thus much more to the rest. First, it is appearant to all men of judgement, that the best approved Historians, Divine and Prophane, labour to investigate the truth of times, thereby to approve the stories, and forepast actions of the world: and not the truth of histories to approve the times by. Let us then make judgement to our felves, which of those two accounts give the best reputation to the story of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of Josephus, and those which follow him; who makes but 292, is yeares, or thereabouts, between the floud and birth of Abraham: or this other account, which makes 352. yeares betweene the one and the other: the one taking Abraham to be the first borne of Thare, in the 70. yeare of his life: the other a younger sonne of Thare,& borne when he had lived 130. yeares. And if we looke over all, and do not haftily faif. fie our understanding with the first things offered, and thereby being satiated doe sloth. fully and drowfily fit downe; we shall find it more agreeable rather to allow the recke ning of the Septuagint, who, according to some editions, make it above 1072. Years betweene the Floud and Abrahams birth: than to take away any part of those 352 years given. For if we advisedly consider the state and continuance of the world, such as it was in Abrahams time, yea before Abraham was borne, we shall finde that it were very ill done of us by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times overdeepely betweene Abraham and the Floud: because in cutting them too neere the quicke, the reputation of the whole storie might perchance bleede thereby, were not the tellimonie of the Scriptures supreme, so as no objection can approach it: and that we did not follow withall this precept of S. Augustine, That where soever any one place in the Scriptures may be conceived difagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation mif-understood. For in Abrahams time all the then knowne parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. Egypt had many magnificent Cities: and so had Palastina, and all the bordering Countries, yea, that part of the World befides, as farre as India: and those not built with stickes, but of hewne stones, and defended with walls and rampiers: which magnificence needed and rent of more antiquitie, than those other men have supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plainest and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should w labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvailes? ving also strength thereby to common cavillers, and to those mens apish braines, who only bend their wits to find impossibilities, and monsters in the story of the Worldand Mankinde.

A computation of the times of the Assyrians, and others, grounded upon the times noted in the storie of Abraham.

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TN this fort therefore for the reasons before alledged, I conclude, that from the generall Floud, to the birth of Abraham, 352. yeares were confumed; and taking the Affri-Han History with us, the same number of yeares were spent from the Floud to the 43. yeare of Ninus: in which 43. yeare of Ninus Abraham was borne: which happened in the veare of the world, 2009.

Now of this time of 352. yeares, we must give one part as well to the increase of those people which came into Shinaar, as to those that stayed in the East, to wit, 30. yeares to Chas, ere he begat Seba: of which, though the Scriptures are filent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first sonnes, we may the more safely give the like allowance to these. For Eber begat Peleg at 34. Peleg Reguat 30. Regu Serug at 32. Now after Seba, Chus begat Havila, Sabta, Raama and Sabtecha: and Raama begat Sheba and Dedan, before Nimred was borne, as it appeareth Gen. 10, which S. Augustine approveth. Giving then 30. yeares more to Raama ere he begat Sheba, and five yeares to the five elder brothers of Nimrod, it may be gathered that 65. yeares were confumed ere Nimred himselfe was borne and that Raamah had that age before any of his sonnes were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparison for Peleg the fourth

Letus then allow 60. yeares more after the birth of Nimred, for two other generations to be brought forth, or elfe we shall hardly finde people to build Babel: for fure we are, that it was done by hands, and not by miracle because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125. The rest of the time of 131. (in which yeare they arrived in Shinaar, whereof there are 6. yeares remaining) we may give them for their travels from the East: because they were pestered with women, children and Cattell: and, as some ancient writers have conceived, and Becanus of later times, they kept alwaies the Ana solute but mountaine fides, for feare of a fecond Floud. Now, if we take this number of 131 out manigeners of 252. there remaines 221. of which number Berofus bestoweth 65. on Belus, and 42. simo prima capital on Ninus before Abraham borne: both which S. Augustine approveth: which two nim-regnum Babyloberstaken againe out of 221 there remaineth 114. yeares of the 352. from the Floud to Saturno parte Abrahams birth: which number of 114 necessitie bestoweth on Nimrod.

And if it be objected that this time given to Nimrod, is over-long: fure if we compare imperavit annia the age of Nimred with the rest of the same descent from Noah, it will rather appeare O- Beresma ver-short. For Nimrod, by this accompt, lived in all but one hundred seventy nine veares: whereof he reigned one hundred and twelve: whereas Sale, who was the fonne of Arbbaxad, the fonne of Sem, lived foure hundred three yeares : and of the same age of the

World was Nimred the sonne of Chus, the sonne of Cham.

Now after Abraham was borne.

CHAP.I.S.9.

Ninus reigned 9. yeares: which added to 43. make-Ninus dieth and leaveth Semiramis his Successor.

Semiramis governed the Empire of Babylonia and Assyria 42. yeares, and died in the 52. Of the World yeare compleat of Abrahams life.

Ninias or Zameis succeded Semiramis, and ruled 38. yeares, in the second yeare of Of the Floud

whose reigne Abraham left Mesopotamia.

When Abraham was 85. yeares old, he rescued his nephew Lot, and overthrew by 403.adit. Surprise Amraphel King of Shinaar, or Babylonia. Ninias reigned 38. yeares, and Abraham came into Canaan but 23. yeares after Semiramis died: which was the 75. yeare of his age: fo that Amraphel may feeme to have bin this Ninias the fonne of Ninus, and Semiramis, whose 23. yeares, as aforesaide, being the 75. yeare of Abraham, he and his fellow-kings might have received this overthrow in the 85 yeare of Abraham, and the 33. yeare of his owne reigne: after which he reigned five yeares: which make in all 38. Bur the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, urging that this Amraphel could not be Ninias, are not easily answered. Howbeit for the times of the Assiran Kings, that they are to be ordered as we have fet downe, according to the times noted by Moses, in the storic of Abraham, it is most certaine, unlesse we will either derogate from the truth of Moses his computation, which were impietie, or account the whole Historie of Ninus and Semiramis to be but a fiction; which were to condemne all ancient Historians for

6. IX.

That Amraphel, one of the foure Kings whom Abraham overthrew, Gen. 14. may probably be thought to have beene Ninias the sonne of Ninus. Nd now touching this Amraphel, whom Moses makes King of Shinaar or Babylo-

nia, in the 85. yeere of Abrahams life, that is, in the 33. yeere of the raigne of Minias Zameis the king of the Assyrians, the sonne of Ninus and Semiramis, it is hard to affirme what he was, and how he could be at this time King of Babylonia: Ninias Zameu then reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offereth it selfe as most propable, is that which hath beene alreadienoted, that this Ninias or Zameis, was no other than our Amraphel: who invaded Traconitis or Basan, and overthrew those five kings of Pentapolis, or the valley of Siddim . For the Scriptures tell us, that Amraphel was King of Shinaar, which is Babylonia: and the times before accounted make him to be the fuccessour of Ninus and Semiramis and it falleth out with the 85. yeare of Abrahams life: wherein he rescued Lot. slew Chedorlagmer, and overthrew the rest. True it is, that

Fouis Beli, qui

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this Amraphel was not at this time the greatest Monarke: for Chedorlaomer commanded in chiefe, though Amraphel be first named by Moses in the first verse of the 14. Chapter of Genefis. For the Kings of the valley of Siddim, or of Pentapolis, or the five Citties, were the vassalls of Chedorlaomer, and not of Amraphel: as it is written, Twelve geeres were they subject to Chedorlaomer, but in the 13 yeare they rebelled, and in the 14. yeare came Chedorlaomer and the Kings that were with him and therefore was Chedorlaomer the principall in this enterprise, who was then King of Elam, which is Persia: Now Persia being seated over Tygris, and to the East of Amraphels Countrie; and the other two kings, which were companions with Amraphel, being feated to the West of Shinaar or Babylonia: Amraphel, who held Babylonia it felfe, feemethat this time to have had non great scope or large dominion. For had Amraphel beene so great a Prince as prophane Historians make Ninus or Semiramis whom he succeeded, he should not have needed the affiftance of three other Kings for this expedition. But though Chedorlaomer were the first and greatest of those source Kings, (as it is manifest that he was: For these little kings of Sodome, Gomorra, &c. were his vaffals, and not Amraphels,) yet this makes not the conjecture lesse probable, but that this Amraphel might be Ninias. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of Assyria, had now (as we shall shew more plainely in that which followeth) received a downe-right fall, at the time of this warre: though not long before it commanded all the Kingdomes betweene India and the Phanician Sea: to wit, in the times of Ninus and Semiramis.

of Arioch another of the foure kings, and that Ellas, whereof he is said to have beene King,

lies betweene Coelosyria and Arabia Petræa.

Ow the two other kings joyned with Amraphel and Chedorlaomer, were Arioch and Tydal; the one king of Ellassar, the other of the Nations. For Ellassar, A. quila and Hierome write Pontus: fo Tostatus thinketh that it should be Hell. (pont : which opinion Pererius favoureth. But this is onely to defend the Latine translation. For as Ponius, fois Hellefont farre diftant, and out of the way to fend any Armis into Arabia Petraa, or int Idumaa; which Countries thefe foure kings chiefly invaded Besides that, it is certaine, that the Assyrians (when they were greatest) had never any dominion in Asia the lesse. For at such time as the Assyrians feared the invasion of the Medes and Persians, they sent not into Asia the lesse as commanders : but used all the An they had to invite Crafus to their affiftance: periwading him that nothing could be more dangerous for himselfe, and the other Kings of those parts, than the successe of the Medes against the Affyrians. But examine the enterprise what it was. These Kings (faith the Text) made warre with Bera, King of Sodome, Birtha King of Gomorrha, Shinab king of Admath, and Shemebar king of Zeboim, and the king of Bela which is Zoar. All which five Kings had not fo much ground as Middlefex: being fuch a kinde of Reguli, as Jojust found in the land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and small territories adjoyning; of which Canaan had three and thirtie, all flaine or hanged by Josus. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are faid also to have invaded, be imagined to have beene at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in Kings from Pontas or Hellespont, had manifested a great imporence and weakenesse in the Kings of Babylon, and Persia.

And though it be alledged for an example, that divers Kings farre off, came to affilt Pompey against Cafar: yet these same examples without like occasions and circumstances, doe neither leade nor teach. For there was no cause to feare the greatnesse of these pettie Kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the world were fixed on Cafar; and his undertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no leffe doubtfull than fearefull: But the whole Countrie by these foure Kings mastered in their passage, was afterward given to the halfe tribe of Manasle, Gad, and Reuben: a narrow valley of groundlying betweene Jordan and the mountaines of Seir: inclosed by the River of Arnon on the Southfide, and by Lybanus on the North, confifting of the two small Provinces of Tracenitis or Basan,& the Region of the Moabites: a conquest farre unvaluable, and little and fivering to the power of the Affrian Empire, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of Ninus & Semiramis, who subjected all the great kings of that

part of the World, without the affiftance of any of the Kings of Helleftont, or any other part of Afia the leffe. But as the vulgar and Aquila convert Ellassar by Pontus: so Symmachus makes Ariocha King of the Scythians, a King indeed, as faire fetched to joyne with the Assirians in this Warre, as the World had any at that time.

The Septuagint doe not change the word of Ellassar at all, but as they keepe the word

'Ararat, on the mountaines whereof the Arke did rest; so doe they in this place retaine the Hebrew word Ellassar, being doubtfull to give it a wrong interpretation. And Pererius himselfe remembreth other opinions farre more probable than this of Pontus or Hellespont: yet he dares not avow his liking of them, because the Latin Translation harly o it otherwise. For Stephanus de Urbibus, a Gracian Cosmographer, findeth the Citie of Ellas in the border of Calogria: and S. Hierome calleth Ellas the Citie of Arioch, as in truth it was. Now although the same be seated by Stephanus in Calosyria, yet it standeth on the border of Arabia, of which Arioch was king: who formerly joyned with Ninus in all his conquests, being of the same familie, and descended from Cham and Chus: after whom the name of Arius was by the Hebrew written Arioch: and afterward againe Aretas; as in the Machabees: the kings of Arabia holding that name even to the time of S. Paul, who Machabees was fought to be betrayed by the Lieutenant of Aretas commanding in Damascus. They Con. 2.11. were Princes for the most part confederate and depending upon the Assirian Empire. It is true that we find in Daniel, that in the time of Nabuchodonofor, one Arioch was Ge-Daniel nerall of his armie, and the principall Commander under him, who was a King of Kings: which makes it plaine, that Arioch here spoken of, the sonne of that Arioch, Confederate of Ninus, was no king of Pontus, nor of Scythia: regions farre removed from the Allyrians and Babylonians. The name also of Arioch who commanded under Nabuchodonolor is mentioned in Fudith by the name of King of the Elymeans: who are a Nation of Perfians bordering Allyria, according to Stephanus: though Plinie fets it between the Seacoast, and Media: and if any brother of the Arabian Kings or other of that house (known by the name of Arius, Arioch, Areta, or Aretas) had the government of that Persian Province called Elyman (as it feemeth they had by the places of Daniel and Judith) yet the fame was in Nabuchodonofors time. But this Arroch heere fooken of may with more reason be taken for the King of Arabia, the sonne of Arius, the Confederate of Ninus. whose somes held league, as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that fide towards the West unto Babylonia, and Chalden: and in amitie with them from the beginning, and of their owne house, and bloud: which Died. Siculus also con-piesielle and firmeth.

6. XI.

Of Tidal another of the foure Kines.

He fourth King by Abraham overthrown was Tidal, King of the Nations. The Hebrew writes it Gojim, which Vatablus takes to be a proper name: Lyra of mixt people: Calvin of runnagates without habitation. Pererius out of Strabo, strabolis. pe findes that Galilea was inhabited by divers Nations, which were a mixt people: name-523. ly, of Egyptians, Arabians, and Phanicians. Namtales funt qui Galilaam habitant; Such are the inhabitants of Galile, faith Strabo: and therefore was Tidal called King of these Nations, as they suppose. And it may be so: but the authoritie of Strabo is nothing in this question. For Galilaa was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of Strabo. For when Abraham came into Canaan, the Canaanite was then in the Land, howfoever Gmized they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many petty kingdomes adjoyning to Phanicia, and Palastina; as Palmyrena, Batanea, Laodicene, Apamena, Chalcidice, Cassiotis, Chalibenitis, and all these doe also joyne themselves to Mesopotamia, on the North, and to Arabia, on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselves together under Tidal, I take to be the probablest conjecture.

That Chedorlaomer the chiefe of the foure Kings was not of Affyria, but of Persia: and that the Asyrian Empire at this time was much impayred.

Aftly, whereas it is conceived that Chedorlaomer was the Affyrian Emperor, and that Amraphel was but a Satrape, Viceroy, or Provincial governour of Babylonia, and that the other Kings named were fuchalfo, I cannot agree with Pererius in this. For Moses was too well acquainted with the names of Assurance and shinaar, to call the Affyrian a king of Elam: those kings being in the Scriptures evermore called by the name in of Chaldea, Shinaar, Babylonia, or Affiria: but never by Elam; and Chedorlaomer or Ke. darlaomer was so called of Kidor, from Cidarim, which in the Hebrew fignifieth Regale; for so 2. Cureius calleth the garment which the Persian Kings ware on their heads.

Neither doe I beleeve that the Affyrian or Babylonian Empire stood in any greatnesse artherime of this invafion; and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach us, that those things which are set up hastily, or forced violently, doe not long last Alexander became Lord of all Asia, on this fide of Indus, in a time of so short a life, asia Lasted not to over-looke what it selfe had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetuall. For his Empire died at once with himselse: all whose chiefe Comman ders became kings after him. Tamberlaine conquered Affa and India with a storme-like, and terrible fuccesse: but to prevalent surie God hath adjoyned a short life: and whatso ever things Nature her selfe workerh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continu

ance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before. Ninus being the first whom the madnesse of boundlesse dominion transported, invaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious over them: a man violent, infolent and cruell. Semiramis taking the opportunitie, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious, than her Paramour: enlarged the Babyloinan Empire, and beautified many places therein with buildings unexampled. But her fonne having changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proved no leffe feminine than the was mafculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continuall finart, put the Patient in minde how to cure the one, & revenge the other: fo those Kings adjoy ning (whose subjection, and calamities inciden, were but new, and therefore the more grievous) could not fleepe, when the advantage was offered by fuch a fucceffour. For, in regno Babylonico hic parum resplenduit, this King Shined little (faith Nauclerus of Ninias) in the Babylonian Kingdome. And likely it is the the neckes of mortall men having beene never before galled with the yoake of forrait dominion, nor having ever had experience of that most miserable and detested comb tion of living in flaverie: no long deteent having as yet inverted the approach was a mation it is a thing of great improbabilitie, that Chedorlasmer, if he were King of Persia right: nor any other title being for him pretended than astrong hand; the foolish and alone, should passe through so great improbabilitie, that Chedorlasmer, if he were King of Persia effeminate sonne of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his vaffals, with a powerleffe mastering, and a minde lesse industrious than his Father and Mother had used before him. And he that was so much give over to licentious idlenesse, as to suffer his Mother to reigne 42. yeares, and thereof the greatest part after he came to mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that help much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatnesse, as he neither indevoured to gaine what he could not governe, nor to keepe what he could not without contentious perillenjoy.

These Considerations being joyned to the storie of Amraphel, delivered by Moses, by which we find that Amraphel King of Shinaar was rather an inferiour to the King of Parfia, than either his superiour, or equall; make it seeme probable, that the Empire of Ninus and Semiramis was at that time broken a funder, and restrained againe to Babylonia.

For conclusion I will adde the fe two arguments confirming the former: First, that a fuch time as it pleased God to impose that great travaile upon Abraham, form Ur in Chaldea to Charran, and then to Canaan, a passage of 700. miles, or little lesse, with women, chlidren, and carriages: the Countries through which he wandred were then settled, and in peace. For it was in the 23. yeare of Ninias, when Abraham, obeying the voyce of God, rooke this great journey in hand: in which time of 23. yeares after the death of Semiwante, the neighbour Princes had recovered their libertie and former effates. For Semiramis Armie of foure millions, with her felfe atterly confumed in India, and all her armies

and engins of warre, at the same time lost, gave an occasion and opportunitie even to the poorest soules and weakest hearted creatures of the World, to repurchase their former

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and ancientest Historians, that Arias the sonne of Ninias, or Amraphel, invaded the Bactrians and Caspians, and againe subjected them: which needed not if they had not beene revolted from Ninias, after Ninus death. And as Arisch recovered one part, so did Baleus or Balaneus, otherwise Xerxes, reduce the rest revolted to their former obedience. Of whom it faid that he conquered from Egypt to India: and therefore was called Xerxes, ideft, Victor & triumphator, a conquerour and triumpher; which undertakings had beene no other than the effects of madnesse, had not those Countries freed themselves from the Babylonian subjection. Now if we shall make any doubt hereof, that is, of the reconquest of Arius and Xerxes, both which lived after Ninus and Ninias, we may as well thinke the rest of Ninus and Semiramis to be but fained : but if we grant this reconquest, then is it true that while Ninias or Amraphel ruled. the Affrian Empire was torne afunder, according to that which hath beene gathered our of Moles, as before remembred.

That it is not unprobable that the foure Kings had no dominion in the Countries named. but that they had else-where with their colonies planted themselves : and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if it be fo, we neede not fay that Amraphel was Ninias nor trouble our selves with many other difficulties.

He conferr of all writers, whose workes have come to my perusall, agreeing as they doe, that these foure Kings, Amraphel of Shinaar, Chedorlaomer of Elam. & those fellowes, were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are or seeme intituled: dothalmost inforce us to thinke that the history must so be understood, as I have delivered. But if in this place, as often else-where in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be fet for people of those lands, or if (as Hierome hathit) Chedorlaomer was king of the Elamites, as Tidal was faid to be of the Nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitation or gathered out of fundry regions: then may we otherwise conceive of this Historie: removing thereby some difficulties, which men perhaps have beene unwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolve them. For as it had beene a ftrange conjecture to thinke that Arioch was drawne to affilt the Per fian, against the Sodomite, as far as from Pontus, where it is very unlikely that Chedorlaomer was knowne, and almost impossible that the vale of siddim should have been e once named: so in true esti-Chaldra, Mesopotamia, Syria, and part of Arabia, & Canaan, to subdue those five Townes, whose very names how they should come to his eare, being dis-joyned by so many great nations of different languages, a wife man could hardly conjecture. And if all the Countriesbordering Persia together with the Babylonian himselfe, yea the kingdome of Ellasar and that of Tidal, so far off removed, were become his dependants; what reason can we find that might have induced him to hearken after Sodome and Gomorrab; and when he should have fought the establishment of his new gotten Empire, by rooting out the posterity of Ninus (as Ninus had dealt by Pharnus of Media, and Zoroafter of Bactria) then to imploy the forces of Amraphel, and those other Kings, against five pettie Townes, leaving Tyrus and Sidon, and the great Citie of Damasco, with many other places of much importance, and far neerer unto him, unfubdued. Now as these doubts which may be alledged against the first conquest of the vale of siddim, are exceeding vehement: so are the objections to be made against his reconquest of these five Cities, when they had revolted, as forcible; yea and more, as being grounded partly upon the Text it selfe. For first, what madnesse had it beene in that small Province to rebell against so powerfull 2 Monarch? Or if it were so that they dwelling farre from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he should come or send to reclaime them: was it not more than madnesse in them, when his terrible armie approached, still to entertaine hope of evalion: yea to make resistance (being themselves a dissolute and therefore unwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations betweene Buphrates, yea betweene themselves and the river of Ger. 14.17.

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Indus : Likewise on the part of Chedorlasmer we should finde no great wisedome, if he, knowing the weakenesse of this people, had raised such a world of men against them: whom by any Lieutenant, with small forces he might have subdued. For the perpetuals inheritance of that little Countrie, was not sufficient to countervaile one moneths charges of fo huge anarmie. How small then must his valour have beene, who with so mightie preparations effected no more than the wasting of that Valley, wherein he left the Cities ftanding, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the Countrie, although he had broken their armie in the field? Now the Scriptures doe not of this invafion (supposed so great) make any fearefull matter but composethe two armies, as equally matcht, saying they were source kings against five. 10 yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall find that Abraham slew all these Kings; of which great flaughter no Historie makes mention: Neither will the reigne of Ninias, who lived foure or five yeares longer, permit that he should have died so soone: neither would Histories have forgotten the manner of his death, if he had so strangely perished in Syria. Whereby it appeares, that these fourekings were not the same that they are commonly thought: nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may there. fore well be true, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the Same title: Lords and Commanders every one of his owne company, which he carned forth as a Colonie, seeking place where to settle himselfe and them, as was the usuall man-

Neither is it improbable, that Chedorlaomer leading a troupe of Persians, Amraphel ner of those times. fome people out of Shinaar, and Tidal others gathered out of fundry places, might confort together, and make the weakest of the Countrie which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Who foever will confider the beginning of the first booke of Thucydides, with the manner of discoveries, conquests and plantations, in the infancie of Greece; or the manner of the Saracens invading Africa and Spaine, with almost as many kings as severall Armies: or the proceedings of the Spaniards in their new discoveries, passages, and conquests in the West-Indies: may easily perceive, that it was neither unusuall for the leaders of Colonies to receive title from the people whom they conducted : nor to make alliances together, and breake them againe, diffurbing fometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That Amraphel and his affociates were such manner of Commanders, it may feeme the more likely, by the floathfull qualitie of Niniae then reigning in Affria: whose unmanlike temper was such, as might well give occasion to fuch undertaking spirits, as wanted the imployments whereunto they were accustomed in the reigne of Semiramis, rather to feeke adventures abroad, than to remaine at home unregarded, whilst others more unworthy than themselves, were advanced. If the consent of the whole streame of writers upon this place make this conjecture disagreeable to the Text, to the authoritie whereof all humane reason must subscribe, then we may hold our felves to the former conjecture, that Amraphel was Ninias: and that the power of his Ancestors being by his sloath decayed, he might well be inferiour to the Persian 4 Chedorlaomer: or if this doe not fatisfie, we may fay that Aenraphel was an Under-king or Satrapa of Shinaar, under Ninias; who may be supposed to have had his Imperial seating his Fathers Citie Nineve: and to have preferred it before Shinaar and Babyton the Citie of his Mother, whom he hated as an uturper of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any mans Salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great paines, all might erre: then can I thinke that the opinion, That those foure Kings were leaders of Colonies, sent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countries themselves, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And hereto adde that Chedorlaomer fecunes rather called a Persian king, than King of Persia: and that Arioch (whose kingdome undoubtedly was betweene 89-59 714 and Arabia) having beene a man of action, or being a worthy mans sonne, was very well pleased, to give passage and assistance, to these Captaines or pettie Kings. These and fuch like things here to urge, were but with circumstances to adorne a supposition, which either may stand without them, or if it must fall, is unworthy to have cost bestowed up on it : especially considering, that it is not my intent to imploy any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the Readers pleasure to follow any of these opinions, or or any other, if he find any that shall seeme better than these. But of what Countries of people soever these foure were Kings, this expedition is the onely publique action that

we know of performed by Abraham. And as for other things belonging to his Storie, and of his fonnes, and of his Nephews Equa and Faceb, as they are registered by Moses, because it is not our purpose, either to stand upon things generally known to all Christians, nor to repeate what harh beene elsewhere already spoken, nor to prevent our selves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembred, we passe them here in silence. And because in this Storie of Abraham and his posteritie, there is much mention of Egypt: by which appeares that even in the time of Abraham, it was a settled & slourishing kingdom; it will not be amisse in the next place to speake somewhat of the antiquities and first kings thereof.

Of the Kings of Ægypt from the first peopling of it after the Floud, to the time of the deliverie of the Israelites from thence.

A briefe of the names and times of the first Kings of Agypt: with a note of the causes of diffully inresolving of the truth in these points.

Oone after the confusion at Babel (as it seemes) Cham with many of his issue and followers (having doubtlesse knowne the fertilitie of Egypt before the Floud) came thither and tooke possession of the Countrie; in which they built many Cities: and began the kingdome one hundred nintie one yeares after the deluge. The ancient Governours of this Kingdome till such time as Israel depar-

ted Egypt, are shewne in the Table following.

	An. Mundi.	An. dil.	
	1847. 2008. 2269. 2276. 2391. 2424. 2438. 2476. 2488. 2497.	77. att. 191. 352. 613. 620. 735. 768. 782. 820. 832. 841.	Cham. Ofiris. Typhon 2. Hercules. S. Orus. Sefostris the great. Sefostris the blinde. Busiris or Osiris the second. Acenchere or Thermutis, or Meris. Ratheris or Atheris. Chencres drowned in the red Sea.
- 1			

The Table, and especially the Chronologie, is to be confirmed by probabilities & conjectures, because in such obscurity, manifest and restlesse truth cannot be found. For Saine Augustine, a man of exceeding great judgement, and incomparable diligence, who had fought into all antiquities, and had read the bookes of Varro, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the Egyptian Kings: which he would not have done, if they had not beenemore uncertaine than the Siegonians, whom he remembreth, then whom doubtlesse they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the Egyptian Story, was the ambition of the Priess: who, to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leasings, and recounted unto strangers the names of many Kings, that never reigned. What ground they had for these reports of supposed Kings, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is, that the magnificent viorkes

and royall buildings in Egypt, fuch as are never found but in States that have greatly flour rished, witnesse that their Princes were of marvellous greatnesse, and that the reports of the Priests were not altogether false. A second cause of our ignorance in the Egyptian History, was the too much credulity of some good Authors, who believing the manifold and contrary reports of fundry Egyptians, and publishing in their owne name such as pleased them best; have confirmed them, and as it were inforced them upon us by their authority. Athird and generall cause of more than Egyptian darkenesse in all ancient Histories, is the edition of many Authors by John Annius, of whom (if to the censures of fundry very learned, I may adde mine) I thinke thus; that Annius having seene some fragments of those writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited, as an to avoucher of true Histories, where approved writers confirme him : but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it commeth to passe that the account of Authors, either in the Chronologie or Genealogie of the Egyptian Kings, runnes three altogether different wayes. The Christian writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow Enfebius: Many late writers follow the edition of Annius his Authors: The prophane Histories follow Herodotus Diodorus and fuch others.

The second Booke of the first part

That by the account of the Egyptian Dynasties, and otherwise, it appeares that Chams reigne in Egypt began in the yeere after the Floud. 191.

O reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the ancient Kings, about whom is most controversie, the best meane is by helpe of the Dynasties: of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the Dyna-Ries (besides the authority of approved Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether, with the Histories of the Assprians, Trojans, Italians &c.and others. The beginning of the 16. Dyn. is joyned by generall consent, with the 43. yeare of Ninus: in which Abraham was borne. The twelve first Dynasties lasted each of them seven yeares, under the twelve, which were called the greater gods: so that # the yeares of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth Dynastie endured foureteens yeares: the fourteenth 26. the fifteenth 37. Thefe three last are faid to have bin under the three younger gods. So the fifteene firft Dynasties lasted one hundred sixty one years, As I doe not therefore beleeve that the continuance of these Dyn. was such as hathbin mentioned, because Annius in such wise limits out their time: so I cannot reject thear count upon this onely reason, that Annius hathit so: considering that both hitherto it hath passed as currant, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas Eusebius placeth the beginning of the fixteenth Dynastie, in the yeare of Abrahams birth, as aforesaid: the reckoning is easily cast; by which the summe of 161. yeares, which ac cording to our account were spent in the fifteene former, being subducted out of the summe of 352 yeares, which were betweene the Floud and Abrahams birth, shew that the beginning of the first Dynastie, which was the beginning of Chams reigne in Egypt, was in the yeare 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appeare. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankinde which came into Shinaar, arrived at Babel, Ann à diluvio 131. In building the Tower were consumed fourtie yeares, as Glycus recordeth: whose report I have elsewhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That Cham was long in passing with his company, their Wives, Children, Cattell, and substance through all Syria then desolate, and full of Bogges, Forrests and Bryers (which the Deluge and want of culture in one hundred seventie one yeeres had brought upon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his paffage therefore, and the feating of himselfe in Egypt, we allow twenty yeeres : and these summes being added together, to wit, one hundred thirty one yeeres after the Floud, before they arrive at Babel, 40. yeeres for their stay there, and 20 for Chams passage into Egyps, and setling there, make up the summe of 191 yeeres; at which time we faid that Cham began his reigne in Egypt, in the beginning of the first Dynastie. And to this summe of 191. yeeres if wee adde the 161. yeers of the 15 first Dynasties, as they are numbred in common account, we shall fall right with the yeere of Abrahams birth which was An. Dil. 352. And hereto omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to prove that these first Dynastics must needes have beene very short, and not containing in the whole summe of their several

times above 161. yeares: Let it suffice that had they lasted longer, then either must Ægypt have beene peopled as soone as Babel after the Floud, or the Dynasties (as Mercator thinkes) must have been ebefore the floud. That the arrivall at Babel was many yeares before the plantation of Egypt, after the floud, enough hath beene faid to prove: and that the Dynasties were not before the floud, the number of the long-lived generations betweene Adam and the floud, which was leffe than the number of the Dynasties, may fufficiently witnesse. Or if we will thinke, that one life might (perhaps) be divided into many Dynasties, then may this have beene as well after the floud, as before: considering that the fonnes of Noah did not in every Countrie erect fuch forme of Policie, as had bin used in the same ere the Deluge: but such, as the disposition of the people, the authorities and power of the Conducter, together with many other circumstances, did induce or inforce them to.

§. III.

That these Dynasties were not divers families of Kings, but rather successions of Regents, of times many under one King.

He short continuance of the Dynasties, doth shew that they were not severall races of Kings, as the vaunting Egyptians were wont to stile them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For in restitutions of decayed antiquities, it is more easie to denie than to affirme. But this may be faid, partly upon good circumstance, partly upon the furest proofe, That it was the manner of the Egyptian Kings, to put the government of the Countrie into the hands of some trustie Counsellor, only referving the Soveraignty to themselves, as the old Kings of France were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the Turke doth to the chiefe Visier. This is confirmed, first by the number of the Dynasties, whereof many are under Cham, and more than one under Ofiris or Mizrains; and must therefore have bin successions, not of Kings, but rather of Counfailors and Regents. Secondly, by custome of such Princes borderers to Egypt, as are mentioned in the Scriptures, of whom Abimelech the Philiftim in his dealing with Abraham and Isaac about confederation, did nothing without Phical Captaine of his Hoste: though in taking Abrahams wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his owne pleasure. Likewise of Abimelech the sonne of Gideon it was said : Is not be the sonne of Jerubbaal : and Zebul is his officer? Also Ishbosheth the sonne of Saul, feared Abner the Captaine of the Hoste. Yea, David himselfe hating Joab for his crueltie, did not punihhim in regard of his greatnesse, which was such, as was feared even of Hadad the Edomite living then in Egypt. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of Cham, who was lewd, as appeares by the Scriptures: therefore likely both for his own idlenesse and pleasure, to have laid the burden of government upon others; and upon jealousse, the companion of unworthinesse, to have changed his Lievtenants often. Aboveall other proofes is the advancement of Joseph by Pharaoh. For Pharaoh said to Joleph; only in the Kings throne will I be above thee behold, I have fet thee over all the Land will Tyride of Egypt. William Archbishop of Tyre, who flourished about the yeare of our Lord, one 6.17.18.19. thousand one hundred eightie, affirmes that the like or very same forme of government by Viceroys, was in his time practifed in Egypt, having there beene inuse (as he believed) ever fince the time of Joseph. He plainely shewes, that the Soldans of Egypt were nor Lords of the Countrie, how ever they have beene so deemed: but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the dutie of subjects unto the Calpine: who residing in a most magnificent Palace in Cairo, did commit the charge, not onely of civil government, but the power of making warre and peace, with the whole office and authority royall, into the Soldans hands. He that shall reade in William of Tyre, the state of the Caliphe, or Mulene Elbadech, with the forme of his Court, shall plainly behold the image of the Librascas To ancient Pharaoh, ruling by a Lievtenant, as great in authority as Joseph was, though farre inferiour in wisedome.

To thinke that many names of such Regents or Lievtenants as Joseph was, have crept into the Lift of the Egyptian Kings, were no strange imagination. For Josephs brethren Gon. 1.30 call him, The man that is Lord of the Land, and the Lord of the Countrie: besides, it is 33. not unlikely that the vain-glorious Egyptian Priests would as easily report him a King to posteriry, as ignorant men and strangers deeme him such, under whose hand all disparches

of importance, and royall managing of the State had passed, whilest that the King himfelse intending his quiet, had given his office to another. How strangers have mistaken in this kinde, the example already cited of Josephs brethren, doth sufficiently witnesse, The reports of Priests doe appeare in Diodorus, and Herodotus: each of whom, citing their relations, as good authority, fay; Diodorus, that Sefostris was the nineteenth King after Menas; Herodotus, that he was the 332 after Menas: which could not have beeneuf Menas had beene Adam. Therefore we may well conclude, That the Dynasties were not so many races of Kings, but succeffions of Regents, appointed by the kings of so many fundry linages or forts of men. Now by what soever meanes a Dynastie or Regencie con. tinued: whether in one familie, as being made an hereditary office: or in one order of men, in as heldby faction: fure it is that was the Kings gift and free choyce, that gave the office. But the Crowne royall alwayes passed by descent, and not by election: which (besides consent of Authors) the Scriptures also prove. For whereas Joseph boughtall the land of Egypt for Pharaoh, if the Crowne had passed by election, then should Phase raoh's children hereby either have beene inthralled amongst the rest of the people, to the next fuccessor : or injoying their Fathers land, though not his estate, have bin more mighty than the king: as Land-lords of all Egypt, and the king himselfe their Tenant, Likewise we finde in Exod. 12. that God smote the first borne of Pharaoh, that was to stom his Throne. And in Esay it is said of Pharaoh: I am the sonne of the ancient King.

E ay 19.

6.1111. of Cham, and his sonne Mizraim, or Ofiris.

P[al.78.51.

Diod.Sic.la.

Hat the fuccession of Kings began, and continued in such wise as the Table hat shewed from Cham to Chencres, now it followeth to shew. Egypt is called a the Scripture the land of Ham. That this name is not given to it, because the 106.22. posterity of Cham did reigne there, but for that himselfe did first plant it, we may gathe by many circumstances. For I thinke it is no where found, that the Countries of Conf. Put, or Canaan, as well as Egypt, were called the Land of Ham. Further, it is found Diodorus Siculus, that Ofiris calleth himselfe the eldest sonne of Cham, saying; Mihipan Saturnus deorum omnium junior : alfo, Sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulcho 6 generoso orsum : which must needes be understood of Cham : for this Saturnus Egypin was Cham: as it is faid, that on the monument of Ninus was an infeription, wherein Cha was called Saturnus Ægyptius. Likewise the Temple of Hammon, not farre from Egyp, doth testifie, that Ham resided in those parts : And S. Hierome in quastionibus Hebrain, faith, that the Egyptians themselves did in his dayes call their Countrie Ham: as in foure severall places in the Pfalmes this Countrie is called the land of Cham. And one lius, noting out of Plutarch in Ofiride, that in the facrifices of the Egyptians this Comtrie of Egypt was called Chemia, expounds it for Chamia, ut puto (faith he) à Chamo Nos filio, to which also he addeth out of Isidore, Agyptumusq, hodie Agyptiorum lingua Kan vocari: that Egypt unto this day in the tongue of the Egyptians is called Kam. For thebe ginning and continuance of Chams reigne, the same reasons may suffice to be alledged, which I have already given in proofe of the time spent in the 15. first Dynasties: Neither is it strangethat the reigne of Cham should last solong as 161. yeares: considering that Sem lived 600: Arphaehshad and Shelah each above 400. But strange it had been, if one Saltis created by Manetho, had in those long-lived generations reigned thereig. yeares, and with Baon, Apachnas, Apachis, and others of the fame brood, obscured the fame and glory of Ofiris, orus, and Sefoffris. Reineccius in hiftor. Julia, placeth Milrain next, otherwise called Ofiris, according to Diodorus: who, saith he, was the sonne of Ham mon: KrentZhemius faith that MiZraim and Ofiris are words of necre affinitie and founds in the Hebrew tongue. Howfoever it be, we know that Milraim the fonne of Cham, was Lord of Egypt, and Reineceius, citing good authoritie in this case, affirmeth that Egypt is now called by the naturals in their ownelanguage, Mezre. Neither doe I fee cause of doubt whether Ofiris were the same with MiZraim. It is more necessary, and hard to she manifestly, how long MiZraim or Ofiris reigned. For whereas the yeare of his deathis no where precisely serdowne, we must be faine to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly faid by Annius his Berofus, to have begun his reigne at the birth of Abraham, when the Dynaftie of the Thebai began, it appeareth, first, by the authoritie of Eusebins: who

avoucheth as much; next by Diodorus, who faith that he inhabited Thebes: which habiration of Ofiris there, that it might be cause of that Dynasty, I can well believe; assenting fo far to Reineccius, who thinkes the Dynasties were named only, according to the feverall feats of the kings.

Of the time when Ofiris reigne ended : and that Jacob came into Egypt in the time of Orus the sonne of Ofiris.

He death of Ofris, when it was, none can certainly affirme. The only conjecture that I know is made thus: Lehabim the fon of Mizraim, called Hercules Lybius. made war in Italy, to revenge his Fathers death, on the affociates of Typhon, in the 11. yeare of Baleus King of Affyria: before which yeare he had made many great wars in Egypt, Phanicia, Phrygia, Crete, Lybia, and Spaine: and having ended his Egyptian wars. left the Kingdome to Orms. Thus far Berofus, or Authors following Berofus. That Orus last of all the gods (as they were stilled) held the Kingdome of Isis, Diodorus Siculus plain-Diod. Sic. Last ly faith: and Plutarch as much; to which all Histories agree. Krent Themius hereupon in - 15th, of 15th of 15t fers that fixe years may be allowed to the wars, which Hercules made in fo many Countries, after the Egyptian wars were ended: fo should the death of ofire have been the 34. of Baleus, when himselfe had reigned 297. yeares. I think that Krentzhemius was a greater Scholler than Souldier. For furely in those dayes when commerce was not fuch as now.but all Navigation made by coasting, a far longer time would have been required. to the subduing of so many Countries. An allowance of more time though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent: which was (doubtleffe) to find the truth. If according to his account the death of Ofiris had beene the 34 of Baleus; then must Israel have come into Egypt but seven years before the death of Ofiris: and have lived there in the reigne of Typhon. A thing not eafily believed. For it was the fame king who advanced Joseph, bade him fend for his Father, and gave him leave to go into Canaan, to the performance of his Fathers Funerall: as may eafily be gathered out of the book of Genesis. Whereas therefore the reign of ofiris cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the feventh yeare of Ifraels comming into Egypt: we must needs cut off 23. years from that number, which Krentz hemius conjectures his reign to have continued : namely feven which he should have lived after Jacobs comming into Egypt; nine in which Joseph had there flourished, ere his fathers comming: and other sevenin which Typhon & Hercules had reigned after the death of Ofiris, yet before Folephs advancement.

Neither will this difagree with the time of Hercules Lybins his wars. For the war which Hercules made in Italy, is faid to have indured 10. years: After which proportion we may well give not only fix years, as Krent ? hemins doth, but 23. more to fo many wars, in fo many and so far distant Countries, as are named before: yea, by this proportion we may attributeunto Orus the 13. years, which passed between the time of Josephs being fold into Egypt, unto his advancement, confidering that Potipher who bought him, and whose daughter he may seeme to have married, continued all that while chiefe Steward unto Pharaeh; a thing not likely to have been, if so violent alterations had hapned the whilest in Egypt, as the tyrannous numpation of Typhon must needs have brought in. If citing fome fragment of a lost old Author, I should confidently say, that Potiphar for his faithfulnesse to orus, the son of ofiris, was by him in the beginning of his reigne made hischiefe Steward: at which time buying Joseph, and finding him a just man, and one under whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into Josephs hands, thanunto any of his Egyptian followers (many of whom he had found either falf-harted, or weak and unlucky in the troublesome dayes of Typhon) I know not what could be objected against this Perhaps I might proceed further, and fay, That when the faving of Jofiph pleased Pharaoh, and all his servants, then Potiphar Priest of on, being chiefe Officer to Phar 40h, did acknowledge in Joseph, the ancient graces of God, and his injurious impriforment, whereupon he gave him his daughter to wife; and being old, refigned his office of chiefe Steward unto him, who afterward in regard of Potiphar, did favour the Priefts, When he borght the lands of all other Bespeians. This might appeare to some a rale not

unlike to the Friarly book of Afenath, Potiphars daughter: but unto fuch as confider that God workes usually by meanes; and that Potiphar was the Steward of that King, under whom Jacob died: it would feeme a matter not probable, had it an Author of sufficient credit to avouchit. Concerning the warres of Hercules, in which by this reckoning he should have spent 42-yeares after he left Egypt, ere he began in Italy, it is a circumstance which(the length of his Italian wars confidered, and his former enterprifes and atchievements proportioned to them) doth not make against us, but for us: or if it were against us, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the undifputable truth of Scripture doe confirm it. Nevertheleffe I freely grant that all these proofes are no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authors, not well agreeing, to nor to be reconciled in such obscurity, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy Text.

6. VI.

of Typhon, Hercules, Agyptus, Orus, and the two Sefostres, fuccefsively reigning after Mizraim: and of divers errours about the former Selostres.

Oncerning the reigne of Typhon, and of Hercules, I find none that precifely doth define how long either of them continued. Daniel Angelogrator giveth three is yeares to Typhon, omitting Hercules. But he is so peremptory without proofe, as if his own word were fufficient authority, in many points very questionable; alledging no witnesse, but as it were faying, Teste me ipso: yet herein we may thinke him to speake probably, forasmuch as the learned Krent hemius affirmeth, that Hercules didvery foone undertake his Fathers revenge; and was not long in performing it: and that leaving Egypt to his brother, he followed other wars, in the fame quarrell, as hath beene shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect (as Krent Themine doth) out of Berofus, that Hercules reigned after Typhon : yet feeing Aventinus a follower of Berofus hath it lo, I will also believe it. That in the reigne of Typhon and Hercules, seven years were spent, how soever divided betweene them, I gather out of Krent hemius only, who placethus beginning of orus feven yeares after the death of ofiris: forgetting to fet downe his rafons, which in a matter fo probable I thinke he wanted not. Now whereas he allowed 90. years of the eighteenth Dynastie to Ofiris, Typhon, Hercules, and Orus: it seemes that the reigne of orw lasted 115. yeares. From the death of orw to the departure of Isal out of Egypt, there passed 122. yeares by our account : who (according to Beroaldman) others) thinke that Abraham was borne in the 120 yeare of Terah, and thereupon reckon thus. From the end of the Floud to the birth of Abraham-

From that time to the vocation of Abraham

departure out of Egypt

which fumme divers other wayes may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of Egypt, there doe remaine (as is aforefaid) onely 122. yeares from the death of 01m; we are now to confider how many of them are to be allowed unto Sefofiris or Sefonchifis : who is placed next unto Orms, by authority of the Scholiastes Apollonis: not without good probability. For this great King or Conquerour, is by many Histories recorded to have over-run a great part of Afice to have built a fleet of ships on the red Sea: and soto have entred into India: likewise with another fleet on the middle earth Seas, to have pasfed into Europe, and fubdued many Nations. This is he (as Reineccine judgeth) whom Jufine erring in account of his time calleth Vexoris: For Justine placeth Vexoris in ages before Ninus: whereby it would follow that Sefoftris, if he were Vexoris, was more ancient than was Ofiris (otherwise Milraim) a thing altogether unlikely. Certaine it is that after the departure of Ifrael out of Egypt, no one Pharaeb came into the land of Canaan (which lieth in the way from Egypt into Afia) till the Father in law of Salomon, Pharach Vaplet, tooke Gerar, and gave it to his daughter: (as we may reade more at large in the holy History of the Bible) after which time Sefae oppressed Reboboam, and Necho lought paffage through the land of Ifrael, when he made his expedition against the Chaldeans. Of King Vaphres and Neco it is out of question, that neither of them was the great King Sefoftrie. Of Sefae it is doubted by fome, for as much as he came into Judas

with a great armie. Reineccius propounding the doubt, leaveth it undecided; unlesse ir he sufficient proofe of his owne opinion, that he himselfe placeth Sesostris next to Orus: following the Scoliastes Apollonii. But further answer may be made to show that they were not one. For, as Justine witnesseth, Sefostris, otherwise Vexoris, made war on people Farreremoved, abstaining from his neighbours. Sefac came up purposely against Hieru. Calem. Sefostris, as Diodorus witnesseth, had but 24000. horse, Sefac had 6000, Sesostris had 8020. charriots, Sefac but 1200. Sefoftris made his expedition for no private purnose, but to get a great name: Sesac, as most agree, had no other purpose than to such cour feroboam, and give him countenance in his new reigne; whom he had favoured even against Salomon: therefore Sefostris must needs have reigned whilest Ifrael abode in

Whereas Krent 7 hemius collecteth out of Herodotus, and Diodorus, that one Menas, or Menis, was next to Orus: because those Historians affirme that he reigned next after the gods; it moveth menothing. For Ofiris did fucceede those fifteene gods, namely, the twelve greater, and three leffer: himfelfe also (as the learned Reineccius noteth) being called Menas. Which name, as also Menaus, and Menis, were titles of dignity: though missaken by some as proper names. Krentzhemins doth very probably gatherathat Menas was Mercurius Ter-maximus; the Hebrew word Meni fignifying an Arithmetician. which name Ter-maximus might well be attributed to Ofiris, who was a great Conqueo rour, Philosopher, and Benefactor to mankind, by giving good Lawes, and teaching profitable Arts. In prowesse and great undertakings Sefostris was no whit inferiour to Osiris. Forhe fought victory not for gaine, but for honour onely: and being well contented. that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themselves to his will and royall disposition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into Egypt, Soone upon his returne he was endangered by a great Treason, the house in which he was being by his owne brother purpolely fired: which neverthelesse he is said to have escaped, and to have reigned in all thirty three yeares: after which time he chose rather to diethan to live; because he fell blinde. Both Herodotus, and Diodorus, affirme that Sefoltris left a fonne, whose name was Pheron or Pherones: who afterwards tooke the name of Seloftris: but was nothing like to his Father in glory: for he shortly fell blind. The cause of his blindnesse Herodorus attributes to his assaulting the River Nilus with a javeline: which tale Diodorus having likewise heard, yet reports as a fable, saying that perhaps he tooke the disease naturally from his Father. How long this man reigned it is no where expressed: yet for a smuch as orm the second (otherwise Businis) who succeeded him, began 14. yeares after that this Sefostris had beene king, it must needs be that this reigned 14. yeares at least. That Businis began not untill these 14. yeares at least were expired, the very account of time from the first of Business, to the departure of Israel out of Egypt, plainely shewes, being almost generally agreed upon, to have beene 75 yeares. That none came betweene Sefostris the fecond, and Busiris or Orus the fecond, it stands onely upon probabilities: which are these. After Sefostris had reigned some while, he fellblinde; after certaine yeares he recovered his fight, as is faid: which may have beene true, but is more like to have beened fable: furely the manner of his recovery, as it is fet downe, is very fabulous: namely, that by looking upon a woman, or washing his eyes with her water, who had onely knowne her owne husband, he got his fight againe. As the time of his reigne, before his blindnesse, and when he was well again (if ever he were) may have taken up a good part of 14. yeares: fo his workes which were great, doe much more strongly argue, that his reigne was not very short. His works are largely set down by Herodotus, and Diodorus: a part of which may seeme to have beene the finishing of that which his Father had begun, about the channels and fluces of Nilus: whom I think herather frighted, (as his Father had done) with spades, and shovels, than withdarts, and lavelins; and by his diligent overfight of that worke, was like enough to lose both his eye-fight and his peoples love; whom his Father had very bufily employed in excessive labour about it.

6. VII.

Of Bushiris the first oppressor of the Israelites; and of his successor Queen Thermutis that tooke up Moses out of the water.

Nd herein (if I may presume to conjecture) Busiris, who was afterwards king is like to have dealt with him, as Jeroboam did with the fonne of Salomon. For rhat Buliris himselfe was much addicted to magnificent workes, it well appearedby the drudgery wherewith he wearied the children of Ifrael in his buildings: If therefore he were employed by the great Sefostris, as Jeroboam was by Salomon, in the is overfight of those businesses, he had good opportunity to worke his greatnesse with the king by industry; and afterward with the people by incensing them against their new king, as Jeroboam did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at anothers: unlesse he have either an equall spirit, or a surer foundation. If moreover he fought to derive all the paine and labour of publique workes from the Egyptians, to the Israelites: he furely did that which to his owne people was very plans ble: who (as appeares in Exedus) were nothing flack in fulfilling the kings cruelty. Now that Orus the second, or Busiris, was the king that first oppressed Israel, and made the E. dist of drowning the Hebrew children, which (faith Cedrenus) lasted ten moneths: it is a common opinion of many great and most learned writers; who also thinke that hereupon grew the fable of Bufiris facrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, Exod. I. that the King who knew not Joseph, was a king of a new family. That Busiris was of a new family, Retneccius doth shew; who also thinkes him Author of the bloudy Edict. Nevertheleffe, true it is, that Busiris, according to all mens computation, began his reigne five yeares after the birth of Moses; before whose birth it is most manifest, that the law was made, and much more that the persecution began; which Bunting thinkes to have lasted 87. yeares, ere the departure out of Egypt. Let us therefore const. der, besides the blindnesse of Sesostris the second, how great the power of the Regents of Vice-Royes in Egypt was; and how great confidence the kings did put in them, seeing 7000 ruled with such full power, that he bought all Egypt, and all the Egyptians for bread; giving at the same time the best of the land to his own father and brethren, for nothing feeing also that when the Egyptians cried out upon Pharaoh, for bread; Pharaoh faid to all the Egyptians, Go to Joseph; what he faith to you, do ye. If to a stranger born, lately fetchtout of prison, a king well able to have governed himselfe, would give such trust, & sovereign authority; it is not unlikely that a blind Prince should doe it to a man of especials reputation on. For God often prospers, not only the good (such as Toseph was) but wicked menallo, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therefore perhaps the king did(as many law done) refigne his kingdome to him, though his reigne was not accounted to have begun, till the death of Seloftris. But whether Bufiris did usurpe the kingdome, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king refigned it, keeping the title; or whether Busiris were only Regent, whilst the king lived, & afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himselse: it might well be said that Pharaohs daughter tooke up Moses, and that Pharaohs rach vexed Ifrael; feeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king in deed and title both. It were not abfurd for us to fay that the blind king Sefoffris the fecond oppressed Israel: but forasmuch as it may seeme that the wicked Tyrant shewed his evill nature even when he first arose: I thinke it more likely, that Busiris did it, using a first the power of a king, and shortly after the stile. Thus of the 122. veares which pale fed betweene the beginning of Sefostris his reigne, & the departure of Israel out of Egili, 47 being spent; the 75 which remain, are to be accounted to Busines or Orus the second, and his children. Busiris himselfe reigned 30. yeares, according to Eusebius: whom very many judicious authors herein approve. After him his daughter, who tooke Moles out of the water, is faid by all that I have read, to have reigned 12. years. Her name was The mutis Pharis, or Muthis according to Cedrenus: Eufeb. calls her Aceneris; and out of Attabanus his History Meris. Foseph calls herboth Acenchere, & Thermutis. Epiphanius in Panario faith that she was honoured afterward of the Egyptians, by the name of Thermutis the daughter of Amenoph, the son of Pharach. Of this last title, question might be made, and much spoken: for the Scriptures call he bot Pharaohs sons daughter, but Pharaohs daughter. Amenophis indeed is fet next before Busiris or arus the second by Eusebins & others:

but whether he were a King or onely a Regent, I cannot conjecture. For Herodotus Diodorus, and the ancient Historians name the sonne of Sessificis, Pheron. Perhaps his name was Pharaoh Amenophis: and his daughter by the Egyptians called rather the Nececo or Grand-child, than the daughter of Pharaoh; because of the glory of Sessificis, at the differentiation of his son. If so, and if that Busiris or Orus the second marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our conjecture strengthened; and then was she both daughter; grand-childe, and wise unto Pharaoh: and surviving him, Queene of the land, 12. yeares. But if she were daughter of Orus the second; and sister of Athoris, or Rathoris, as many thinke, to whose conjecture I will not oppose mine, then may it seeme, that either her berthern were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her Father died.

6. VIII.

Of the two brethren of Queene Thermutis': and what king it was, under whom Moses was borne: and who it was that perished in the red Sea.

He had two brethren: the one was Rathoris, or Athoris, who succeeded her; the other Telegonus, who is onely named by Enfebius; but his linage and off-fpring described by Reineccius. Rathoris after his fifters death reigned nine yeares: after whom Chencres, thought to be his fonne, reigned ten yeares, and then perished in the red Sea. During the reigne of Chencres, Eufebius faith, that Telegonus begat Epaphus upon Ic. of which History elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of Chencres (whom fome call Acencheres: but all or most doe stile Debuaros, a fighter against God) Acherres reigned 8. yeares; and then Cherres 15. This descent seems from Father to Sonne. In the 11. veare of Cherres it is faid by Eusebius, that Epaphus reigning in the lower part of Egypt, built Memphis. This is an argument of that which other wife was not unlikely: viz. That Egypt was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had layd upon it, and the destruction of her king and army in the red Sea: else could it not have had two reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his posterity, seemes to have taken all from Cherres the grand-childe of Chencres. For whereas Armais is faid to have reigned foure yeares after Cherres: and Armesis one after Armais: these two Kings are by Esfebius and others accounted as one, and his reigne faid to have beene five years. His name is called Armeus, otherwife Danaus: and his pedigree thus described by Reineccius in Hiz (boria Julia,

> Telegonus: Epaphus: Lybia, who had

Agenor, Belus, and Busiris.

Egyptus or Ramesses who gave name to the Countrey, having expelled his brother Danaus, reigned, and begat Lynceus, married to Hypermnessra.

Danaus or Armeus expelled by his brother Agyptus, after hee had reigned five years, became king of Argos in Greece: was Father to Hypermnestra.

How it might come to passe that the Nephewes sons of Epaphus should have occupied the kingdome after Cherres, it is hard to say: considering that Epaphus himself is reported by Eusebius to have beene borne in the time of Chencres. But forasmuch as the History of Epaphus himself is diversly related by Eusebius, it may suffice, that Belus the father of Dames & Egyptus, otherwise called Armeus and Rameses, was equally distant from Busines of Orats the second, with Cherres the grand-childe of Chencres. And that the posterity of Telegonus did marry very yong, it appears by the History of these two brethren, Damaus

Exod.I.

CHAP 2, 8,8

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Exod.4.19.

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CHAP. III.

Of the delivery of Israel out of Egypt.

of the Historie of the World.

Of the time of Moses birth, and how long the I fraelites were oppressed in Egypt.



concerning the time of Moss his birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this and other great workes of the Highest, the different opinions are very necreas many, as the men that have written of that Argument.

L. Vives in his annotations.

of their conjectures : as that of Porphyrie out of Sanchoniato, that Moses lived in the time of Semiramis. But if he did meane the first Semiramis, it was but a fond conceit: for besides that the same is contrary to all Stories

Divine and humane; while that Semiramis lived, she commanded Syria, and all the parts thereof absolutely: neither were the Ammonites, or Mosbites, or Edomites, while she ru-

Ascond opinion he remembreth of Appion, taken from Ptolomy a Priest of Mendes, who faith that Moles was borne while Inachus did rule the Argives, and Amelis in

The third opinion is taken out of Polemon, in his Greeke History, the first Booke: that Moses was borne while Apis the third King ruled Argos.

A fourth is borrowed from Tatianus Assertius, who though he cite some authorities. that Moses lived after the Trojan war, is himselfe of opinion, that Moses was farre more ancient, proving it by many arguments.

Fiftly, he fetteth downe the testimony of Numenius the Philosopher, who tooke Mufaus and Moses to be one: confirming the same out of Artapanas, who confesseth that Moses was called Musaus, by the Grecians: and who farther delivereth that he was adopted by Chenephis, or Thermutis, the daughter of Egypt: the same which Eupolemus calleth Meris; others (as Rabanus Maurus) Thermothes. Eusebius also affirmeth, that by Eupolemus in his first booke de bono, Moses, vir Deo conjunctissimus, is called Musaus Judaorum. Eusebius in his Chronology, findes that Moses was borne while Amenophis ruled Euseb. de press Egypt. The ancient Manethon calls that Pharao, which lived at Moses birth, Thumosis Evangilians; or Thmosis: the same perchance which Appion the Grammarian will have to be Amosis. and elsewhere Amenophis the Father of Sethosis: to whom Lysimachus and Cornelius Tacitus gave the name of Boccheris. To me it seemes most probable, that while Saphrus, called also Spherus or Iphereus, governed Affria; Orthopolis, Sicyonia; and Criasus the Argives; that then (Sefoftris the fecond miling in Egypt) Moses was bortie. For if we beleeve S. Augustine, it was about the end of Cecrops time, that Moses led Ifrael out of E-

out of Egypt best proved. S. Augustine affirmes (as before remembred) that Moses was borne, Saphrus governing Affgria; and that he left Egypt about the end of Cecrops time. Now Saphrus ruled 20. yeares; his successor Mamelus 30. yeares; Sparetus after him 40. yeares: in whose fourth yeare Cecrops began to governe in Attica: Ascatades followed Sparetus, and held the Empire 41. So as Moss being borne while Saphrus

ruled Affria; Orthopolis Siegonia; and Criafus Argos (for these three Kings lived at once at his both, faith S. augustine, as Cecrops did when he departed Egypt)it will follow that the birth of Moles was in the nineteenth year of the Affrian Saphrus: for take one yeare temaining of 20. (for so long Saphrus reigned) to which adde the thirty yeares of Ma-

87pt. Eduxit Moses & Reypto populum Dei novisimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensium Re-Ang. Li & exil 1 3"; Moses (faith he) led the people of God out of Egypt, about the end of Cecrops time, King of the Athenians. In this fort therefore is the time of Moses birth, and of his departure

and Ægyptus: of whom the former had 50. daughters, the latter 50. fonnes: perhaps. or rather questionlesse, by divers Women: yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: Howsoever it were, the generall consent of writers is, that Armens or Danaus did succeed Cherres: and (according to Enfebius and good Authors approving him) reigned five yeares. Ramesses followed, who reigned 68. yeares. This Ramesses or Egyptus is that Armesesmiamum or Armesesmiamus, under whom, in the opinion of Mer. cator, and of Bunting that followes Mercator, Mofes was borne: and the cruell Editi made of drowning the Hebren children. The length of his reigne feemes to me the chiefe, if not the onely ground of Mercators opinion. For whereas the Lord faid to Moses, Goe, returneto Egypt, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee: Mercator hereupon con-in ceives, that it was one and the fame king under whom Moses was born, and under whom he flew the Egyptian at the 40. yeare of his age: and fled into the wildernesse, and there abode for feare : all which circumstances could agree with none, but this Ramesses, who reigned folong: where fore defirous rather to hold a true Paradox, than a common errour, he placeth one Alisfragmuthofis (whose name is found in the lift of Egyptian kings, but the time uncertaine wherein he reigned) in an age 112. or 113. yeares more ancient than others left him in: and fo continuing the Catalogue of his successors from Them. fis (whom Eusebius calls Amasis) downewards, with no other variation of the length of each mans reigne, than is the difference betweene Manetho and Eusebius, he findes Mosa borneunder Armesesmiamum, and Ifrael delivered in the dayes of his sonne Amenophia, The very name of Alisfragmuthofis feems to him with little alteration to found like Phararates, of which name one was thought to have flourished either as a king, or a wise man, about he time of Iface. For (faith he) from Alisfragmuthofis to Phragmuthofis, Pharmuthofis, or Pharatates, the change is not great. Mercator was a man of excellent learning and industry: and one to whom the world is bound for his many notable workes: yet my affent herein is with-held from him, by these reasons. First, I see all other writers agree, that Chencres was king, who was drowned in the Red Sea: Secondly, the place, Exod.4. all are dead, &c. may better be understood of Busiris and all his children, than of one King alone : Thirdly, Saint Cyrill in his first booke against Julian the Apostata, faith, that Dardanus built Dardania, when Mofes was 120 yeares old: Rameffes, which was this Armesesmiamum, being then King of Egypt. After Ramesses, Amenophis reigned 19. yeares: who is thought by Mereator, and peremptorily by Bunting pronounced, to be the King that perished in the red Sea: of which our opinion being already layed open, I thinke it most expedient to referre the kings ensuing to their owne times (which a

Chronologicall Table shall lay open) and here to speake of that great delig verance of Ifrael out of Egypt: which for many great confiderations depending thereupon, wee may not lightly Over-halle

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Exod.r.

melus, and the 40. years of sparetus, these make 71. with which there were wasted three years of Georges his 50. years: then take nine yeares out of the reigne of Ascatades, who was Sparetus successour, those nine yeares added to 71. make 80. at which age Moses left Egypt: and adde these nine yeares to the three yeares of Cecrops formerly spent, there will remaine but foure yeares of Cecrops his 50. and fo it falleth right with S. Augustines words, affirming that towards the end of Georops his time, Mofes led the people of Israel

Now the time in which the Hebrewes were opprest in Egypt, seemeth to have hadhe. ginning some eight or nine years before the birth of Moses, & 54. yeares, or rather more after Joseph: betweene whose death and the birth of Moses, there were consumed 64.18 veares: some of which time, and 80. yeares after, they lived in great servitude and mi. fery. For as it is written in Exodus: They fet taske-masters over them, to keepe themnn. der with burdens : and they built the Cities, Pithom and Ramafes, &c. And by cruelty the caused the children of Israel to serve; and made them weary of their lives, by sore labourin slay and bricke, and in all worke of the field, with all manner of bondage. All which laidum on them by a mastering power and strong hand, they endured to the time by the wife dome of God appointed: even from 54. yeares, or not much more after the death of 16-Ceph, who left the World when it had lasted 2370. yeares, to the eightieth yeare of Mo-Ces, and untill he wrought his miracles in the field of Zoan, which he performed in the Worlds age 2514 towards the end thereof, according to Codoman, or after our account, 2513. And because those things which we deliver of Egypt, may the better be underflood, I thinke it necessary to speak a few words of the principall places therein named. in this discourse.

Of divers Cities and places in Egypt, mentioned in this Story, or elsewhere in the Scrip-

His Ciry which the Hebrewes call Zoan, was built feven yeares after Hebron. E. Rechiel calleth it Taphnes; and so doth Hieremy; the Septmagint, Tanis; Josephus, Protaidis, after the name of an Egyptian Queene; Antonius gives it the name of Thanis : Hegelippus, Thamna : and William Tyrius, Tapius. It adjoyneth to the land of G. fen, and is the fame, wherein Hieremy the Prophet was stoned to death, for preaching gainst the Egyptian and Fewish Idolatry.

Namb 33. Executed 30. Hierem.2.43. foseph.l.1.c.9. Tyr.de Bel.sac. 2,59 6.23.

Evang.1.9.3.4. Gen.12.15. Esay 19.11.

44.46.

Zoan or Taphnes was in Moses time the Metropolis of the lower Egypt, in which their Pharaohs then commonly refided; and not unlikely to be the same City, where Abraham in his time found him. But Eusebius out of Arrapanus affirmeth, that Abraham did reade Astronomy in Heliopolis, or On, to Pharetates King of Egypt. Alex. Polyhistor, out of Espolemus hath it otherwise, faying, that Abraham instructed the Egyptian Priests, and not the King; both which authorities Enfebius citeth. The Septuagint, and the Vulgar edition, for Zean write Heliopolis. Pagnin, Vatablus, Junius, and our English call it On; and Ptolomy, Onium. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower Egypt, towards the South; the other fornewhat lower on the Easter-most branch of Nilus falling into the Sea at Pelufium. And it may be that Heliopolis to the South of theriver Trajan, was the fame which Vatablus & our English call Aven. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certaine knowledge: the same which Pomp. Mela, and Pliny call Solio oppidum; Tyrius in the Holy Warre, Malbec; the Arabians, Bahalbeth; and Simeon Still; Fons Solis. Of this Heliopolis, or On, was Potiphar Priest, or Prince, whose daughter for siph married. In the Territory adjoyning Jacob inhabited, while he lived in Egypt. In the confines of this City, Onias, the high Priest of the Jewes, built a Temple, dedicated to the eternall God; nor much inferiour to that of Hierufalem (Ptolomy Philopater then governing in Egypt) which stood in the time of Vespasian, 333. yeares after the foundar tion by Onias, whom fosephus falfly reporteth herein to have fulfilled a prophecy of 1 say c. 19. In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terra Azypti. In that day shall the Alta of the Lordbe in the middest of the Land of Egypt. Antiochus Epiphanes at that time of the building tyrannizing over the Jewes, gave the occasion for the erecking of this Templein Egypt. Lastly, there it was that our Saviour Christ Jesus remained, while Joseph and the Virgin Mary feared the violence of Hered: neere which (faith Brechard) the foun-

raine is still found, called Jesus well, whose streames doe afterward water the Gardens of Ballamum, no where else found in Egypt. And hereof see more in Brochard, in his description of Egypt.

There is also the City of Noph, remembred by Esay and Exechiel, the same which Ho-Esangara There is and the Carly which latter name it tooke from a Mountaine adjoyning, Equipose to the Prophet calleth Moph: which latter name it tooke from a Mountaine adjoyning, Equipose to the Prophet calleth Moph: which latter name it tooke from a Mountaine adjoyning, Equipose to the Prophet calleth Moph: which latter name it tooke from a Mountaine adjoyning, Equipose to the Prophet calleth Moph: which latter name it tooke from a Mountaine adjoyning, Equipose to the Prophet calleth Moph: which latter name it tooke from a Mountaine adjoyning. focalled; which Mountaine Herodotus remembreth. And this is that great City, which Libra. was called Memphis, and so the Septuagint write it. It is knowne to the Arabians by the name of Mazar. The Chaldeans name it Alchabyr; and Tudalenfis Mizraim.

pelusium, which Vatablus, Pagnin, Junius, and our English write Sin, the Septuagint call G. Tyrolao.cs 71 To Sais; and Montanus, Lebna; is not the fame with Damiata as Gul. Tyrius witnesseth. Intioness. the time of Baldwin the third, Pelufium was called Belbeis. Belbeis (faith Tyrius) que glim dista est Pelusium; Belbeis, that intimes past was called Pelusium.

The City of No, the Septuagint call Diospolis. Of which name there are two or three in Egypt. Hierome converts it Alexandria, by anticipation, because it was so called in the

Bubaltus, (for fo Hierome and Zeigler doe write it) is the fame which the Hebrewes call Exclusion Pibefeth.

To make the story the more perceiveable, I have added a description of the land of Golen in which the Israelites inhabited; with those Cities and places so often remembred in the Scripture: as of Taphnes or Zoan, Heliopolis or Bethfemes, Balfephon, Succoth, and the rest; together with Moses passage through the Desarts of Arabia the Stony. For all flory without the knowledge of the places wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure; so it no way enricheth the knowledge and understanding of the reader; neither doth any thing serve to retaine, what we reade, in our memories, fo well as these pictures and descriptions doe. In which respect I am driven to digreffe in many places, and to interpole fome fuch discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent: taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man, Arias Montanus; who in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, hath thefe words: Si enim absque locorum observatione res gesta narrentur, aut sine Topographia cognitione historia legantur, adeo confusa atq; perturbata erunt omnia, ut exiis nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit : If narration (faith he) be made of those things which are performed, without the observation of the places, wherein they were done: or if Histories be read without Topographicall knowledge ; all things will appeare to intricate and confuted , as we shall thereby under stand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.

6. III.

Of the cruelty against the Israelites young children in Egypt: and of Moses his preservation and education.

Ut to returne to the ftory it felfe. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and flavery, which the *Ifraelites* endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: infomuch as *Pharaoh* confidering the danger of discontented poverty, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perissous they might be to his estate, by suggestion of the Divell, refolved to slaughter all the male children of the Hebrewes, as soon as they should be borne. To which end he sent for Sephora and Thura, women the most famous and expert among ft them, qua praerant (faith Comestor) multitudinis obstetricum, who had command given them over all mid-wives; by whom (as it feemeth) he gave order to all the rest for the execution of his Edict. For to have called all the Mid-wives of Egypt together, had beenea strange Parliament. Now whether these two (before named) were of the Hebrewes, or of the Egyptians, it is diverfly disputed. S. Augustine calls them Hebrewes, because it is written Exodus the first, The King of Egypt com- Tolephant. 1.2. manded the Mid-wives of the Hebrew women, &c. But Josephus, Abulensis, and Pererius be- 65. leeve them to be Egyptians. Who loever they were, when it pleased God to frustrate intends the execution of that fecret murder, to the end the world might witneffe both the wichestage. kednesse of the Exprians, and the just cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and revenge: Pharach finding these women filled with piety, and the seare of God, commanded

commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publikely, or howfoever, to defroy all the male Hebrew children borne within his dominions.

Now besides the doubts, which Pharaoh had of the multitudes of the Hebrewes, the greatest part of whom he might have assured, by affoording them the justice whiche. very King oweth to his vassals, and the rest he might have imployed or sent away at his Josan Jess. pleasure, Josephus giveth another cause of his rage against them, namely, That it was prophetically delivered him by an Egyptian Priest, that among the Hebrews there should be borne a childe, who growing to mans estate, should become a plague and terrour to his whole Nation. To prevent which, (and prefuming that he could refift the ordinance of God, by a meane, contrary to the lawes of heaven and of nature) he stretched out his in bloudy and mercilesse hand to the execution of his former intent. The same prevention Herod long after practifed, when fearing the spiritual Kingdome of Christ, as if it should have beene temporall, he caused all the male children at that time borne, to be slaughtered. And that Pharaoh had some kinde of foreknowledge of the future successe, it may be gathered by these his owne words, in the tenth verse of the fift of Exodus: Come, let w worke wifely with them, left they multiply 3 and it come to passe, that if there be war, they joyn themselves also unto our enemies, and fight against w, and get them out of the Land. Butwe fee, and time hath told it us from the beginning, how God derideth the wifedome of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their owne most feeble, and altogether darkened understanding. For even by the hands of the dearely beloved daughter of this tyrant, was that great Prophet and Minister of Gods marvellous workes taken out of Nilus, being thereinto turned off, in an Arke of reedes, a fucking and powerleffe infant. And this Princeffe having beheld the childe his forme and beauty, though but yet in the blouth, fo pierced her compassion, as she did not onely preferve it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should be esteemed as her owne, and with equall care to the fonne of a King nourished. And for memory that it was her deed, she called the child Moses, as it were extractus or ereptus, taken out, to wit, out of the water: or after Josephus and Glycus, Moy, a voyce expressing water, and Hises, as much to fay, as that which is drawn out of water, or thence taken. Clemens Alexandrinus was of opinion, that Mofes was circumcifed before he was put into the Arke of Reedes, and that Amram his father had named him Joachim. In his youth he was carefully bred, bythe care, and at the charge of Pharaohs daughter, & by men of the most understanding, taught and instructed : quem regiomore educavit, prafestis ei sapientibus Ægyptiorum Magistiu, quibus erudiretur, faith Bafil; unto mbom she gave princely education, appointing over him wise masters of the Egyptians for his instructers. Thereby (fay Tosephus and Philo) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the Egyptians , which also the Martyr Stephen in the seventh of the Atts confirmeth; And Moses was learned in all the wisdome of the E-Zyptians. Which wisdom or sapience, such as it was, or at least so much thereof as Six St. renfis hath gathered, we have added, between the death of Mofes, and the reigne of Jofia.

Strom.l.I.

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Exed. 5.10.

Phil.de vita Moyst.

Of Moles his flying out of Egypt; and the opinions of certaine ancient Historians of his war in Athiopia; and of his marriage there: Philo his judgement of his Pastoral life: and that of Pererius of the Bookes of Genesis and Job.

"Hen Moses was grown to mans estate, sosephus and Eusebius out of Artapa" nus, tell us of ten years war that he made against the Æthiopians: of the befieging of Saba, afterward by Camby fes, called Meree; and how he recovered that City by the favour of Tharbis, a daughter of Athiopia, whom he took to wife. So hath Comefor a pretty tale of Moses, How after the end of that war, Tharbis refisting his returne into Ezjpt, Moses most skilfull in Astronomy, caused two Images to be ingraved in two precious stones, whereof the one increased memory; the other caused forgetulnesse. These he set in two rings, whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivior, his wife Tharbis, referving the other of memory for himselfe: which ring of forsetful nesse, after she had a while worne, she began to neglect the love she bare her hisbands and so Moses without danger returned into Egypt. But leaving these fancies to the Allthors of them: It is true, that about the 40. yeare of Mofes age, when he beheld at

Egyptian offering violence to one of the oppressed Hebrewes, moved by compassion, in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdaine against the other; in the contention he flew the Egyptian. Soone after which fact, finding a disposition in some of his own Nation to accuse him, for whose defence he had thus greatly endangered his owne life: by the ordinance and advice of God, whose chosen servant he was, he fled into Arabia Petrea, the next bordering Country to Egypt; where wandring all alone, as a man left and for saken in a place unknowne unto him, as among a Nation of barbarous strangers; and who infuture times were the irreconcileable enemies of the Hebrewes: it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest worldly meanes) to make the watering of a few sheep, & the affisting of the Daughters of Raquel the Madianite, an occasion whereby roprovide him a wife of one of those, and a father in law, that fed him, and sustained him ina Country nearest Egypt, fittest to return from; necessary to be knowne, because interjacent betweene Egypt and Judaa, through which he was to leade the Israelites; and wherein God held him, till the occasion which God presented, best served. And lastly. where the glory of the world shined least, amidst mountainous Defarts, there the glory of God, which shineth most, covered him over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a Kings fonne, or an adopted child of great Pharaohs daughter, but as a meeke and humble shepheard, fitting at a mountains foot, a keeper and commander of those poore beafts only.

Inthat part of Arabia neere Madian, he confumed 40. yeares. And though (as Philo inthe story of Moses life observeth) he did not neglect the care of those slocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Pastorall knowledge; vet in that foliary Defart he enjoyed himselfe: and being separate from the preasse of the world, and the trouble some affaires thereof, he gave himselfe to contemplation, and to make perfect in himselfe all those knowledges, whereof his younger yeares had gathered the grounds and principles: the fame Author also judging that his Pastorall life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, which he afterward obtained. Eft enim (faith Philo) ars Paftoralis, quasi praludium adregnum, hoc eft, ad regimen hominum gregis mansuetissimi. Quemadmodum bellisosa ingenia praexercent se in venationibus. experientia in feris quod postea in militia & bello perfectura sunt brutis prabentibus materiam exercitii tam belli quam pacis tempore. At vero prafectura mansueti pecoris, habet auiddam simile cum regno in subditis ideoq Reges cognominantur Pastores popularum non contumelia fed honoris gratia; The art of keeping sheep is, as it were, an introductory exercise unto a Kingdome, namely, the rule over men, the most gentle flock : Even as warlike natures do before-hand exercise themselves in hunting, practising on wilde beasts those things, which after they will accomplish in warfare : those brute beasts affoording matter, wherein to traine themselves, both in time of warre and of peace. But the government of gentle cattell, bath a kinde of resemblance unto a Kingly rule over subjects; therefore Kings are stiled shepheards of the people, not inway of reproach, but for their honour.

That Moses, in this time of his abode at Madian, wrote the Booke of 70b, as Pereriua supposeth, I cannot judge of it, because it is thought, that Job was at that time living. Neither dare I subscribe to Pererius opinion, That Moses while he lived in that part of pererius Arabia, wrote the Booke of Genefis; although I cannot deny the reason of Pererius Exed. conjecture, That by the example of Jobs patience he might strengthen the oppressed Hebrewes: and by the promises of God to Abraham, Isaac, and Faceb, put them in assurance of their delivery from the Egyptian flavery, and of the Land of rest, and plentic

Of this calling backe into Egypt by the Angell of God, and the marvailes and won? ders which he performed, thereby to perswade Pharaoh, that he was the messenger of the most High; the particulars are written in the first fourteene Chapters of Exodus; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needlesse. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when Moses defired to be taught by God, by what name he Exade 3.2. 132 should make him knowne, and by whom he was fent; he received from God so much, as 14. and 15; man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being nature. Our of which he delivered him in the first part of his answer, a name to be considered of by the wisest: and in his second, to be understood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it selfe, but the Eternall: which truely is; which is above all; which is immutable. The bodies of menare changed every moment: their substance wasteth, and is repaired by nutrimenta

Hierad Da.

C.16.2.5.

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ment: never continuing at one stay, nor being the same so long as while one may say. Now. Likewise, whatsoever is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in every shortest piece of time suffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state. Una est Dei & sola natura qua verè est: id enim quod subsistit, non habet aliunde, sed sum eft. Cateraqua creata sunt, etiamsi videntur esse, son sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, potest rursum non ese, quod non fuit; It is the one and onely nature of God, which truly is : for he bath his being of himselfe, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are cre. ated, although they seeme to be, yet they are not ; for sometimes they were not : and that which hath not beene, may againe want being. And with this, in respect of the divine nature the faying of Zeno Eleates excellently agreeth: Tota rerum natura umbra est, aut inanu, aut fallax : The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitfull : in com. parison of whom (faith Esay) all Nations are as nothing, lesse than nothing, and meen

C.40.2.12.

Of the tenne plagues wherewith the Egyptians were strucken, the first was by changing the Rivers into bloud: God punishing them by those waters, into which their Forest thers had throwne, and in which they had drowned the innocent children of the Hebrens To which this place of the Revelation may be fitly apply ed: And I heard the Angelofthe water fay, Lord, thou art just, which art, and which wast; and holy, because thou hast juded these things; for they shed the blond of thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore hast thougiven them bloud to drinke.

The rest of the plagues by Frogges, Lice, Flyes, or stinging Waspes; by the deathof their Cattaile; by leprous Scabbes; by Haile and Fire; by Grashoppers; by Darknesse after which Pharaoh forbad Moses his presence: moved the hardned heart of the unbelen ving King, no longer, than the paine and perill lasted; till such time as his own first-bom and the first-borne of all his Nation perished. He then, while he feared his owne life, (a time wherein we remember God perforce) ftood upon no condition: whereas before, he first yeelded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, men. ferving their bestiall; but he was now content for the present, that the Israelites should not only depart with all their own, but with a part of the Silver, Gold, and Jewels, of lis own people: of which (the feare being past) he suddenly repented him as his pursual ter them proved. For when every one of the Hebrewes had (according to direction from Moses received) staine a Lambe, without spot or blemish, for the Passeover, (a Sacramat of the most clean and unspotted Saviour,) and with the bloud thereof coloured the pole and linterne of the doores; the Angel of God in the night smote every first-borne of gypt, from the fon of the King, to that of the Beggar and Slave: the children of the Ifu. lites excepted. At which terrible judgement of God, Pharaoh being more than everamazed, yeelded, as before is faid, to their departure. The Egyptians (faith Epiphanius) did in after-times imitate this colouring with bloud, which the Ifraelites used after the Paster ver; ascribing an exceeding vertue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not only marketheir Sheep and Cattell, buttheir Trees bearing Fruit, to preserve them from lightning and other harmes.

Of Pharaohs pursuit of the Israelites: and of their passage towards the Red Sea, so fart &

TOw, when the people were removed, and on their way, (his heart being hardned by God) he bethought him as well of the honour loft, as of the shame remaining after so many Calamities and Plagues, in suffering them to depart with the spoiles of his people, and indespight of hunselfe. And having before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readinesse, he consulted with himselfe, what way the Isak. lites were like to take. He knew that the shortest and fairest passage was through the Countrey of the Philistims. But because these people were very strong, and a warket Nation, and in all probability of his Allies, he suspected that Moses meant to finde some other out-let, to wit, through the Defart of Ethan; and there, because the Country was exceeding mountanous, and of hard accesse, and that Moses was pestered with multitudes of Women, Children and Cattell, he thought it impossible for the Ifrelites to escape him that way. In the meane while having gathered gather all the Chariots of Egypt, and 600 of his owne, and Captaines over them; he determined to fet upon Exed. 14.73 them in the plaines of Gosen, which way soever they turned themselves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed with broad and sharpe Hooks on both fides, in fashion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kinde of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the Brittaines used against the Romanes, while they made the Warre for the Conquest of this Land. Of this Army of Pharaoh, Josephus affirmeth, that it consisted of Josan de ace 50000. Horse, and 20000. Foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted but that Pharach intended long before to affaile the Hebrewes at their departure, or to destroy them in Gofen; and refused them passage, till such time as he had prepared an Army, to fet on them. For, as it is written in the first of Exodus, he doubted two things, either that the Hebrewes might joyne themselves to his enemies within the Land or being so multiplied, as they were, might leave his fervice, and get themselves thence at their pleafure. But the plagues which God grieved him withall, enforc't him at this time to give an affent to their departure : perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise: and Tolephus partial in this affaire, yet by the words of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariors of Egypt, which could not be done in hafte. For Moles made End. 14.76 but three dayes march, ere Pharaoh was at his heeles; and yet the last day he went on fixteenemiles: which, in 10 hot a Countrey, and to drive their Cattell and Sheepe with them, peftered with a world of Women and Children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerfull Enemy at hand. Now, as Moses well knew that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his understanding in all his Enterprizes: fo helay not fill in the ditch crying for helpe, but using the understanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed becomming a Wife man, and a valiant and skillall Conducter; as by all his actions and counfailes from this day to his death, well appeared.

When Moles perceived that Pharaoh was enraged against him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence: after that he had warned Israel of the Palleover, he appointed a general Affembly or Rende-vous of all the Hebrews at Ramales in the Territory of Golen; a City standing indifferent to receive from all parts of the Coun-Theteritory try the dispersed Hebrewes: and gave commandement, that every Family should bring of Gosen was with them such store as they had of Dow, and Paste, not staying to make it into bread: led Ramases, knowing then that Pharaob was on foote, and on his way towards them. Which done, after the name and having confidered the great strength of Paraohs Horse-men and Chariots, of which of this City, as kind of defence Mofes was utterly unprovided (though, as it is written, the Ifraelities went Gen.47. uparmed) he marched from Ramafes East-ward, towards the Defarts of Etham, and in-Num.33camped at Succoth; which he performed on the fifteenth day of the Moneth Abib: which Moneth from that time forward they were commanded to account as the first Moneth of the yeare. Whether in former times they had beene accustomed to begin their yeare in some other Moneth, following the manner of the Egyptians, and were now Exed 23,16,00 recalled by Moses to the rule of their Fore-fathers, it is uncertain. Certaine it is, that they 34.12. had, and retained, another beginning of their politicke yeare, which was not now abrogated, but rather by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still continued in use. Wherefore in referring things done, or happing among them, unto the beginning, middeft, or ending of the yeare; that distinction of the Sacred, and the Politike yeare is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of dayes in every Moneth, and the whole forme of their yeare, like enough it is that Mofes himselfe in forty yeares space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was given in trust: but that any rule of framing their Kalandar, was made publike, before the captivity of Babylon, I do not finde. Now because time and motion begintogether, it will not, I thinke, be any great breach of order, to shew here at their first setting forth, what was the forme of the Hebrew yeare: with the difference betweene them and other Nations in ordering the accompt of time:

6.V I

Ant. 1 . 6 . 4 .

Deut.16.

§. V I.

Of the Solary and Lunary yeeres; and how they are reconciled: with the forme of the Hebrew yeere, and their manner of intercalation.

The Hebren Moneths are thus named.

The first Moneth, Nifan, or Abib.	I. March.
The fecond, far, or Tiar, Zio, or Zin.	2 . Aprill.
The third, Sivan, or Sinan, or Siban.	3 . Maie.
The fourth, Tamu?.	4. June.
The fifth, Ab.	5 · Julie.
The fixth, Ehul.	6. August.
The Swenth Tilri or Ethavin or Ethanim.	7. September.
The eighth, Marchefuan, or Mechafuan, or Bul, or with	1 Fosephus, Marsonane. 8.0 Hober.
The ninth, Chillen, Or Callen.	9.10 vember.
The tenth. Tebeth, or Thobeth.	[10.December.
The eleventh, Sebeth, or Sabath.	II. Januarie.
The twelfth, Adar, and Ve Adar.	12.February.

Te Adar was an intercalory Moneth, added, some yeares, unto the other twelve, to make the Solarie and Lunary yeare agree, which (besides the generall inconvenience that would otherwise have risen, by casting the Moneths of Summer into the Winter season, to the great constition of all account) was more necessarily to be regarded of the Hebrewes, because of the divine Precept. For God appointed especial Feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a Moneth of the yeare, and with all on a set day, both of the Moone and of the Moneth; as the Feast of the first fruits; the new Moones, and the like: which could not have so bin kept, if either the day of the Moone had faller in some other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it selfe bin sound farre distant from his

place in the feafon of the yeare.

Other Nations, the better to observe their Solemnities in the due time, and to ask taine all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principall commodity oftime) that is the measure of endurance) were driven in like manner to make their yearesumquall, by adding fometimes, and fometimes abating one or more dayes, as the error com mitted in foregoing yeares required. The error grew at first, by not knowing what no ber of daies made up a compleat yeare. For though by the continual course of the Sm causing Summer and Winter duly to succeed each other, it is plaine enough, evento the most favage of all people, when a yeare hath passed over them; yet the necessity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbred by a shorter Tally, makes this long measure whole yeares infufficient for the finaller fort of more daily affairs. Therefore men oble ved the Monethly conficuous revolution of the Moone, by which they divided the yeare into twelve parts, subdividing the Moneth into 29 dayes and nights, and those again into their quarters and houres. But as the markes of time are fenfible and eafily differ ned: fo the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the understanding. Twelve revolutions of the Moone, containing lessetime by 11.dayes or thereabout, than the yearely course of the Sunne, through the Zodiacke, in the space of fixteene yeares, every moneth was found in the quite contrary part of the yeare, to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to adde some daies to the years making it to confift of twelve Moneths, and as many dayes more, as they thought would make the courses of the Sunne and Moone to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the Sunne determine his yearely revolution by any fet number of whole dayes, neither did the Moone change alwayes at one houre, but the very mi nutes and leffer fractions were to be observed by him, that would feeke to reduce their motions (which motions also were not still alike) into any certaine rule.

Here lay much Wisedome and deepe Art, which could not soone be brought to perfection. Yet as making an estimate at randome, the Athenians held the yeare to consume three hundred and sixty dayes, wherein most of the Greekes concurred with them. The 360-dayes filled up the Greeian yeare (besides many collaterall proofes) it is manifely by that which Pliny directly affirmeth, telling of the Statues, erected in honour of

Demetrius Phalereus, which were (faith he) 360. whileft as yet the yeare exceeded nor that number of dayes. By this account neither did any certaine age of the Moone beoin or end their Moneths; neither could their Moneths continue many yeares, in their owne places: but must needs be shifted by little and little from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the dayes forgotten to be inferted into the Almanacke by men, but not forgotten by the superiour bodies in their courses, should occupy their owneroomes in their due turnes. Now, because the solemnity of the Olympian games wastobe held at the full Moone, and withall on the 15. day of the Moneth Hecatombaon (which answereth in a manner to our fune) they were carefull to take order that this Moneth might wer begin with the new Moone; which they effected by adding sometwo daies to the last Moneth of every yeare; those Games being held once in source veares. This intercalation fufficed not to make the matter even; which caused them formtimes to omit one day in the fourth yeare, which was the fecond of the Moneth Badromion; (agreeing nearly with our Angust) formetimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to insertanother for it intheir fourth Lunary yeare, accounting by the Moone, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their Moneth of June would every vearehave growne colder and colder, had they not fought to keepe all upright, by intercalating in each other Olympiad, that is, each eighth yeare, one whole Moneth, which they called the fecond Posideon or December; which was the device of Harpalus, who allotaught them to make one Moneth of 29. dayes, another of 30. dayes, & fo fucceffive ly through the whole yeare. Thus with much labour they kept their yeare as neare as they could, unto the high way of the Planets; but these markes which they observed. were found at length to be deceitfull Guides. For it was not possible so to fashion this eighth yeares intercalation, that it should not deceive them in 11. hours and 18. minutes at the least, or some waies in 34. houres and 10. minutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences would, in few Ages, have bred much confusion. The first that introduced a goodmethod, likely to continue, was Meton the Athenian, who not regarding the Clympiads, and the eighth yeares intercalation, devised a Cycle of 19. yeares, wherein the Moone having 235 times runne out her circuit, met with the Sunne in the fame place, and on the same day of the yeare, as in the 19. yeare before past she had done. This invention of Meton was entertained with great applause, and passing from Greece to Rome, was there inferted into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called the Golden Number, which name it retaineth unto this day. Hereby were avoyded the great and uncertaine intercalations that formerly had bin used; for by the intercalation of 7. moneths in the 19 yeares, all was so even, that no sensible difference could be found. Yet that errour which in one yeare could not be perceived, was very apparent in a few of those Cycles; the new Moones anticipating in one Cycle 7. hours, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore Calippus devised a new Cycle containing foure of Metons, that is to fay, 76. yeares; and afterwards Hipparchus, a Noble Astrologer, framed another, containing foure of Calippus his Periods, each of them finding some error in the former obfervations, which they diligently corrected. The last reformation of the Kalendar was that which Julius Cafar made, who by advice of the best Mathematicians, then to be found, examining the courses of those heavenly bodies, reduced the yeare unto the forme which is now in use with us, containing 365 dayes and fix houres, which houres in foure yeares make up one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth yeare, the 24.0f February, The correction of the Julian yeare by Pope Gregory the 13. Anno Domini 1582 is not as yet entertained by generall confent; it was indeed, but as a note added unto the worke of Cafar: yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was observed, that the Sunne, which at the time of the Nicene Councell, Anno Dom. 324. entred the Aquinoctiallon the 21. day of March, was in the yeare 1582. ten dayes sooner found, in that time Pope Gregorie strooke out of the Kalendar ten daies, following the fourth of Ottober, fo that in stead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which meanes the moveable Fealts depending on the Suns entrance into Aries, were againe celebrated in such time, as at the Nicem Councell they had bin. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the Councell of Trent ordained, that from thence forward in every hundreth yeare, the Leape day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundred because the Sunne doth not in his yearely course take up full fixe houres above the 365. dayes; but faileth so many minutes, as in 400. yeares make about three whole dayes.

30.0 29.

Plin.l. 24.5.6.

CHAP.3.5.7.

But the Cycle of 20. yeares, which the Hebrewes used, was such as neither did need any nice curiofity of houres, minutes, and other leffer Fractions to helpe it; neither did in funming up the dayes of the whole yeare, neglect the dayes of the Moone, confounding one Moneth with another. For with them it fell out fo, that always the Kalends or first day of the Moneth was at the new Moone; and because that day was festivall, they were very carefull as well to observe the short yeare of the Moone, passing through all the 12. Signes in one Moneth, as that longer of the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore they gave it to Nisan their first Moneth, which is about our March or Aprill, 30. dayes; to Far their fecond Moneth 29. dayes; and fo succeffively 30. to one, 29. to another. Hereby it came to passe, that every two Moneths of theirs. contained somewhat evenly two revolutions of the Moone, allowing 29. dayes, 12. houres, and odde minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestoweda. mong the superfluous or Epact dayes; which made up 7. Moneths in 19. yeares; to 6.0f which 7. were commonly given 30. dayes; to one of them 29. dayes, or otherwife s was found requisite. Their common yeare (as appeareth by the severall dayes of each Moneth) contained 354. dayes, which faile of the yeare, wherein the Sun finishethlis course, 11. whole dayes, with some fractions of time. But these dayes, and other broken pieces, howfoever they were neglected in one yeare, yet in the Cycle of 19. yeares were To disposed of by convenient intercalations, that still at the end of that Cycle, both the Sun and Moone were found on the same day of the yeare, moneth & weeke, yea common. ly on the same houre of the day, where they had beene at the beginning of it 19. yeares

Sig.de rep.Heb.

Geneb Chron.

Divers have diverfly fer downe the forme of the Hebrew yeare, with the manner of their Intercalations. Sigonius tells us, that every fecond yeare they did adde a Monethol 22.dayes; every fourth yeare a Moneth of 23. in the regard of 11. dayes and a half wanting in 12. Moones to fulfill a yeare of the Sun. But herein Sigonius was very much deceived. For the Moone doth never finish her course in 22.01 23. dayes: and therefore to have added to many dayes to the end of the years, had bin the way to change the fashion of all the Moneths in the yeares following, which could not have begun, as they ought, with the new Moone. Genebrard faith, that every third yeare, or fecond years, a neede required, they did intercalate one Moneth, adding it at the yeares end unto the ther 12. This I believe to have bin true; but in which of the yeares the intercalation was (if it be worthy of confideration) me thinks they doe not probably deliver, who keepe all far from evennesse untill the very last of the 19. yeares. For (to omit such asent groffely) some there are who say, that after three yeares, when besides the dayes spenting 36. courses of the Moone. 33. dayes are left remaining, that is, 11 dayes of each yeare, then did the Hebrewes adde a Moneth of 30. dayes, keeping three dayes, as it were, in pluffage unto the next account. The like, fay they, was done at the end of the fixt year; at which time, befides the Intercalary Moneth, remained fix dayes, namely, three furmounting that Moneth, and the Epact of three yeares, besides the three formely refer ved. Thus they goe on to the 18. yeare; at which time they have 18 dayes in hand: which with the Epact of the 19. yeare, make up a moneth of 29. dayes, that being intercalated at the end of the Cycle, makes all even.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirme nor deny; yet furely it mult needs have bred a great confusion, if in the 18. yeare every Moneth were removed from his owne place by the distance of 48. dayes, that is, halfe a quarter of the yeare and more; which inconvenience by fuch a reckoning was unavoidable. Wherefore, I preferre the common opinion, which preventeth such dislocation of the Moneths, by setting downer a more convenient way of Intercalation in the 8. years. For the 6. dayes remaining after the two former Intercalations made in the third and fixt yeares, added unto the 22 dayes, arifing out of the Epacts of the 7-and 8-yeares, doe fitly ferve to make up a Moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the yeare following; and this borrowing of two dayes is fo far from caufing any disorder, that indeed it helpes to make the yeares enling vary the leffe from the proper season of every Moneth. This may suffice to be spoken of

the Hebrew Moneths and yeares, by which they guided their accounts.

6. VII. Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red Sea and of the divers mayes leading out

Rom Succoth in the morning following, Moses led the Israelites towards the Defart of Etham, to recover the Mountaine foot, by the edge of that Wildernesse. though he intended nothing leffe than to goe out of that way, of all other the nearest. But being affured of the multitude of Horsemen and armed Chariots that followed him, he kept himselfe from being incompassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At Etham he rested but one night, and then he restected backe from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the distance betweene it and Succost being about eight miles. That he forbare to enter Arabiabeing then in fight thereof, it feemeth to proceede from three respects; the first two naturall; the third divine. For Pharaoh being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which Moses tooke, perswaded himselfe, that the numbers which Moes led, confishing of above a Million, if nortwo Millions of soules, (for as it is written, it is probable Exoditie 12. Great multitudes of sundry sorts of people went out with them) could not post-that all those fibly paffe over those desart and high Mountaines with so great multitudes of Women, Egyptians and othersbrought Children, and Cattell, but that at the very entrance of that fastnesse he should have over-bythe Hebrers taken them, and destroyed the greatest numbers of them. For these his owne words: to the know-They are tangled in the Land, the Wildernesse hath shot them in, doe show his hopes and in-true God, tole tents ; which Mofes, by turning another way, did frustrate. Secondly, Mofes by offering lowed Mofes to enter Arabia that way, drew Pharaoh toward the East-side of the Land of Gosen, or this Rameses: from whence (missing Moses there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots wasmore difficult, by reason of the roughnesse of the way; and howsoever, yet while the Hibrewes kept the Mountaine foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the over-bearing violence both of the Horse and Chariots. Thirdly, Moses confidence in the All-powerfull God was fuch, by whose spirit; onely wise, he was directed, as he rathermade choice to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God, than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, confisting of 600000 men, to cast the successe upon his owne understanding, wise conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from Etham towards the Valley of Pibacheroth, 16. miles distant; and sate down between two ledges of Mountaines adjoyning to the Red Sea, to wit, the Mountaines of Etham on the North, & Baal Zephon towards the South; the fame which Orofius calleth Climax: on the top whereof there stood a Temple dedicated to Baal. And, as Phagins noteth, the word fo compounded, is as much to climax is relay, as, Dominus specula, sive custodia. Lord of the watch tower. For the Egyptians believed, ther to called or at least made their slaves believe, that if any of them offered to escape that way in respect of a passage up and into Arabia, this Idoll would both arrest them, and force them to returne to their Lords downe, than and Masters. For the Egyptians had gods for all turnes. Egyptii diis facundi; The Egypti- that it is any ans were fruitfull in gods, faith Saint Hierome. But Moses, who encamped at the foot of this Mountaine with a million of foules, or as other conceive, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-tower afleepe, or our of countenance.

Now these two passages leading out of Egypt into Arabia upon the firme land, Moses Exeditative refused, as well that of Pelusium and Casiotis, the fairest and shortest of all other, in respect

of Judea, as the other by Etham, from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembred, and tooke the way by the Valley of Pihacheroth, betweene the Mountaines, which made a streight entrance towards the Sea. After whom Pharas made so great speed with his Horse-men and Chariots, as he gave the Hebrewes no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but gate fight of them, and they of him, even at the very brinke and wash of the Sea: infomuch as the Hebrewes being terrified with Pharachs sudden approach, be-

gan to despaire, and to mutine, at that time when it behoved them most to have taken conrage for their owne defence; laying it to Moses charge, that themselves foresaw those

perls in which they were wrapped. And feare, Which, faith the booke of Wisedome, is the capitality betraying of those fuccours which reason offereth, made them both despaire in Gods former

promites, and to be forgetfull of their owne strength and multitudes.

6.VIII

Exod.14.13.

Exed.14.16.

5, VIII.
Of their passage over the Red Sea : and of the Red Sea it selfe.

But Moses who seared nothing but God himselfe, perswaded them to be considered in his goodnesse, who hath never abandoned those, that affuredly trust in him, using this comfortable and resolved speech: Feare not, &c. for the Egyptians whom ye have seenethis day, ye shall never see them againe. The Lord shall sight for you. After which Moses called on God for succour, received encouragement, and commandement to go on in these words: Wherefore cryest thou unto me? Speake unto the children of Israel that they goe forward; and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy band upon the Sea. Moses obeying the children of Israel goe on dry ground through the middess of the Sea. Moses obeying the voyce of God, in the darke of the night finding the sands uncovered, pate on towards the other side and coast of Arabia: two parts of the night being spent ere he entred the Foord, which it pleased God by a forcible Easterne winde, and by Moses rodto prepare.

Pharaoh followed him even at the heeles, finding the fame dry ground which Moles trod on. Therefore, as it is written : The Angel of God which went before the Hoft of Ifral. removed, and went behindethem; also the pillar of the cloud went from before them, and find behinde them; which is, that it pleased God therein either by his immediate power, or by the ministery of his Angel, to interpose his defence betweene the Hebrewes and their E nemies; to the end that the Egyptians might hereby be blinded, it fuch fort, as they could not purfue Ifrael with any harmefull speede. But in the morning watch Moses seized the other banke of Arabia fide : and Pharaob (as the dawne of day began to illighten the obscure aire) finding a beginning of the Seas returne, hasted himselfe towards his own, Coaft : But Moses stretched forth his hand, and the Seareturned to his force, that is, the Ser moved by the power of God, ran backe towards the land with unrefiftable fury & fwiftnesse, and overwhelmed the whole Army of Pharaob, so as not one escaped. For it is written, that God tooke off their Chariot wheeles, that is, when the waters began to coverth Sands, the Egyptians being strucken with feare of death, ran one athwart another, and milfing the path by which they had past on after the Hebrewes, their wheeles stucke fast in the mud and quick-fands, and could not be drawne out: the Sea comming against them with fupernaturall violence.

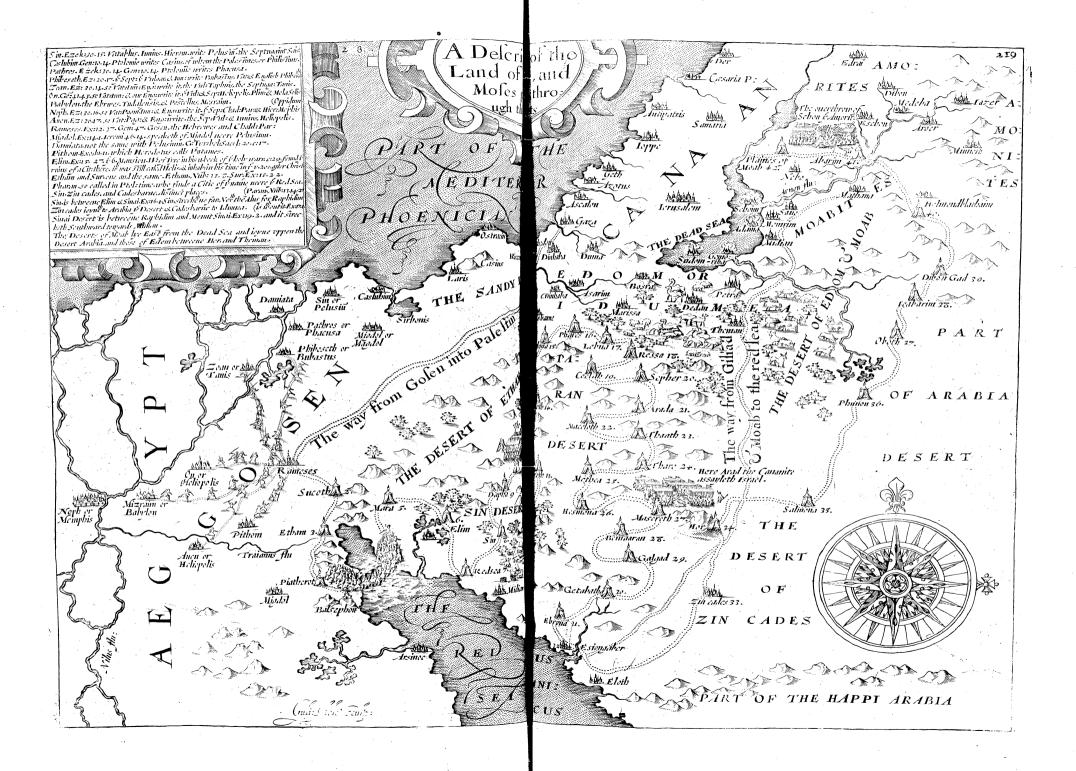
Lyranus upon Exad. 14. and others, following the opinions or old Traditions of the Hebrewes, conceived, that after Moses had by the power of God divided the Red Sea, and that the children of Israel were fearefull to enter it, Aminadab Prince or Leader of the Tribe of Juda first made the adventure; and that therefore was that Tribe ever after honored above the rest, according to the prophecy of Jacob, Gen. 49.8. Thy fathers somes shall bow downe unto thee. But Hierome upon the 11. of Hosea condemnes this opinion. And though it be true, that Juda had the first place in all their marches in the Desart, and, as we now call it, led the Vantgard, (whereupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the Red Sea) yet that Moses himselfe was the Conductor of Israel at that time, it is generally received. For, as it is written in the 77. Psalme: Thou didst leade thy peopletic sheepe by the band of Moses and Aaron.

The Hebrewes have also another fancy, that the Red Sea was divided into twelve parts, and that every Tribe past over in a path apart, because it is written in the 135. Pfalm, according to the vulgar: Divisit mare rubrum in divisiones, He divided the Red Sea in divisions. Also that the bottome of the Sea became as a greene Field or Pasture. But Origen, Epiphanius, Abulensis, and Genebrard, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to confider, that there were not twelve Pillars, nor twelve Armies of the Egyptians. It is written Pfalme 77.v.16.Tby way is in the Sea; not thy wayes: and in the last booke of Wisedoms, surface, that there was away.

Now this Sea, through which Moses past, and in which Pharaoh, otherwise called Chineses, perished in the 16 yeare of his reigne, is commonly knowned by the name of the Red Sea, though the same differ nothing at all in natural colour from other wates. But as Philostratus in his third booke noteth, and our selves know by experience, it is of a bluish colour, as other Seasare. It entreth at a narrow strait betweene Araba the Happy and Ethiopia, or the land of the Abysius: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which Ptolomy calleth Possedium, to the other Land of Athiopia, hath not above

Fofua.24.7.

Exed.14.27.



fixe leagues inbreadth, and the fame also filled every where with Ilands, but afterwards it extendeth it selfe 58. Leagues from Coast to Coast, and it runneth up between Arabia the Happy, and Arabia Petras, on one fide, and Athiopia and Egypt on the other, as far as Sues, the uttermost end and indraught of that Sea: where the Turke now keepeth his fleet of Gallies. The Cosmographers commonly give it the name of the Arabian Gulfe: but the North part towards Sues, and where Mofes past, is called Heropolites of the City Hero; fometime Troy, and of later times Sues. Plinie cals it Cambifu, by which name it was Plin.lo.cizgo knowne, faith he, before it was called Hero many yeares. The Arabians call this Sea towards the North Apocopa, Eccant, & Eant. Artemidorus writes it Aleniticum: King Tuba Laniticum, others more properly Elaniticum, of the Port & Citie Elana: which the Septuagint call Elath: Ptolomy, Elana: Pliny, Lana: Josephus, Ilana: and Marius Niger, Aila: Josephus. there is also Ilalah in Affyria, to which Salmanaffar carryed the Ifraelites captive, 2. Kings c.8.v.11. which Ilalah in Affyria, the Septuagint call Elea: and in the first of Chro. the c. Ala. But as for this Red Sea or the parts thereof, thus diverfly named, the Moores and Arabians (Vassals to the Turk) know it by no other appellation, than the Gulfe of Meca, after the name of Mahomets Towne Mecca. The Greekes write it the Sea Erythraum, of a King called Erythras, or Erythraus: and because Erythras in the Greeke fignifieth Red hence it is, that being denominated of this Erythraus, the sonne of Perfeus and Andro- Ariande gellimeda, yet it tooke the name of the Red Sea, as Quin. Curtius conjectureth: which Aria- Alex. Mag. 1.8. nus and Srabo confirme. But it feemeth to me by the view of a discovery of that Sea in the yeare 1544. performed by Stephen Gama, Viceroy of the East India for the King of Portugal, that this Sea was so called from a reflection of rednesse, both from the banks. clifts, and fands of many Ilands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For I finde by the report of Castro, a principall Commander under Gama (which discourse I gave Master Richard Hacluit to publish) that there is an Iland called Dalaqua, forme time Legues, containing in length 25. Leagues, and 12 in breadth, the earth, fands, & clifts, of which fland, being of a reddish colour, serve for a foile to the waters about it and make it seeme altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same Castro reporteth, that from 24 degrees of Septentrionall Latitude, to 27 (which make in length of Coast 180 miles, lying as it doth Northerly and Southerly) all the clifts and banks are of red earth or stone, which by reflection of the Sun-beames, give a kinde of reddish luster to the waters. Thirdly, those Portugals report, and we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottome of this Seatowards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the greatest store of Corrall growes, which is carryed into most parts of Europe, & elsewhere. There are also on the Ilands of this Sea many red Trees, saith Strabo, and those growing under water may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of rednesse by the shadows of these stones, sands, earth, & clifts, I suppose that it first tooke the name of the Red Sea, because in so many places it seemeth to be such: which Johannes Barros in his second Decade, eight Booke and first Chapter, confirmeth.

The breadth of this Sea from Elana or Ezion-Gaber adjoyning, now Tere, called by the ancient Cosmographers Sinus Elaniticus, which washeth the banks of Madian or Midian, is for 16.01 17. Leagues together, along Northward towards Sues, some three Leagues or nine English miles over, and from this Port of Toro to Sues, and the end of this Sea it is in length about 28. Leagues, of which the first 26. have nine miles breadth, as aforefaid, and afterward the lands both from Egypt and Arabia, thrust themselves into the Sea, and streighten it so fast; as for six miles together it is not above three miles over; from thence upward the land on Egypt fide, falleth away, and makes a kinde of Bay or Cove for fome ten miles together, after which the land growes upon the Sea againe, and fo binds itinto the very end thereof, at four emiles breadth or thereabout, in which tract it was that Moses past it over, though others would have it to be over-against Elana or Toro, but without judgement: for from Ramases to Pibacheroth and Baalzephon, there is not above 30 miles interjacent, or 35 miles at most, which Moses past over in three dayes: and betweene the land of Egypt opposite to Elana or Toro, the distance is above 80 miles. For Namales, to which City Moles came (being the Metropolis of Golen) when he left Pharao at Zoan, and tooke his last leave, standeth in 30. degrees five minutes of Septentrionall Latitude; and Migdolor the Valley of Pihacheroth, at the foot of the Mountaine Climax, or Baail ephon, in nine and twenty and a halfe, which made a difference of five and

thirty English miles, the way lying in effect North and South.

6.IX

220

That the passage through the Red Seawas miraculous, and not a low Ebbe.

He Egyptians, and of them the Memphites, and other Heathen Writers, who in hatred of the Hebrewes have objected that Moses past over the Red Sea at a low ebbe, upon a great fpring-tyde, and that Pharaoh, conducted more by fury than discretion, pursued him so farre, as before he could recover the coast of Egypt, he was over-taken by the floud, and therein perished; did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For, not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plaine, that the Waters were divided, and that God wrought this mincle by an Easterly winde, and by the hand and rod of Moses (which authority to men that believe not therein, perswadeth nothing) I say, that by the same natural reason unto which they fasten themselves, it is made manifest, that had there beene no other working power from above, or affiftance given from God himselfe to Moses and the children of Israel, than ordinary and casuall, then could not Pharae and all his Army have perished in

For wherefoever there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulfe, or indraught, there do the waters fall away from the Land, and runne downwards toward the Ocean, leaving all that part towards the Land as farre as the Sea canebbe, or fall off, to be dry Land Now, Moles entring the Sea at Migdol under BaalZephon (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the tyde) must have left all that end of the Red Sea towards Sues, on his left hand dry and uncovered. For if a paffage were made by falling away of the water to or twelve miles farther into the Sea than Sues, and betweene it and where Moles walk who entred the fame so farre below it, and towards the body of the same Sea: it followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleeve or Strait, had bin by the ebbe of a spring-tyde discovered, when Pharao found the floud increasing, he needed not to have returned by the same way toward Egypt side, but might have gone on in his returne before the tyd, on his right hand: and so taken ground againe at the end of that Sea, at Sues it selfe, orellwhere. But the Scriptures do truely witnesse the contrary, that is, That the Sea did mig fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth, but that Moses past on betweene two Sen, and that the waters were divided. Otherwise Pharas by any returne of waters could in have perished, as he did : and therefore the effects of that great Armies destruction, prove the cause to have beene a power above nature, and the miraculous worke of God himfelfe. Againe, those words of the Scriptures, that God caused the Sea to runne backety a ftrong East-winde, doe rather prove the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebbe more than ordinary: for that Sea did not Ive East and West, but in effect North and South. And it must have beene a West and North-west winde, that must have driven those waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-east into the Sta But the East winde blew athwart the Sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell backen towards the South and maine body thereof, the other part remained towards Suis, and the North. Which being unknowne to Pharao: while he was checkt by that Sta which used in all times before to ebbe away, the floud prest him and over-whelmed him. Thirdly, seeing Josephus avoweth, that Moses was not onely of excellent judgement generally, but also, so great a Captaine, as he over-threw the Athiopians in battels, being imployed by Pharao, and wanne divers Cities feeming impregnable: it were barbarous to condemne him of this groffenesse, and distraction: that rather than he would have endured the hardnesse of a Mountainous passage at hand (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which he would then winne upon Pharao) he would have trusted to the advantage of an ebbing water. For s he knew not the contrary, but that Pharao might have found him, and prest him, a well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it feemeth he did. For the people, beholding Pharaohs approach, cryed out against Moses, and despaired altogether of their safetie: and when Moses prayed unto God for helpe, he was answered by God: Wherest cryest thou unto me ? Speake unto the children of Israel that they goe forward, and lift its up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the Sea, and divide it : which proves, had there was not at the time of Pharoahs approach any ebbe at all; but that God did dipert and cut through the weight of waters, by a strong East-winde, whereby the Sands

discovered themselves between the Sea on the left hand toward Sues, from whence the waters moved not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, So that the waters were a wall unto them on the right hand, and on the left hand, that is, the waters so defended them on both sides, as the Egyptians could only follow them in the same path, not that the waters stood upright as wals doe, as some of the Schoole-men have fancied. For had Pharaoh and the Egyptians perceived any such buildings in the Sea, they would soone have quitted the chase and pursuit of Israel. Furthermore, there is no man of judgement, that can think, that Pharaoh and the Egyptians, who then excelled all Nations in the observations of heavenly Motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes & refluxes of the Sea, in his owne Country, on his own Coast, and in his own most traded and frequented Ports and Havens; and wherein, his people having had fo many hundreds of years experience of the tydes, he could not be caught, ashe was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknown or naturall accident, but by Gods powerfull hand onely which then falleth most heavily on all men, when looking through no other spectacle but their own prosperity, they least discerne it comming, and least seare it. Lastly, if the Army of the Egyptians had been overtaken by the ordinary returne of the floud before they could recover their own Coast; their bodies drowned would have been carried with the floud which runneth up to Sues, and to the end of that Sea, and not have been castashore on that Coast of Arabia where Moses landed, to wit, upon the Sea-bank over against Baalzephon, on Arabia side: where it was that the Ifraelites saw their dead bodies, and not at the end of the Red Sea, to which place the ordinary floud would have carried them: Which floud doth not any where croffe the Channell, and run athwart it, as it must have done from Egypt side to Arabia, to have cast the bodies there; but it keeps the naturall course towards the end of that Sea: and to which their carkaffes should havebeen carried, if the worke had not beene supernaturall and miraculous. Apollonius in the lives of the Fathers affirmeth, that those of the Egyptians which stayed in the country, and did not follow Pharaoh in the pursuit of Israel, did ever after honour those Beafts, Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were bufied at the time of Pharaohs destruction: as he that was then labouring in his garden, made a god of that Plantor Root, about which he was occupied: and fo of the reft. But how those multitudes ofgods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be given elsewhere. Orofus, in his first Booke and tenth Chapter against the Pagans, tels us, that in his time, who lived some 400. years after Christ, the prints of Pharaohs Chariot wheels were to be feen at a low water on the Egyptian fands: and though they were fometime defaced by wind and weather, yet soon after they appeared again. But hereof I leave every man to

CHAP. IV.

Of the journying of the Israelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was given them : with a discourse of Lawes.

6. I.

A transition by way of recapitulation of somethings touching Chronologie: with a continunce of the story, untill the Amalekises met with the Israelites.

Ut to goe on with the flory of Ifrael, in this fort I collect the times. Moss was borne in the yeare of the World 2434. Saphrus then governing Aflyria; Orthopolis Sycionia, or Peloponnefus, Criothethe Argues, Orus Egypt, Adis 13. and Deucation Thessalie. He sled into Midian when he had lived 40. yeares, in the yeare of the World 2474. and two yeares after was Caleb borne.

te returned by the commandement and ordinance of God into Egypt, and wrought

Num-33-

Exod.14.

Num.33.

Exed.14.

Num.33.

Exod.15.

Num.33.

Exed 15

his miracles in the fields of Zoan, in the year 2514 the last moneth of that yeare. On the 14. day of the first Hebrew moneth Abib, or the 15. of that moneth, beginning the day (as they) at Sun fetting, in the yeare of the world 2514. was the celebration of the Paffe. over: and in the dead of the night of the fame day were all the first-borne slaine through PAZ.254. Egypt, or in all those parts where the Hebrewes inhabited not. The 15. day of the first moneth of the Hebrewes called Abib, being about the beginning of the yeare of the World 2514. Moses with the children of Israel removed from the generall assembly Exod.12. Num-33-

The second Booke of the first part

Ramefes, and marched to Succoth. Exod.13.

And departing thence, they made their third Station at Etham: and journying from E. tham, they encamped in the Valley of Pihacheroth, or Migdol, under the Mountain Ball, in zephon; and in the same night after mid-night, they past the Red Sea: Pharaob and his Army perishing in their returne, about the first dawne of the day. Moses having reco. vered the bankes of Arabia, gave thankes unto God, for the delivery of Israel; and ma king noftay on that coaft, entred the Defarts of Arabia Petræa, called Sur. But finding 10 water in that passage, he incamped at Marah, in the Desart of Etham, which in Exed. IS. v.22. is also called Sur, 25. miles from the Sea: where the children of Israel, prest with extreme thirst, murmured against Moses the second time; first at Pharaohs approach in Pihacheroth, and now in Arabia. But Moses taking the branches of a tree, growing neme a Lake of bitter water, and casting the same thereinto, made the same sweet : a plain Type and Figure of our Saviour; who upon the tree of the Croffe changed the bitternesseof everlafting death into the fweetneffe of eternall life. Plinie remembers these bitter Fountaines in his fixth Book and 29. Chapter. From whence to Delta in Egypt, Sefoftra first, Darius after him, and laftly, Ptolomie the second, began to cut an artificiall River, thereby by Boats and small Shipping to trade & navigate the Red Sea, from the great Citiesup on Nilus. From Marah he removed to Elim, the fixth Manfion, a march of eight miles where finding twelve Fountaines of fweet water, and threefcore and ten Palmetrees,

Num-33.

Whether this Helim were the name of a Towne or City in Moses time, I cannot s firme. And yet the scarcity of waters in that Region was such, as Helim, which twelve Fountaines, could hardly be left unpeopled. William, Archbishop of Tyre, in the History of the Holy Warre, found at Helim the ruines of a great and ancient City. An at fuch time as Baldwine the first past that way into Egypt. Ingressias (faith he) Helimo vitatem antiquissimam, populo Israelitico aliquando familiarem; ad quam cum pervenija loci illines incola, Regis adventu pracognito, naviculam ingredientes, in mare vicinum fem tulerunt: Entring Helim a very ancient City well known sometime to the people of I fracht ther, when he came the inhabitants, forewarned of the Kings approach, took Boate, and find themselves into the Sea, lying neere them. From Elim he returned again towards the South and fate downe by the banks of the Red Sea: the feventh manfion. For it feemeththat he had knowledge of Amalech, who repaired to refift his paffage through that part of A rabia. And Moses, who had not as yet trained those of the Hebrewes, appointed to beat a armes: nor affured the mindes of the rest, who encountring with the least misery, were more apt to returne to their quiet flavery, than either to endure the wants and pents which every where accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to undertaked fustaine so dangerous an enemie: he therefore made stay at this Mansion untill the teenth of this fecond Moneth called Zim, or Jiar: and made the eight Manfion in the Defart of Zin; where the children of Israel mutined against Moses the third time, having want of food. In the fixteenth chapter of Exodus, Moses omitteth this retrait from Ein to the red Sea, but in the collection of every feverall incamping, in the 33. of Numberia is set downe.

Here it pleased God to send so many slights of Quailes, as all the Country about their incamping was covered with them. The morning following it also rained Manna, being the fixteenth of their Moneth, which served them in stead of bread. For now was the Rore confumed which the people carried with them out of Egypt. And though the feed themselves with many of those: but reserved them, both for the milke to relect the children withall, and for breed to store themselves when they came to the Land promised.

From hence towards Raphidim they made two removes of twenty miles: the of

to Daphea, the other to Alus, distant from Raphedim fixe miles. Here being againe prest with want of water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from Egypt, where they rather contented themselves to be sed and beaten after the manner of bealts, than to fuffer a cafuall and fometime necessary want, and to undergoe the hazzards and travailes which every manly minde feeketh after, for the love of God, and their own freedomes. But Mofes with the fame rod which he divided the Sea withand then own the Elders of Ifrael, brought waters out of the rocke, wherewith the Exedition

6. II.

of the Amalekites, Madianities, and Kenites, upon occasion of the battel with the Amalekites? and Jethroes comming: who being a Kenite, was Priest of Madian.

Nd while Mofes incamped in this place, the Amalekites who had knowledge of his approach, and gheffed that he meant to leade the children of Ifrael through their Country (which being barren of it felfe, would be utterly wasted by so great a multitude of people and cattell) thought it most for their advantage to set upon them at Raphidim: where the want of water, and all other things needfull for the life of man, infeebled them. On the other fide, Moses perceiving their resolutions, gave charge Exodard to Josuato draw out a sufficient number of the ablest Hebrewes, to incounter Amalech. Between whom and Ifrael, the victory remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day: the Hebrewes and Amalekites contending with equall hopes and repulses for many hours. And had not the strength of Moses prayers to God been of far greater force, and more prevalent, than all refistance and attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprife. For those bodies which are macquainted with scarcity of food, and those mindes whom a servile education hath dulled, being beaten, & despaired in their first attempts, will hardly, or never be brought again to hazzard themselves.

After this victory, Jethro repaired to Moses, bringing with him Moses his wife, and his two Sons, which either Jethro forbareto conduct, or Moses to receive, till he had by this overthrow of Amalech the better affured himselfe of that part of Arabia. For it is written in the 18. of Exod.v.1. When Jethro the Priest of Madian, Moses Father in Law, heard all that God had done for Moses, erc. of which, the last deed, to wit, the overthrow of Amalech, gave Jethro courage and affurance, he then repaired to his fon in law Mofes, at Sinai; where among st other things, he advised Moses to appoint Judges, and other Officers, over Ifrael; being himselfe unable to give order in all causes and controversies, among so ma-

my thousands of people, full of discontentment and private controversie.

This Jethro, although he dwelt amongst the Madianites, yet he was by Nationa Kenite, as in the fourth of Judges v.11.6 17. it is manifest: where it is written; Now Heber the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab, to wit, the sonne of Jethro, the father in law of Moles, was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his Tents untill the Plaine of Zaanaim, Casswas which is by Kedesh. Likewise in the first of Samuel, Saul commanded the Kenites to depart from among the Amalekites, left he should destroy them with the Amalekites. For the Kenites inhabited the mountains of Sin Kadesh: and the Amalekites dwelt in the Plains, Numra 40,28, according to the faying of Balaam, speaking of the Kenites; Strong is thy dwelling place, t Same.15. and thou hast put thy nest in the Rocke. And that Saul spared this Nation, he giveth for cause, that they shewed mercy to all the children of Israel, when they came up from General Egypt. For these Kenites were a Nation of the Madianites, and the Madianites were of the iffues of Madian, one of the fixe formes which Abraham begat on Kethura: and might also take that name of Kenites from Kethura, of whom they descended by the Mother, who (as it feemeth) kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their Parent Abraham. For Moses, whenhe fled out of Egypt flore consumed which the people carried with them out of Egypt. And thought and married the daughter of Jethro, would not (had he found them I had great numbers of cattell and sheepe among them, yet it seemeth that they dust a dolaters) have made Jethroes daughter the Mother of his children. And although the Kenites are named amongst those Nations, which God promised, that the seed of Abraham should root out, and inherite their lands; yet it cannot be meant by these who are descended from Abraham himselfe: but by some other Nation, bearing

will.Tyr.l.II.

cap.16.

Exed.16.

Exed 16.

Gen.150

Jud.4.

the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of Chus. For in the fifteenth of Genesis verse nineteene, these Kenites or Chustes are listed with the Hittites & Perizzites, with the Amorites, Canaanites, Gergefites, and Jebusites, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these Kenites, descended from Abraham, had separated themselves from amono the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as it is before remembred, Heber the Ke. nite, which was of the children of Hobab, was departed from the Kenites; that is to fav. from those Kenites of Canaan, and inhabited in Zaanaim, which is by Kedelhor Cadelh. A gain, Moses nameth that Nation of the Kenites, before Midian, or any of Abrahams other fonnes were borne; which he did(referring my felfe to better judgement)rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

Gen. 25.4.

And as of the Kenites, fo we may confider of the Madianites, parted by Moses into five Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and heathers; as those of Madian by the River Zared, afterwards destroyed by Moses. But the Madianites neer the banks of the Red Sea, where Moses married his wife Zippora, and with whom he left her & hischildren, till after the overthrow of Amalech, feeme likewise not to have been corrupted. For these Madianites with the Kenites, affished Ifrael, and guided them in the Delaris. But the Madianites in Moab, and to the North of the Metropolis of Arabia, called Petras. were by Ifrael rooted out, when those adjoyning to the Red Sea were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of Madian, of whom Fethro was Priest and the other Cities in Moab were the fame, yet the contrary is more probable. For Mo-13 fes would not have fent 12000. Ifraelites, as far backe as the Red Sea, from the Plainsof Most, to have destroyed that Madian, where his wives kindred inhabited; seeing himselfe comming with 600000. able men, was encountred by Amalech, in that passage. Neither could Moses forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Desarts, when himselfe and Israel had wandred 40. yeares.

That Jethro, or Jothor, Raguel or Revel, and Hobab, were but one person, the Scriptures teach us. For the Vulgar & Septuagint, which call him Raguel, and our English Revel, Ex. odus 2.18.cals him Jethro, or Jother, Exed. 3.6 v.1.6.4.v.18.6 6.18.1.6 6.9.10.612. and in Nam. c. 10. v. 29. Hobab. Others take fethro & Hobab to be the fame, but not Raguel.

6. III.

Of the time when the Law was given; with divers commendations of the invention of Land

He rest of the moneths of this yeare 2515. were spent in the Desart of Sinal, neere the mountaine of Sinai or Horeb, the twelfth Mansion- Eufebias thought that Sinai & Horeb were distinct mountaines: Hierome, to be but one, of adouble name. And fo it appeareth by many Scriptures. For, in Exod. 3. v.1. it is called Horeb : and in Exod. 24. v. 19. it is written Sinai. In the 106. Pfalme v. 19. Horeb : in Exod. 19.11. Sinai. And fo is it called, Galatians 4.24. and againe, Deut. 4.10. & 15. & Deut. 16 5.2. Horeb. And fo is it in the first of Kin. 8.6. and the second of Chron. 5.10. and in Ma. lachy 4.4. Finally, in Ecclefiasticus the 48.7. they are named as one. Which heardest (faith Ecclesiasticus) the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the judgement of the vengeand. Somewhat they are dis-joyned at the top by the report of Peter Belonius. who in the yeare 1588. past out of Egypt into Arabia, with Monsieur de Fumet, of France, and travailed to the top both of Sinai and Horeb: Sinai being by far the higher hill. From the fide of Horeb (faith he) there falleth a very faire fpring of water into the Valley adjoyning: where he found two Monasteries of Christian Marronites, containing some 100. Religious persons of divers Nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate fruits, and excellent Fu.Bell. 2:6.61 wine. These (faith the same Author) give entertainment to all strangers, which passes

> Now that there was some such Torrent of water neere Sinai in Moses time, it is very probable: First, because he encamped thereabout almosta yeare, anddrew no water, as in other places, by miracle: secondly, because it is written, Exod.32.20. that when Moses had broken the golden Calfe to powder, which Aaron set up in his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of I/rael to drinke thereof.

On this mountaine, the Law by the Angel of God was given to Moses, where he

staied a whole yeare, wanting some ten or twelve daies: for he removed not till the 20. day of the second moneth of the second years; and he arrived about the 45 day after the egression: the Law being given the 50. day.

At this Manfion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of Exodus, to the end of that booke; all in Leviticus; and all in Numbers, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (because there is no storie nor other passage) I will omit the repitition, and in place thereof speake somewhat of the Law, and the kindes and use thereof: whereby, if the Reader finde the ftory any way dif-joyned, he may turne over a few leaves, and, omitting this, finde the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as to there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, levell, and square of Lawes: so it pleased God to give thereby unto Moses the powerfullest mean (his miraculous grace excepted) to governe that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them asfuredly in their conquest. For as the Northstarre is the most fixed directour of the Seamanto his defired Port: so is the Law of God the guide and conducter of all in generall, to the haven of eternall life: the Law of nature, from God his eternall law deduced, the rule of all his creatures: the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous men; yea, the very spirit, and the very sinewes of every Estate in the world, by which they live and move: the Law, to wit, a just law, being refembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eye without luft, and to a Minde without paffion; a Treasurer, which keepeth for every man what he hath, and distributeth to every man what he ought to have. This benefit the Ancient, though barbarous, efteemed folighly, that among them, those which were taken for the first makers of Lawes, were honoured as gods, or as the fons of gods: and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posteritie for men of no lesse vertue, and no lesse liberally beneficiall to their Countries, than the greatest and most prosperous Conquerours that ever governed them. The Ifraelites, the Lacedamonians, and the Athenians, received their Lawes from one : as the Ifraelites, from Mofes; the Lacedamonians from Lycurgus; the Athenians from Solon; the Romanes sometime from their first Kings, from their Decem wiri, from their Senatours, from their Lawyers, and from the people themselves: other from the Prince, Nobilitie, and People; as in England, France, and in other Christian Momarchies and Estates.

S. IV.
Of the name and meaning of the words, Law, and Right.

He word Lex, or Law, is not alwayes taken alike, but is diverfly, and in an indifferent sense used. For if we consider it at large, it may be understood for any rule prescribing a necessary meane, order, and methode, for the attaining of an end. And so the rules of Grammar, or other Arts, are called Lawes. Or it is taken for any private ordinance of Superiours to Inferiours: for the commandements of Tyrants₂ which they cause to be observed by force, for their decrees doe also usurp that title, according to the generall acceptation of the word Law : of which Efay, Woe unto them that Efay to decreewicked decrees, and write grievous things. Likewise, the word is used for the tumulmary resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth Aristotle also call Lawes, though evill and unsufficient: Malalex est, qua tunneltwarie posita est; It is an evill law that though evill and unfufficient: Malatex est, qua tumultuarie posita est; It is an evill law that is made tumultuously. So as all ordinances, either good or evill, are called by the name of * Gen. 6.5.

The word Law is also taken for the morall habit of our minde, which doth (as it were) continuo has leges command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to atomaque sources it selse, as to their patterne and plat-forme. And thus the law of the flesh which the Divines call legem fomitis, is to be understood. For every law is a kinde of patterne of that where alloit is which is done according unto it: in which fense as *elsewhere, this morall habit or dispo- to be noted that he iowness there fition of the heart is called the frame or figmentum of the heart: fo in S. Paul to the Ro-ne joynes leger manes in the heart is called the frame or figmentum of the heart: fo in S. Paul to the Ro-ne joynes leger manes in the heart is called the frame or figmentum of the heart: fo in S. Paul to the Ro-ne joynes leger manes it is called a Law: But I fee another law in my members, rebelling against the Law of ther as in the my minde, and leading me captive unto the law of sime. Againe, the nature and inclinati- Scripture the ons of all creatures are sometime called a lawes, so far as they agree with the reason of the times called the saw eternall; as the law of a Lyon, to be fierce or valiant,

Alfo

Arift. Etbic.5. cap.I.

Plato in Dial. 1.de Leg.

Histram.5.5.

Pfal.2;

Also private contracts among Merchants and other Tradef-men, doe often put on the name of lawes. But law commonly and properly, is taken for a right rule, preferibing a necessary meane, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Civill communitie. The rest. to wit, the commandements of Tyrants, &c. which have not the common good for their end, but being leges iniqua, are by Thomas called violentia magis quamleges; rather com. pulsions than lawes: And what soever is not just, S. Augustine dothnot allow for lawes, howsoever established: for he calls them iniqua hominum constituta, que nec jura dicenda, nec putanda sunt; The unjust constitutions of men which are neither to bee termed no thought lawes. For, faith Aristotle, Legalia just a sunt factiva, & conservativa falicitain. Just lames are the workers and preservers of happinesse: because by them we are directed at vitam quietam, to a quiet life, according to Cicero: Yea, to life everlasting, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the Law, faith Plato, is God and his worship: Finis legis Deus & cultus ejus. Lex, or the Law is so called by the Latines à legendo, or à ligando, s reading or binding : Leges quia lecta & ad populumlata, faith Varro; For after Lawes were written and published, all men might reade them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other Etymology, a ligando, is no leffe agreeable with the nature of a Law. whence in the Scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band: as confregerunt jugum, dinny. runt vincula: they have broken the yoke, they have broken the bands. And in the fecond Pfalme, Dirumpamus vincula corum, & projiciamus à nobis funes ipsorum; Let us breakthin bands in funder and cast away their cords from us.

The Covenant it is called, because of the conditionall promises of God; and because Gods peoples voluntary submission of themselves unto it: for which word the Septengint, and the Epifle to the Hebrewes, usethe word Swann a Testament or last Will : which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectuall for our salvation, but in respect of the death of the Testator; for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force

as Heb.9.17.it is faid, Testamentum in mortuis ratum est.

The Hebrewes call the law Thorah of teaching, because every man is thereby taught his dutic, both to God and Men. The Greekes call it Nomes of diffributing, because it distributions teth to every man his owne due; the power of the law is the power of God: Justice being an attribute proper unto God himselfe. Imperium legis imperium Dei est ; The reignoss

the law, is the reigne of God.

Law in generall is thus defined by the Philosophers : Lex est vita regula, pracipiens que funt sequenda & qua fuzienda Law is the rule of life commanding what to follow, and what to shun : or Lex est omnium divinarum & bumanarum rerum Regina ; Law is the Queenor Princesse of things both humane and divine. But this description is grounded upon theopinion of inevitable fate. Law is the very wisedom of Nature: the reason and understanding of the prudent: and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called Index | er curvi, the demonstrance of itself, and of the crooked: so is the law, the judge and man fure of right and wong.

M. Hooker calls the Law a directive rule to goodnesse of operation: and though laward touching the substance and effence, consist in understanding: Concludit tamen actum voluntatis; Tet it comprehends the act of our will. The word Jus is also diversly taken, as some time for the matter of the law and for common right: sometime for the law it selfe: as 744 civile, or Jus gentium. Isidore distinguisheth the two generall words Jus and Fas: whereof Jus, faith he, hath reference to men, Fas to God. Faslex divina, Jus lex humana. To goe over another mans field, is permitted, by Gods law, not by mans; and thereforeina thing out of controversie, Virgil used both these words: as Fas & jura sinunt, God and

men permit.

The word Is or Right, is derived or taken from the old substantive Noune is a bidding or commandement : or perhaps from the Greeke Zeus which is the name of Jup ter, or of the Latine genitive case four; because as the Scripture speaks, the judgment is Gods For as it is certain that jus-jurandum came of Jovis-jurandum, (for fowe find it writtenin Nonius out of the ancient, in which fense the Scripture calls it juramentum Jehova) foalso we may fay, that fus came of fovis, quia fovis est: because as God is the Author & Pattern, and Maintainer of right, so also in his Vicegerents the Magistrates, he is the pronouncer and executor of right. Of this 7 w the just are denominated, justus à jure, and justitia à justo, 1he right gives name to the righteous : and justice takes her name from the just.

2 Chron.19.6.

ifd.Etym.

E zod.22.11 I Reg. 2.43.

Of the definition of Lawes, and of the Law eternal.

Ut because lawes are manifold, and that every kind hath a proper and peculiar clefinition, it agreeth with order, first to divide and distinguish them. I meane those forts of lawes, from whence all other particulars are drawn: leaving the individuals of humane lawes to their infinite and horrible confusion.

Eternall or uncreated. Sthewrit-Sten is also Ses. double. The Gospel. Naturall. Divine, Swhich hath Stwo payts. Nationall. (As the Doctrine & Religion or Internall. of the Patriarkes before the Invitten law of Moles , which Lawes posi-- forme call Cabala. tive or imposed, Law impoled or of explicating, addition, and perfecting Which Cicero in his fe-Scondbooke of invention commonly the Law of Na. call. called positure are dou-Scalleth Jus legitimum, 2 Humane. tive ble: divided into the and which is al fo twofold. Secular Unwritten. S As the lawes of Customeand

Thelaw eternall is thus defined by Thomas. Lex aterna est aternus divina sapientia con- Va au anticeptus (ecundum quod ordinatur ad guber nationem rerum ab ipfo pracognitarum; The eternal law is the eternall conceit of Gods wisedome as it is referred to the government of things fore. knowneby himselfe.Or. Lex aterna est summa atque aterna ratio divine sapientia: quateness ves omnes ad destinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis juxta conditionem infarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat; It is the higher eternal reason of divine sapience: as it directeth all things in such fort to their proper ends, imposing a kinde of necessity according to their severall natures, or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: That as the fame divine understanding directs all these to their proper ends; so it is called providence: but as it impofeth a necessity according to the nature of all things which it directs, so is it called a law.

Of this eternal law Cicero took knowledge, when in his booke of Lawes, he wrote in this manner: Erat ratio perfecta rerum natura, & adrecte faciendum impellens & à dilecto avocans : que non tum incipit lex esse cum seripta est, sed tum cum orta est. Orta autem simul est cummente divina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta adjubendumé ad vetandum. ratioel recta summi fovis; That perfect reason and nature of things, incouraging or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling us backe from evill, did not (faith lie) then begin to be alar when it was written, but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with divine under standing and therefore a true law and a fit Princesse to command and forbid, is the right reason of the most high God. This eternall law, (if we consider it in God, or as God) is alwayes one and the fame; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to divers objects, fo the reason of man findes it divers and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessary, as the motions of the heavens, stabilitie of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent; another law to men, another to other creatures, having life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternall law all things are directed, as by the counfell and providence of God: from this law all lawes are derived, as from the rule univerfall: and thereto referred, as

the operation of the second to the first.

The eternall, and the divine Law, differ only in confideration; the eternall directing The charge more largely: as well every creature, to their proper and naturall ends, as it doth manto his supernaturall: but the divine law to a supernaturali end only: the natural law is thence derived, but an effect of the eternall: as it were a streame from this fountaine.

The Law humane or temporall is also thence drawn: in that it hath the forme of right reason: from which if it differ, it is then impesitio iniqua, a wicked imposition; and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternall law all things are subjected, as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures,

CHAP.4. S.6.

Pfal. 148.

creatures, or things created; whether necessary or contingent, naturall or morall, and humane. For the Law eternal I runneth through all the univerfall, and therefore it is the law

also of things which are simple, naturall and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creator and Directour: as, Praise him all ye his Angels: praise him Sunne and Moone, all bright Starres, beavens of heavens, for be hath established them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordi nancewhich shall not passe: Praise ye the Lord from the earth ye Dragons and all Deeps. Fin and haile, (now and vapours, flormy winds, which execute his word: mountains & hils, fruit. full trees and all Cedars: Beafts, and all Cattell, &c. Now as the reasonable Creatures are by this eternall law bound, by the glory and felicity proposed unto them (beatitude be to ing both the attractive, and the end) foall other naturall things and creatures, havein themselves, and in their own natures, an obedience formall to it, without any proper in tention, known cause, or end proposed. For beasts are led by sense, and naturall instinct things without life by their created forme, or formall appetites, as that which is heaviet fall downward: things light to mount upward, &c. and fire to heate what soever is appofed. This kinde of working the Aristotelians ascribe to common nature: others to fate;4 difference used in termes only; it being no other than Gods generall providence: for as it is truely faid of God, that he is omnia luper omnia: so are all things which appeare in them. felves thence derived: there-under subjected: thence-from by his eternall law and providence directed, even from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heaven and had

The Schoolemen are very curious and ample in the confideration of these lawes: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternal law-But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who have thence-from, either reason, scrife, we getation, or appetition, to conduct them: so is the object and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to S. Augustine, Lex aterna est, qua justum est, ut omnia sint ordinatisima; The law eternall is that, whereby it is just, that all things should be disposed in the

best and goodliest order.

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternal law be immurable, yea or no ? But the folution is, that it changeth not; for which S. Augustine useth a sufficient argument in is; first Booke of Free-will, the fixth Chapter. For the law of Moses which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last untill the time of the Pædagogie of Gos people, or introduction to Christ should be expired; which time of expiration some thinke our Saviour noted to be come, when on the Croffe he faid, Confammatum est. But I rather thinkethese words of our Saviour to have no other fignification, than that now the prophecie of their giving him Vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For fo Saint Johnson pounds it, when he faith v. 28. That Christ feeing all (other) things to be fulfilled, us con-Summaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture in this also might be fulfilled, said, I thirst: though I deny not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremoniall, and of so much of the judiciall, as appertained peculiarly to the Jewes, and so agreeth not with the law of the new Testament and Gospel of Christ-For the immutable law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therfore changed in itselfe; but the things prescribed, change according to this eternal ordinance, of which the Wisedome of Salomon, And being one she can doe all things, and remaining in her selfe reneweth all.

Of the Law of Nature.

F the law of Nature as it is taken in generall, I finde no definition amongthe Schoole-men: only as it is considered in man, it is called the impression of divine light, and a participation of the eternall law in the reasonable creature. Lex naturalis est impressio divini luminis in nobis, & participatio legis aterna in rationali creatura. Ulpian defines the natural law to be the same which nature hath taught all living creatures: Ju na Gjure Li. til. turale est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit : and he afterward addeth, Jusistud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium qua terra marique nascumtur, aviam quoque commune est; The law of nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is commonto all living creatures, as well to birds, as to those which the Lund and Son was inceth

But this definition is not generall, but of the naturall Law in things of life.

The Law of nature in generall, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formall quality, which God in his eternall providence hathgiven and imprinted in the nature of eyes ry creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is divinum lumen in Men, inlightning our formall reason; so is it more than sense in Beasts; and more than vegetation in plants. For it is not sense alone in Beasts, which teacheth them at first fight, and without experience or instruction, to flie from the enemies of their lives: seeing that Bulles and Horses appearcunto the fense more fearefull and terrible, than the least kinde of Dogges; and yer the Hare and Deere feedeth by the one, & flieth from the other, yea, though by them neverleene before, and that as foone as they fall from their Danimes. Neither is it sense which hath taught other Beafts to provide for Winter, Birds to build their nefts, high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons: or the Birds of India to make their nefts on the smallest twigges which hang over Rivers, and not on any other part of the tree, or elfe-where to fave their egges and young ones from the Monkies, and other Beafts, whose weight such a twigge will not beare: and which would scare to fall into the water. The instances in this kinde are exceeding many which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that fome trees, as the female of the Palmitte, will not beare any fruit except the male grow in fight. But this they do by that Law, which the infinite and unfearchable wisdome of God had in all eternity provided for them, and for every nature created. In man this Law is double, corrupt, and incormpt; corrupt, where the reason of man hath made it selfe subject, and a Vassall to paffions, and affections brutall: and incorrupt, where time and cuftome hath bred in men a newnature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kinde of Law. For it was not by the Law of Nature incorrupt, which Saint Augustine calleth the Law of reason, but by a nature supra S.4.c. blinded and corrupted, that the Germans did anciently allow of theft: and that other Na-23. tions were by Law constrained to become Idolaters; that by the Lawes of Lycurgus it waspermitted to men to use one anothers Wife, and to the Women to choose them o- Theod. Lade thers besides their Husbands, to beget them with childe: which law in those parts hath curandis affect, lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

The Scythians, and the people of both Indies, hold it lawfull to bury with them the best dessess. beloved wives: as also they have many other customes remembred by G. Valentia, a-

gainst nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authority it is, that these Lawes some men avow to be naturall: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to becomefaithlesse among the faithlesse: to provide for our selves by another mans destruction: that injury is not done to him that is willing: to destroy those whom we seare, and the like. For taking the definition of naturall Lawes, either out of Saint Augustine or Nemo jure has Aquines, (the one calling it the impression of divine light; the other, the dictate or sen-rius detrimente tence of practique reason) the same can teach us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the locuples or siers exercise of Justice and uprightnesse: & not to offer or performe any thing toward others, debet, fave that which we would be content should be offered or performed toward our selves. For such is the Law of nature to the minde, as the eye is to the body; and that which according to David sheweth us good, that is, the observation of those things which leade Pala us thereby to our last end; which is eternall life: though of themselves not sufficient without faith and grace.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the Law, is, as aforefaid, the impression of Gods divine light in men, & a participation of the Law increated and eternall. For without any Law written, the right reason and understanding, which God hath given us, are abilities within our selves, sufficient to give us knowledge of the good and evill, which by our gratitude to God, and distribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchase for our selves. For when the Gentiles (faith Saint Paul) which have not the Law, do by nature those things contained in the Romana Law they having not the Law, are a Law unto themselves. Now, to love God by whom we are, and to doe the same right unto all men, which we desire should be done unto us, is an effect of the purest reason: in whose highest Turrers, the quiet of conscience hath made her resting place, and habitation; In arce altissima rationis quies habitat. Therefore, the Gentiles (faith S. Paul) which shew the effects of the Law written in their hearts, have their Roma. sonsciences for a witnesse of those effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuse them.

Evang. Job.

L. r.delibarb.

Pfal 6942.

Aug.in Ep.ad Hil.89.& in

Gen.I.

706,6.28.

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And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law unto himselfe(while he hopeth to a. busethe world by the advantage of hypocrifie) worketh nothing else, but the betraying of his owne foule, by crafty unrighteoufnesse, purchasing eternall perdition. For it helpethus nor to hide our corrupt hearts from the worlds eye, feeing from him, who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: fome Garlands we may gather in this May-game of the world, Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, arefeit, Those flowers mither while we discourse of their colours, or are in gathering them. That we should therefore inhabite and dwell within our felves, and become fearefull witnesses of our fecretest evils, did that reverend Philosophi Pythagoras teach in this golden precept: Nil turpe committas, neque coram alits, nequet. cum; maxime omnium verere teipsum; Commit nothing foule or dishonest, faith he, neither in be knowne to others, nor to thine owne heart : but above all men reverence thine owne confe. ence. And this may be a precept of nature and right reason: by which law, men, and a creatures, and bodies are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to the owne forme; as fireto give heate. Now, as the reasonable minde is the forme of man, is is he aptly moved to those things which his proper forme presenteth unto him: town to that which right reason offereth, and the acts of right reason, are the acts of venue and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excusable : as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the Law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it bin., geth forth the bud of the hearbe which feedeth feede, &c. and the Beaft, which live thereon. He gave a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keepe their bounds: which they obey. He made a decree for the raine, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caused the Sunne to move, and to give light, and to serve for signes and for seasons Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they one breake the law of their natures and formes; the whole world would then perish, and all

returne to the first Chaos, darknesse, and confusion.

By this naturall Law, or Law of humane reason, did Cain perceive his owne wicked nesse and offence, in the murther of Abel: for he not onely feared the displeasure of God but the revenge of men: it being written in his reason, that whatsoever he performed w wards others, the same by others might be done unto him againe. And that this julge ment of well and evill doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternal! Law, b fore the Law written, Mofes in the person of God witnesseth, Gen. 4. If thou doe well his show not be accepted? and if thou doe not well sinne lyeth at thy doore.

The Schoolmen are large also in this question of the natural Law: the same being open amply by Reinerius, Antonius, and Valentia. But it is not my purpose to write a Volume

of this fub ject.

But this Law which Thomas Aquinas calleth an act of reason taken properly; and not habire, asitisan evident naturall judgement of practique reason: they divide intommonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to be followed, and eville) chewed) and demonstrable, which is evidently proved, out of higher and more univerfall propositions. Againe, as it answereth the natural appetite, prescribing things to defired as good, or to be avoyded as evill (as of the first, to defire to live, and to faish hunger, &c. and of the fecond, to eschew paines, forrow, and death) in this confidentian The 4.94.47.2. they divide it, according to the divers kindes of appetites that are in us. For in every min there are three forts of appetites, which answere the three degrees of naturall Law. The first is, to be that which we are ; in which is comprehended the desire, both to live, and to preserve our being and life, also the defire of issue, with care to provide for them: forth Father after his death, lives in his children; and therefore the defire of life comprehends the defire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable laws of nature, for the most part. For it needs no proofe, that all creatures should defire to be to live, and to be defended, and to live in their iffue, when they cannot in themselves. And as man is a being, Ens or Res: fo he doth defire good, and shun evill. For it is common to all things, to defire things agreeable to their ownenatures, which is, to defire their owner good. And so is Good defined by Aristotle, to be that which all defire. Which definition Bafil uponthe 44. Pfalme approveth : Rette quidem Bonum definierunt, Quodonnia expetunt; Rightly have some men defined Good, or Goodnesse, to be that which all things desire.

The fecond kinde of appetite is of those things which appertaine to us, as we have fense. Whence, by the law of Nature, we desire the delights of every sense; but with such moderation, as may neither glut us with fatiety, nor hurt us with excesse. For as Sense in felfe is for the preservation of life and being: so is it meete, even by the Law of nature, that the sensitive appetite should not carry us to the destruction, either of our life or being. And although (feeing both these kindes of appetites are in beasts) we may well fay, that Nature hath given divers Lawes unto them: In which fenfe the Civilians define Naturall right, or Jus naturale, to be the same which Nature hath taught all living creatures: Yet the Schoolemen admit not, that the instincts of beasts can be properly called a Law. but only a Jus, or Right, which is the matter, and aime of every Law. For so they diffinouish it; where Ulpian affirmeth, that Jus naturale is that, which Nature hath taught all living creatures. In this place (faith Valentia) Jus is not to be taken for a Law, but for the matter of the Law. And yet where ulpian also distinguisheth the right belonging to living creatures in generall, from the right belonging to men; calling the one Jus nature, the other Jus genzium: the Divines understand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all evident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reason, both in beasts and men; and restraine the law of Nations to a kinde of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertaine properly to man, as he is aliving creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for our selves: and the Lawes of this appetite are the Commandements of our Reli-

CHAP.4.5.6.

Now although there are many other branches and divisions of this law of nature and fwering the division of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the morall actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the law of nature but one law according to Aquinas : first, because it hath one fountaine or roote in the naturall or motive faculty, which is but one, ftirring up to good, and declining the contrary; fecondly, becauseall is contained in that generall naturall precept. That good is to be followed. and illavoyded: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last

That this Law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest: and chiefly man; because he is indued with reason; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of observing the law of nature increaseth; Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tune sit anod for iptum est. Adveni-Bassi ente mandato, peccatum revixit; When reason grew to perfection, then it came to passe, which was written by S. Paul. When the Commandement came, sinne revived. Neither is it a small warrant for this law of nature, when those which breake the same, are said by Saint Paul, Rom 1.18 Tobe delivered over into a reprobate sense (or minde) to doe those things which are not con-Romais venient and againe, that their consciences beare witnesse, and their thoughts accuse them. For, though this law of nature stretch not to every particular; as to command fasting, and the like: yet, it commandeth in generall all good, and what soever is agreeable to right and reason. And therefore, said Damascene 3 Homines fasti sunt mali, declinando inid quod con- L.s. Fidorchi? tranaturam est; Men (faith he) are made evillaby declining unto that which is contrary to 6.30. nature: and Saint Augustine, Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc sontra naturam est; Every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore conwary unto it.

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature fo straight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all menareborne Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to unequal merit: by taking from the evill, and giving to the good: and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themselves: according to the rules of justice and equitie.

And though the Law of nature command, that all things be restored which are left in trust, yet in some causes, this her law she suffereth to be broken: as to deny a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was sober. But the universall principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who accor- 2 Time?

ding to Saint Paul, abideth faithfull, and cannot denie himselfe.

6.VII

CHAP.4.S.9.

6.VII. Of the written Law of GOD.

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Aug de Civit.

Free the eternall, and naturall, the law Positive or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kindes: Divine and Humane. Againe, the divine positive law is double, the Old and New: The Old was given unto Moses in Mount Sinas or Horeb, at such time as the world had stood 2513. whole yeeres : and in the 67. day of this yeare, whonas Afcatades or Afcades governed the Affgrians, Marathus the Sycionians, Triopus the Ar- 10 gives, Cecrops Attica, & Acherres Egypt: to wit, after the promise to Abraham, 430. years, And this it seemes, was the first written law which the world received. For the very word Nomes, fignifying a law, was not then, nor long after invented by the Gracians: no noting Homers time, who lived after the fall of Troy 80. yeares at least: and Troy it selfe was cast downe 335. yeares, after Moses led Ifrael out of Egypt. This Law, it pleased Godto ingrave in stone, that it might remaine a lasting book of his exprest will in the Churchia that the Priests and people might have wherof to meditare, till the comming of Christ& that fo these Children of Israel, though bred among an Idolatrous people in Egyps, might be without excuse, the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason known to us why this Law was not written before, is, that when the people is were few, and their lives long, the Elders of Families might eafily, without any written Law, instruct their own Children: and yet as they increased, so doubtlesse they had, befides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the Law written. But nowa length, for a simuch as the law of Nature did not define all kindes of good, & evill; nor condemne every fin in particular: nor fufficiently terrifie the confciences of offenders: norfo expound divine worship, as for those after ages was required, who gave every day lest authority than other to the naturall Law; In these respects it was necessary, that the law fhould be written, & fet before the eyes of all men: which before, they might, but would not, reade in their own consciences. The Schoolemen, and the Fathers before them, inlarge the causes and necessity, why the Law was written; whereof these are the chiefest.

The first, for restraining of sin, directly grounded upon this place of David, The laws the Lord is undefiled, converting soules : The restimonies of the Lord are faithfull, giving wisedome to children. For the humane Law, faith Saint Augustine, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away fomething feeming necessary, and hinder common profit: but the divine law written, forbiddeth every evill, and therefore by David it is called undefiled.

Secondly, it serveth for the direction of our mindes. For the Lawes of men can only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internall motions, or of our disposition and will:and yet it is required, that we be no leffecteane in the one, than in the other And therfore were the words converting our foules, added by David: wherein are all out # ourward acts first generated, according to the Cabalifts. Actiones hominum nulla effort, wist prims in mente dicerentur 3 The actions of men (fay they) would be none at all, werethen not first conceived in the minde.

Thirdly, it leadeth us to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diversitie of opinion, & difference of peculiar Lawes among fundrie Nations, we cannot be affured of; but the Law of GOD bindeth all men, and is without errour: and therefore also faid David, That thetestimony of the Law of God is faithfull : giving Wisedome to children.

6.VIII.
Of the unwritten Law of God, given to the Patriakes by Tradition.

TOw, that in all this long tract of time, between the creation and the written Law, the world & people of God were left altogether to the law of reason & nature, it doth not appeare. For the Patriarkes of the first Age received many precepts from God himself, & whatsoever was first imposed by Adam, the same was observed by Seth, who instructed Enos: from whom it descended to Noah, Sem, Abraham, I face, Jacob, Joseph and Moses. Yea many particular Commandements afterward written, were formerly imposed and delivered over by Tradition; which kinde of teaching the Jewes afteward

called Cabala, or Receptio: precepts received from the mouth of their Priests and Elders: to which the Jewes after the law written, added the interpretation of fecret mysteries, referwed in the bosomes of their Priests, and unlawfull to be uttered to the people. But the true Cabala was not to be concealed from any ; as being indeed the divine law revealed to the Patriarks, and from them delivered to the posterity, when as yet it was unwritten. The Commandements which God gave unto Adam in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of understanding they were fufficiently knowne. For finding the reason of his own name Adam, or Adamah, Earth, or red clay, he gave other names fignificant, not onely to beafts, but to his To Children and Nephewes, which afterward his iffues imitated; as the name of Seth fignifiethas some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather, one given in recompence for Abel that was flaine and Enolb fignifieth man or miferable, &c. Further, God commanded Adam to till the ground, and to live by the labour thereof: God also gave him the choice of all fruits, but the forbidden; and in Adam also was marriage first instituted: all men thence-after being commanded to co-habit with their Wives, rather than with their Father or Mother.

That murther and cruelty was also forbidden, both before the law written, and before the flood it felfe, it is manifest. God himselfe making it appeare, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of mankinde by the generall slood. For God faid unto o Noa, An end of all flesh is come before me: for the earth is filled with cruelty through them: and "The common behold, I will destroy them * from the earth. That offence therefore, for which all perished, trra: but God could not be unknown to all that perished: Gods mercy and justice interposing betweene didnot dethe unraught, and revenge. This commandement God repeated to Noa, after the waters and why may were dried up from the earth : Who fo sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for not this propos in the Image of God bath he made man.

Alfothe law of honouring and reverencing our Parents, was observed among the faith-fameforce, full, and the contrary punished by the fathers curfe: as, Curfed be Canaan, a fervant of fer. which it hath wants shall he be unto his brethren. Againe, we finde that the unnatural fin of the Sodomites funing on 4. was punished in the highest degree, as with fire from heaven. The sinne of Adulterie and 1. Itam 44.4. was pinnined inthe nighest degree, as which the troth the arthur the mine of the latter and & Douts 4.1.

Ravishment, was before the law no leffe detected than the reft, as appeareth by that re
defectally, feedepending to the law no leffe detected than the reft, as appeareth by that re
defectally, feevenge, taken for Dina's forcing: and by the judgement which Juda gave against Tamar, ingthese That she should be burnt : and by the repentance of Pharaoh & Abimelech, against whom Words are but this sentence was proportized. Thin are but dead, because of the Woman which they have this sentence was pronounced, Thou are but dead, because of the Woman which thou hast ta- that which is ken: for she is amans Wife: To these we may adde the ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction said, verseof cleane and uncleane beafts; of Circumfion, of the brother to raife up feed to his brother nem de superfici that left a widow childleffe, and divers other constitutions, partly Morall & partly Cere- cictorie. monial, which being delivered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that Gen. 9.6. this Divine Law imposed, of which the Law of Moses containeth that which is called The Gen 3425. old Testament, may be said, not only to have bin written in the hearts of men, before itwas Gen. 38.24. Pengraven in stone, but also in substance to have bin given in precept to the Patriarkes. For as S. Paul witnesseth of himselfe, I knew not sinne, but by the Law: so ever the Law naturally preceded, & went before offences, though written after offences committed. It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kinds of unwritten law; the Angels inmitively; Men by reason, Beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse; Plants by their vegetative powers; and things inanimate by their necessary motions, without sense or preception.

§. IX.0f the Morall, Judiciall and Ceremoniall Law, with a note prefixed, How the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sense, when it nameth the Law of Moses.

TOw as the word (Law) in generall, as is aforetaid, hath divers fignifications, & is ta-Romand ken for all do ctrine which doth prescribe & restrains to the law called the Law of Moses in particular, is taken by S. Paul diversly ; as somtime for all the old Testament, as, Now we know what foever the law faith, it faith to them which are under the Law. When it is opposed or differenced from the Prophets and Pfalmes, it is there taken for the five Bookes of Mojes. For to S. Luke harh diftinguished them; as, All muft be fulfilled Lucation which are written of me in the Law in the Prophets, and in the Pfalmes.

When

Rom.8.2.

Rom.7.23.

James 2. 10.

Bem. 7.12.

When it is opposed to the Gospell, then it is taken for the Law Morall, Ceremonial, and Judiciall; as, Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by Faith, without the works of Rom.3.28.

When it is opposed to Grace, it signifies that the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the law, and summum is: as, For ye are not under

the Law, but under Grace. Rom.6 4. Gal.3.18.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or fignes are taken for the things fignified; as the Sacrifice for Christ, and the like: then it fignifieth but flat dowes & figures ; as, The Law was given by Moses, but grace & truth came by Jesus Chris,

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of Christs comming, it signifies the whole poli-John 1.17. cy of the Jewes Common wealth; as, Before faithcame, we were kept under the Law or. Or the Law of the order & institution of the Aaronical Priest bood; as, All the Prophets Gal.3.23. Luc.16.6. the Law, or the Priests prophesied unto John. And if the Priesthoud be changed, the Lawal.

Hcb.7.12.80 fo, to wit, of the Priest bood, must needs be changed. 10.1.

The word (Law) is sometime also taken by the Figure Metonymia, for Interest, Au. thority, and Empire, or for constraining force; as, The Law of the Spirit of life, the lawn

the force of sinne and death, the enforcements of concupi sence, &c.

But the Written Law of Moses, or the Law of the Olde Testament, of which wenow speake, is thus defined. The Law is a doctrine, which was first put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by Moses, or by him repeated, commanding Holinesten and Justice, promising eternall life conditionally, that is, to the observers of the law, and threatning death to those which breake the law in the least. For according to S. Janu, Who soever shall keepe the whole, & faileth in one point, is guilty of all. The definition used by the Schoolemen, in which both the Old & New law are comprehended, is thus given. List divina est divinum decretum, hominibus præscribens modum necessarium ut apte pervenu possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, qua est ultimus humanæ vitæ finis; The divinelu (fay they) is the decree of God, prescribing unto men a necessary meane, whereby they my apely attaine supernaturall beatitude which is the last end of mans life.

The law of Moses hath three parts: Morall, Ceremoniall, and Judiciall. The Moral part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evill to be avoyded, in part ticular; as also it declareth, for whole sake it is to be done; as, Dothis, for I am the Long whereas the law of nature commands it but in generall. Againe, the Morall law entrateth of vertue and goodnesse; the Ceremoniall of divine service, and of holinesse; (in externall worship, and the order of hallowing our selves unto God is called Ceremony) and the Judiciall teacheth the particular government, fit for the Common-wealth of it Jewes, and prescribeth orders for justice and equity. And therefore was it said of S. P.M. The Commandement is just, holy, and good : just, or justice being referred to the Judicial: holy, or holinesse to the Ceremoniall; good, or honest to the Morali. The Judiciall part is touching the government of the Common-wealth of the Jewes, in which many thing must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place of

The Ceremoniallis divided into foure parts, according to the foure kindes of things of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holy things, Sacraments, and Observances. To Sa crifices belong beafts, and the fruites of the earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Tenple, Vessels, Altars and the like; to Sacraments, Circumcision, the Passeover, and such like. For Observances, they consisted either in prohibition of certaine meates, as not to eate the blood and fat of beafts: or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifyings, annoyntings, and attire, as not to weare mixt garments of Linnen and Woollen: a alfoit prohibiteth other unnaturall and unproper commixtions, as, Thou shalt not youke to gether in a Plough an Oxe and an Affe, or cast mingled seed in one field. It also exhorten to naturall compassion, and forbiddeth crueltie even to beasts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For so some referen these precepts, Thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest; nor beare downe the first badies the tree, nor muzzell the labouring oxe, and the like, to the Ceremoniall Law.

Neither is their any of these three parts of the Law of Moses, but it hath as yet in some respects, the same power which it had before the comming of Christ. For the Moralliveth still, and is not abrogated or taken away . faving in the ability of justifying or condemning; for therein are we commanded to love and worship God: and to use charitie

one towards another: which for ever shall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done: which power of directing by specials rules and precepts of life, it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be observed: though principally for seare of God in the one, and for the love of God in the other.

The Ceremoniall also livethin the things which it fore-fignified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body it selfe is represented to us. Besides, it still liweth, in that it giveth both inftruction and testimony of Christ, and in that it giveth direction to the Church, for some Ceremonies and Types of holy fignification, which are to fillexpedient; though in a farre fewer number than before Christs comming, and in a far

lesse degree of necessitie.

CHAP. S.10.

Laftly, the Judiciall liveth in Substance, and concerning the end, and the naturall and

univerfall equitie thereof.

But the Morall faileth in the point of justification, the Ceremoniall as touching the use and external l observation (because Christ himselfe is come, of whom the ceremonies were fignes and shadowes) and the Judiciall is taken away, as farre forth as it was pecutiar to the Jewes Common-weale and policie.

S.X. A proposall of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the five first.

A S for that which remaineth in the generall confideration of the divine written Law,

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.

2. The Majesty of the Law-giver.

3. The property and peculiarity of the people receiving it.

4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.

5. The efficacie and power thereof.

6. The difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.

7. The end and use of the Law.

8. The fense and understanding of the Law.

9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the Law is sufficiently proved by S. Paul, in these words: Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandement is boly, and just, and good : which three attributes are referred, as aforefaid, to the Morall, Ceremoniall, and Judiciall.

2. The Majesty of the Lawgiver is approved in all his creatures: who as he hath given all things their lives and beings, so he onely gave the Law, who could onely give the end & reward promised, to wit, the salvation of mankind: but he gave it not to Moses immediately, but by the ministery of Angels, as it is said: And the Law was ordained by Angels, in Galath 3.1% the hand of a Mediator: and in the Acts, He gave the Law by the ordinance of Angels.

3. The propriety and peculiarity of the people, receiving the Law is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared. Secondly, in that they were a Nationapart and dissevered: Thirdly, in that they were the children of the promise made to Abraham. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and severed they were, because of Gods choice and election. Children of the promise they were, for the promise was made by God unto Abraham and his feed: not unto his feedes, as to Efan & Jacob, but to his feed, as to Jacob or Ifrael fingularly, of whom Christ. Now to Abraham and his feed were the promifes made: he faith not Gal.3. to the feeds, as speaking of many but to thy seed, as of one, which is Christ.

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by S. Augustine: that it was about the middle time betweene the Law of Nature, and Grace: the Law of Nature continued from Adam to Moses: the Law written in the Commandements received by Moses in the worlds yeare 2514 continued to the Baptisme of John: from which time, begunthe Law of Grace, which shall continue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the conveniency are formerly given.

1. The fift confideration is of the efficacie of this Law, the fame being a disposition to,

CHAP.4.5.12.

Calath.4. Hcb.9.

Gal.z.

Heb.8.13.

Adsi

or figne of our Justification: but not by it felfe sufficient, but as a figure of Christ in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteoufnesse in morall precepts. For through the passion of Christ were sinnes forgiven, who taketh away the sinnes of the world: and therefore S. Paul calleth the rudiments of the law beggerly and weake; beggerly as containing no grace, weake as not able to forgive and justifie. The bloud of Goats and Bulles, and theathes of an Heifer could onely cleanse the body; but they were figures of Chriss blood, which doth cleanse the inward soule. For if the law could justifie, then Christ died in vaine.

§.X I. Of the fixt point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.

■He Old and New Testament differ in name,& in the meane & way proposed for attaining to falvation; as the Olde by works, the New by grace but in the thing it selfe, or object & remote end, they agree: which is mans happinesse & salvation The Old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witnesse of Gods will, was called the Old, because it preceded the New Testament; which is an explication of the Old: from which the New taketh witnesse. Yet the New is of more excellencie, in that it doth more lively expresse, and openly and directly delineate the wayes of our redemption. It is also called the Old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated : In that he faith the New Tells ment, be bath abrogated the Old. For the Old law, though greatly extolled by the Prophen, and delivered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perishable: the New was given in a promise of an everlasting Kingdome, and therefore called in Apocalyps, a Testament and Gospel for ever during.

The Old Testament is called the Law, because the first and chiefe part is the Laws Moses, of which the Prophets and Psalmes are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The New Testament is called the Gospell, because the first and chiefe part thereof the glad tidings of our Redemption: the other Bookes, as the Epiftles, or Letters of Apostles, and the Acts or story of the Apostles, are plentifull interpreters thereof: The word Evangelion, signifying a joyfull, happy, & prosperous message, or (as Homer usedi) the reward given to the Messenger, bringing joyfull newes. It is also formetime taken in a facrifice, offered after victory, or other pleafing successe, as by Xenophon. In the Scripuls it hath three fignifications. First, for glad tydings in generall, as in Esay the 52. versa, concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellencie it is restrained, to signific that most in full meffage of Salvation, as in Luc. 2.10. whence also by figure it is taken for the History of Chrift: and fo we understand the foure Gospels.

Lastly, for the preaching and divulging the doctrine of Christ, as I Cor. 9.14. & 24.

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I thinke, as they are divided in volums) is by Dancus comprised in these foure.

In their Author.

In the substance of the Covenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, Christ.

In the effects, that is, in righteousnesse and justification,

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testaman and will of God in Substance of doctrine. For as there was ever one Church, so was det one Covenant, one Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old law doth point at Chile, to doth the new Law teach Christ: the olde proposing him as to come, the new as alreade come; one and the fame thing being promifed in both; both tending to one, and the fame end, even the falvation of our foules: which according to S. Peter, is the end of our Faith For although it be faid, that Mofes did promise by observing the Law, an earthly King dome, a land flowing with milke & hony, the propagation of children, and other worldly bleffings: yet all thefe were but figures to teach, & pledges to affure the Fathers of thou spirituall bleffings by Christ sfor by the earthly, he raised their minds to the hope of hear venly. And the Fathers not with standing these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge them felves strangers, & pilgrims, expecting the heavenly Hierusalem: according to this place the Hebrewes : Allthefe dyed in faith, and received not the promifes, but faw them a farre and believed them confessing that they were strangers and pilgrimes on the earth. which purpose also Saint Augustine, Omnine pausi veterem legem intelligunt, non attender

tendentes per promissa terrena, eterna promitti: Few (faith he) do understand the old law: not attending that by things earthly eternall are promifed. And S. Hierome. Noluit Deus pascere in sonhonead. Indaos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, ut Judai somniant : God would not feed 3 . . 9. the Jewes as beafts with corporall gifts and riches, as themselves dreame. And this may be gathered out of Gods own words, Ego fum Deus tuus; & ero vobis in Deum; I am thy God. and I will be your God. For the words, I will be your God, prove that it was not for the prefenr or for perishable things, that God gave them this promise, but in respect of the furure: to wit, the fafety of their foules. For as God created both body and foule, so hath he of his goodnesse, not left the better part uncared for, which liveth ever.

The agreement between the Old and New Testament in Substance, inferres also the a. greement in foundation. For Christ is called the foundation of the law, laid both by the Apostles and Prophets; in whom all the promiles of God in the Old and New, are affured: the Fathers having eaten the same spirituall foode, which we eate in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our fine miferie, which is taught us by the law, maketh way, and, as it were, ferveth in subordination to the Gospel, the proper effects whereof are mercy and falvation: to which the Law ferving as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their fin & misery, God sheweth his mercy & salvation) may be said to agree with the Gospell in the effect. For otherwise, if we sever the Law from Subordination to the Gospel, the effects are very different: the one sheweth the way of righteousnesse by workes, the other by faith the Law woundeth, the Gospel healeth : the Law terrifieth, the Gospell allureth : Moses accuseth, Christ defendeth: Moses condemneth, Christ pardoneth. The Old restraineth the hand, the New the minde. Data eftlex que non fanaret (faith Saint Augustine) sed que agrotantes probaret; The Law was Homitad Rem given, not to helpe, but to discover sicknesse : and Saint Chrysostome; Data est len, at se home inveniret nonut morbus fanaretur, fed ut medicus quareretur The Law was given that manmight finde and know his owne imperfection : not that his disease was thereby holpen but that he might then feeke out the Phylician. For Christ came to fave the world, which the lawhadcondemned. And as Moles was but a servant, and Christ a Son; so the greatest benefit was referved to be brought, as by the worthiest person, faith Cyril: for this law Hebri made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

> 6. XII. Of the rest of the points proposed.

He seventh consideration is of the end, and use of the law: which is to bring us to Christ: for finding no righteouspesse in our own workes, we must seeke it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and utmost end: the next and proper end of the law, is to prescribe righteousnesses, & to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. Levi-18. Cursed is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.

The second end of the Law, is to render us inexcusable before God: who knowing so perfect a law, doe not keepe it the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or halfe obedience: but both inward and outward righteousnesse, and performance of duty to God and Men.

The third and chiefe end of the law, is, as hath bin faid, to fend us to Christ, and his grace, being in our felves condemned and loft. For the law was delivered with thunder, and with a most violent and searefull tempest, threatning eternall death.

The fourth end of the law was to defigne, and preferve, the place of the Church and true people of God: and to hold them in one Discipline, and awe, till the comming of Christ: after whom the Church was to be dispersed over the whole world.

These be the ends of the Morall law. The end and use of the Ceremonial law, is to confirme the truth of Christ, and the new Testament. The use of the Judiciall, to teach us naturall equity and right, whereto we must conforme our selves.

The sense and understanding of the Law is double, literall and spirituall: by the literall we are taught the worship and service of God: by the spiritual the sigures and my- The seeper flicall fore-speakings of Chrift.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the Law, the same had being until the past-danor a Law. flonof Christ: before which time, and while Christ taught in the world, both the old and giver from be the new were in force. But after that the true factifice was offered upon the Altar of the feet, until shirt Croffe, come

Cap.11.0.13.

Lib.de Cività Dei 18.6.15.

I fohn 5 .

Deut.30-11.15

Rem. 10.2.6.

Cap.9.17.

Crosse, then the Jewish facrifices and ceremonics, which were Types and figures of Christ (Christ being the body of those shadowes) ceased to binde the conscience any longer: the mystery of our redemption being now by Christ and in him finished. Intoken where. of, the vaile of the Temple rent afunder; noting that the ceremoniall vailes and shadowes were now to be removed, northat the morall law of the Commandements was hereby abolished, or weakned at all: otherwise than that it had not power to condemne according to the Jewish doctrine, as aforefaid. For the observing of the law was by Christ himfelfe severely commanded : our love towards God being thereby to be witnessed. And herein David so much rejoyced, as he preferred the observation of the Law, before all that the world could yeeld. In viatestimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in omnibus so divisies; I have bin delighted in thy law, as in all manner of riches: And again, The law of thy mouth is good for me above thousands of gold & silver. This is the love of God (faith S. John) that we keep his Commandement. And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himselfein Deuteronomy witnesseth. This Commandement (faith he) which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to beaven, and bring it us, and canse us u heare it that we may doit? neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall ge over the Scafor us & bring it us? &c. but the word is very neere unto thee even in thy mouth, or in thy heart for to do it. Behold (faith Moses) I have set before thee this day life and death, good and evill, in that I command thee this day, to love the Lord thy God, to walke in his wait, and to keepe his Commandements, and his Ordinances, and his Lawes, that thou maist live, or, Neither is it said in vaine in S. Matthew : Si vis ad vitamingredi, serva mandata; If the wilt enter into life, keepe the Commandements: and in S. John; Scio quia mandatum ejus ville aternaest 3 I know that his Commandement is life everlasting. And if this be the charities God, or of Mentowards God, as S. John hath taught, to wit, that we keepe his Commadements: certainely he is but a lyar, that professeth to love God, and neglecteth to ob ferve the word of his will, with all his power. And though I confesse it not in manual bility, without the speciall grace of God to fulfill the law (Christ only as man excepted) yet if we rightly consider the mercifull care which God had of his people in thosels Commandements, we shall finde in our felves, how we borrow liberty, and ratherly Thip our affections, and voluntarily loofen them from the chaines of obedience, to which the word of God and divine reason hath fastened them, than that we are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our minde (greedy of libertie) proposeth it selfe. For this is the love of God, that we keepe his Commandements, & his Commandements are not grievous. I John 5.12. and if we examine every precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our consciences: it is not hard for any mann judge, by what easie perswasions, we steale away from our owne power, as unwilling to use it against our pleasing desires.

The second Booke of the first part

6. X III.

Of the severall Commandements of the Decalogue: and that the difficulty is not in respect of the Commandements, but by our default.

Or by the first we are commanded to acknowledge, serve, and love one God Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this precept e feeing every reasonable may represent the divided into many infinites: may conceive and know, that infinite power cannot be divided into many infinites: and that it is of necessitie, that by this almighty Unitie, all things have bin caused, and are continued. And if brute beafts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his providence he hath also provided for every of them, Which giveth to beaftes their foode; &. there is no doubt but that they would also serve and love him only.

? [al 147.9.

The second precept is the forbidding of Idolatry, and worship of Images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the beginning, feeing this is generally true : Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta funt; All ill examples did spring and arise from good beginnings. For their first erection was to keepe the memory of menfamous for their vertue: untill (faith Lattantius) the divell crept into them, and (having blotted out the first intent) working in weake and ignorant foules, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serve himselfe thereby. For what reasonable man, if he benot for faken of God, will call on those blinde, deafe, dumbe, and dead stocks, more

worthlesse than the most worthlesse of those, that having life and reason, implore their helpe, which have neither: yea, of more vile prize and baser, than the basest of beasts, who have sense and estimation . For what doe we thereby (faith the Wiscours of Salomon) wisd. 3. vis. but call to the weake for helpe, pray to the dead for life, require aide of him that hath no experience, assistance in our journies of him that cannot goe, and successe in our affaires of him that hathno power? And whether the Idolater, or the blocke, to which he prayeth, be more senselesse, David maketh a doubt. For (faith he) they that make them are like unto them. Psalme 33.18. and so are all the rest that trust in them.

The breach of the third Commandement, is neither perfeaded by worldly pleafure. nor worldly profit: the two greatest inchanters of mortall men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible disdaine of God, unlesse the hate of good men, and Gods curse, be accounted an advantage. For as our corruptest nature gives us nothing towards it, so can ir latisfieno one appetite, except everlasting forrow, and hell dwell in our defire. And therefore this strange custome hath the divell brought up among men, without all subrletic of argument, or cunning perswasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornfull advantage over us. For flaughter fatisfieth hatred, Theft gives fatisfiction to need, Adultery to lust, Oppression to covetousnesse: but this contemptuous offence of blasphemy, and the irreverent abuse of Gods name, as it giveth no helpe to any of our worldly affections, fo the most salvage Nations of the world do not use it.

The fourth Commandement, to keepe the Sabbath day holy, hath neither paine, burthen, nor inconvenience. For it giveth rest to the labourer, and consolation to their Masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, Moses teacheth in the reason of the law: as in Exod. 23.12. And in the seventh day thou shalt rest, that thine Oxe & thine Affe may rest, and the sonne of thy maide, and the stranger may be refreshed.

The first of the second Table to honour our Parents, with whom we are one and the fame, is a gratitude which nature it felfe hath taught us towards them, who after God gave us life and being, have begotten us, and borne us, cherished us in our weake and helplesse infancie, and bostowed on us the harvest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporall and Judiciall ordinances, curfing of Parents, or the offering them violence was made death.

The next is that thou shalt not Murther, that is thou shalt not do the actes following the affections of harred. For the law of God, and after it our owne lawes, and in effect the law of all Nations, have made difference betweene flaughter cafually and furious. Affectio enim tua (faith Bracton) imponit nomen operi tuo; It is the affection and will that makes the worke fuch as it is. And certainly, who soever cannot forbear to commit murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any use of his owne will.

The third of the fecond Table, commands us from Adultery. Now if the prefervation of Virginity have beene possible for thousands of Men and women, who in all Ages have mastered their stessly desires, and have returned chaste to their grave: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the dishonour and injurie, which we offer to others by such misse Paradia violation, feeing marriage is permitted by the lawes of God and Men, to all that affect furn. it. And there is no man living, whom the defire of beauty and forme hath so constrained, but he might with ease forbeare the prosequation of this ill, did not himselfe give sucke to this infant, and nourish warmth till it grow to strong heat, heat till it turne to fire, and fire to flame.

The fourth of the fecond Table, is, that we shall not steale. And if that kinde of violent robbery had beene used in Moses time, which many Ruffians practise now a-dayes. in England, and, to the dishonour of our Nation, more in England, than in any Region of the world among Christians; out of doubt, he would have censured them by death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For I speake not of the poore and miserable soules, whom hunger and extreme necessitie inforceth; but of those detested Theeves, who to maintaine themselves Lord-like, assault, rob, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and Labouring man; or breake by violence into other mens houses, and spend in Braverie, Drunkennesse, and upon Harlots, in one day, what other men sometime have laboured for all their lives: impoverishing whole Families, and taking the bread and foode from the mouthes of their children. And that this Commandement might eafily be observed, it would foone appeare if Princes would refolve, but for a few yeares to pardon none. For, it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence, that incourageth

Gloffain uerb.

thefe Hell-hounds. And if every man prefume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Common-wealth, but these men would in a short time impoverish or destroy it.

The second Booke of the first part

The fifth Commandement of this fecond Table, is, the prohibition of false witnesse. from which if men could not forbeare, all furety of estate and life were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witnesse, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminall, that the law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment, which he sought by

falshood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten Commandements forbiddeth us to covet any thing, which belon. geth to another man, either the bodies of their wives for concupifcence, or their goods for desire of gaine. And this precept seemeth the hardest for men to observe; so estee., med by reason of our fraile affections : and yet if we judge hereof rightly, it may be doubted whether it extend to all our inconfiderate fancies and vaine thoughts. For, although it benot easie to master all our sudden passions, yet we may restraine and hinder the growing, and farther increase, if we please to intend our strength, and seeke for grace, How the word Coveting reacheth to all those, it is to be considered. For Concupificatia, according to some, Est effranatus habendi appetitus; An unbridled, or unrestrained appein of having: And as touching such an appetite, we cannot excuse our selves by any ournaturall frailty, or unadvised error; But as I suppose, the word Concupiscence is more largely taken, either for adeterminate and unbridled evill intent, or for fome urging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the later fort : which is, Actus imperfectus, id est, now deli., beratus ratione, qua est principium proprium actus boni aut vitiosi; Such passions, or inclina. tions are unperfect acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reason, which is the proper principle of agood or vicious action. And fure, it may feeme, that fo long as we refift fuch motions, they harme us not: as they say, Quandiurefragamur, nibil nocent : nocent autem cames dominari permittimus; As long as we give no affent unto them, it is thought by some the they burt us not ; and that then onely they burt, when we suffer them to be are sway. But these men, as it feemes, make nothing forbidden in the tenth precept, but what hath beeneforbidden in the other: for in every Commandement, not only the outward act, but also the inward affent unto evill, though it breake not out into act, is forbidden: therefor, that we may know the difference between this Commandement and the reft, the diffin-Ction of defires is to be held: that fome are with affent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without affent. For so even the Morall Philosopher can tell us, that the Continent man hath evill desires, but without affent (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason) as on the other side the Incontinent hath good desires, but restrained and suppreffed by contrary paffions. The evill defires, when they are accompained with affait are in every Commandement forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefor, if we will have any thing proper to this Commandement, we must needs say, that the evill desires of the Continent man (that is, even those which we resist and bridle) are hereforbidden. For though he that bridleth his evill defires, be much better than he that yeeldeth unto them: yet fuch a man, even according to the Heathen Philosopher, is a not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For Aristotle himselfe makes Continentia, not to be vertue, but onely a degree unto it: confessing, that though the Continent man doe well in bridling his evill affections, yet he doth not all, feeing he ought not so muchasto have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true divinity delivereth touching this materials. ter. For, as he faith, that in the continent man the having of these evill desires, though he refift them, is the cause that he cannot be called a vertuous man: so we, that the having of them is a finne. Onely in this we excell him here: that we are able out of divinity to give the true reason of this doctrine: which is that every one sinneth, that dothnot love God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the evill defires of the Continent man; that is, of him which bridleth them, must needs be sinne: seeing s fuch defires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from

Seeing therefore it hath pleafed God, to make us know, that by our faithfullendevours to keepe his commandements, we witnesse our love toward himselse: we may not fafely give libertie to our vanities, by casting backe upon God(who is justice it selfe) that he hath given us precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandements impolfible for us to keepe. For, as he is accurfed (faith Saint Hierome) that avowes that the Law is in all things possible to be observed: to he hath made the addition: Maledidus

qui dicit impossibilia Deum pracepisse; accursed is he that saith that God hath commanded things (in themselves, and not through our fault) impossible. Now, as the places are many which command us to keepe the Law: fo is our weakenesseasso in the Scriptures laid before us, and therefore it is thus fafely to be understood, that we should without evafion or without betraying of our felves, doe our faithfull endevours to observe them: which if we doe unfainedly, no doubt, but God will accept our defires therein. For that there is no manjust, David witnesseth: Enter not into judgment with thy fervant, for in thy Pfal. 143. fight nostleft that liveth shall be justified. And in the first of Kings, There is no man that fin- Cap.8 v.46. nethnot: And againe, Who can say, I have made my heart cleane? But seeing there is no fin grievous without deliberation; let every mans conscience, judge him, whether he give way willingly, or restraine himselfe in all that he can, yea, or no. For when a King gives to his subject a commandement upon paine of losse of his love, to performe some services if the subject neglecting the same, seek to satisfie his soveraign with shifting excuses, out of doubt fuch a Prince will take himselfe to be derided therein.

§. XIIII.

If there were not any Religion, nor Judgement to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessary to be observed.

Nd if we confider advisedly and soberly of the Morall Law, or ten Commande-A fuch was his merciful providence in the choice of them; as were there neither pain or not observing of them; were there neither pain nor profit adjoyned to the observing, or not observing of them; were there no divine poweratall, nor any Religionamong men; yet if we did not for our own fakes strive to observe these Lawes, all society of men, and all endevours, all happinesse and content ment in this life would be taken away : and every State and common-weale in the World fall to the ground and dissolve. Therefore, these Lawes were not imposed as a burden, but as a bleffing: to the end that the innocent might be defended, that every man might enjoy the fruits of his owne travaile, that right might be done to all men from all men: that by jultice, order, and peace, we might live the lives of reasonable men, and not of beasts; of free-men, and not of flaves; of civill men, and not of favages. And hereof making our humane reason only Judge, let us see the inconveniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these Lawes.

As first, what would the issue be if we acknowledged many Gods: would not a far great ter hatred, war, and bloud-shed follow, than that which the difference of ceremonie; and diverfity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, even among those Na-

tions, which acknowledge one God, and one Christ?

And what could it profit mankinde to pray to Idols, and Images of gold, metall, dead stones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the losse of time, and an impossibilitie to receive thence-from, either helpe or comfort:

The breach of the third Commandement bringeth therewith this disadvantage, and ill to man, that who foever taketh the name of God in vaine, shall not at any time benefit himselse by calling God to witnesse for him, when he may justly use his holy name.

The observing the Sabbath holy, giveth rest to men and beasts, and nature her selferequireth intermission of labour.

If we despise our Parents, who have given us being, we thereby teach our owne children to scorne and neglect us, when our aged yeares require comfort and help at their hands.

If murther were not forbidden, and severely punished, the race of mankinde would be extinguished: and whosoever would take the liberty to destroy others, giveth liberty to others to destroy himselfe.

If adultery were lawfull and permitted, no man could fay unto himselfe; This is my onne: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to posterity, no endeyour by vertue and undertaking to raise Families: murthers and poylonings betweene man and wife would be daily committed: and every man subject to most filthy and uncleane diseases.

If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all mankinde would shortly after perish,

or live as the falvages, by rootes and acornes. For no man laboureth butto enjoy the fruits thereof. And fuch is the mischiefe of robbery, as where Moses for lesser crimes appointed restitution fourefold, policie of State and necessity hath made it death. To permit false witnesses to take all mens lives and estates from them by corruption:

The second Booke of the first part

the wicked would fweare against the vertuous: the waster against the wealthie: the idle beggar and loyterer, against the carefull and painfull labourer: all triall of right wereta-

ken away, and justice thereby banished out of the world. The covering of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a di-Araction of minde, with an inward vexation: for while we covet what appertaines too. thers, we neglect our owner our appetites are therein fed with vaine and fruitlesse hopes, in fo long as we doe but covet; and if we doe attaine to the defire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wives or goods of our neighbours; we can looke for no other, but that our felves fhallalfo, either by theft or by strong hand, be deprived of our owne.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandements, if there be nothing in them, but rules and directions for the generall and particular good of all living Surely, for our own good, and not in respect of himselfe, did the most mercifull and provident God ordaine them; without the observation of which, the vertues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the bleffings given us in this life, would be unto usaltogether unprofitable, and of nouse. For we should remaine but in the state of brute bealt, if not in a far more unhappy condition.

6. XV. Of humane Law, written and unwritten.

MmaneLaw, of which now it followeth to speak, is first divided into two: (Mi) Written, and Unwritten. The unwritten confifts of usage, approved by time: which Isidore calls Mores: & he defines Mores to be Consuctudines vetustate m. bata; to be customes approved by antiquitie, or unwritten lawes. Now custome different from use, as the cause from the effects in that custome is by use and continuance established into a Law: but yet there where the law is defective, faith Isidore.

And of customes there are two generall natures, containing innumerable particular; the first are written customes, received and exercised by Nations, as the customes of Bur. gundy and Normandy, the ancient generall cultome of England, and the cultoms of Cafill,

and other Provinces.

The second are these perty customes, used in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The generall or Nationall cultomes are some written, others unwritten.

The particular or petty customes are seldome written, but witnessed by testimony of the inhabitants. The Customes of the Duchie of Cornwall, comprehending also the Stannary of Deven, as touching Tin, and Tin causes are written in Deven, but not in Cornnell. Bur howfoever use and time hath made these customs as lawes, yet ought every customs to be rationabilis, as well as prascripta. Non firmatur tractutemporis quod de jure ab initia non subsistit; That which at first was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by conti. nuance of time. And (faith Ulpian) quod ab initio virio fum est, non potest tracta temporis conwalefore; Course of time amends not that which was naught from the first beginning. For these two deserves are necessary in all lawes of custome; the onesthat it be not repugnant to the law divine, and naturall: the other, that the cause and reason be strong, proving a right birth, and necessary continuance: it being manifest, that every custome which is a gainst the law, had his beginning from evill deeds, and therefore not without the formet considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customes of this nature, were but to lerated for a time, by the Law-makers, though they have beene fince continued; because posterity is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto moved For Non sufficit simplex toleratio. And it is in this fort over-ruled in the law Per popular consuetudo contra legeminduci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius, qui novam legem d'novam constitutionem statuere potest, qui folus Princeps est The people cannot bring in a new custom against law; fave by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is only

Humane Law generally taken, towit, humane law written, is by some definedit be the decree or doome of practique reason: by which humane actions are ruled and directed. Papinian calls the Law a common precept, the advisement of wife men, and d

restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. Isdore calls the Law a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for Government and common profit: And more largely, Omneid quod ratione confifit; All that stands with reason.

Lastly, and more precisely, it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, agree- Greg. de Valo ing with the Law natural and eternall: made by the rational discourse of those, that exer- 22 Those 91. cife publike authority: prescribing necessary observances to the subject. That every Law art. sught to be a righteous decree, S. Augustine teacheth, saying: Mihi lex esse non viderur. quajusta non fuerit; It seemes to be no law at all to me, which is not just and just it cannot be except it agree with the law naturall and eternall. For there is no Law just and legitimate, faith S. Augustine) which the Law-makers have not derived from the eternall. Nebil L. I. deliberte justum atque legitimum est, quod non ab aterna lege sibi homines derivaverune.

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the Law naturall, to wit, the naturall, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstrati-

on from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authorised Magistracie, it cannot be doubted, be the government of what kinde foever. For it falleth otherwise under the Title of those decrees called Violentia, or iniqua constitutiones; Violences, or wicked confitutions.

Of humane Law there are foure properties, especially answering these foure conditi-4.Parts? onsinthe former definition. First, as it is drawne out of the law of nature: so every particular of the humane Law may be refolved into some principle or rule of the na-

Secondly, it is to be confidered as it is referred unto, and doth respect the common

Thirdly, it is to be made by publike authority.

Fourhly, concerning the matter of the Law, it prescribeth, and directeth all humane actions. And fois the law as large and divers, as all humane actions are divers, which may fallunderit. For according to Thomas, Alia lex Julia de adulterit, alia Cornelit de Sicaria: The Law of Iulian against Adultery, is one, the Cornelian against Ruffians, is another. Now the humane Law, generally taken, is in respect of the first of these considerations, divided into the Law of Nations, and the Civill.

The Law of Nations is taken leffe or more properly; leffe properly for every Law which is not of it felfe, but from other higher principles deduced: and foit feemeth that Mpian understands it : for he defineth Im gentium, or the Law of Nations, to be that which is onely common amongst Men, as Religion, and the worship of God: which is not in thevery nature of this Law of Nations; but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other divine Revelations. But the Law of Nations properly taken, is that diffate, or fentente, which is drawne from a very probable, though not from an evident principle, yet so probable, that all Nations doe affent unto the conclusion, as that the free passage of Ambasadours be granted betweene enemies, &c. which Nationall Law, according to divers acceptations, and divers confiderations had of the humane Law, may be fometime taken for a Species of the Naturall, sometime of the Humane.

Im Civile, or the Civill Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in divers estates it is also divers and peculiar, and this Law is not so immediately derived from the Law of Nature, as the Law of Nations is: For it is partly deduced out of fuch principles as all Nations doe not agree in, or eafily affent unto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are divers, and doe not fit all estates. Hereof ulpian, Ins civile, neg; in Leg 6.14 ff in totum à naturali & gentium recedit neque per omnia ei servit: itaq; cum aliquid addimus de fufficie jute vel detrahimus Juri communi, Jus proprium, id est, Civile efficimus, The Civill Law (faith he)doth neither wholly differ from the Law of Nature, and Nations, nor yes in all points obey it: therefore when we adde ought to or take from the Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is , the Civill Law.

The Lawnow commonly called the Civill Law, had its birth in Rome: and was first Written by the Decem-viri, 303 yeares after the foundation of the City. It was com-Pounded as well out of the Athenian, & other Grecian Lawes, as out of the ancient Roman customs & Lawes Regall. The Regall Lawes were divised by the first Kings; & called Leges Regia, or Pappriana, because they were gathered by Papyrius, Tarquin then reigning. For though formany of the former Lawes as maintained Kingly authority, were aboli-

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shed with the name; yet those of Servius Tullius, for Commerce and contracts, and all that appertained to Religion, and common utility, were continued, and were a part of the c.signon.t.i.out Lawes of the twelve Tables. To these Lawes of the twelve Tables were added (as the times gave occasion) those made by the Senate, called Senatuf confulta: those of the common people, called Plebei-feita, those of the Lawyers, called Responsa-prudentum: and the mon people, cancul Magistrate: which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by Edicts of the Annual Magistrate: Julian, and presented to Adrian the Emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetuall Lawes, and the Volume stiled Edictum perpetuum; as those and the like Colle. ctions of Justinian afterward were.

The difference anciently between Lawes and Edicts, which the French call Reglements, to confifted in this, that Lawes are the Constitutions made or confirmed by foveraigneau thority (be the foveraignty in the people, in a few, or in one) and are withall generall and permanent: but an Edict (which is but Jussum Magistratus, unlesse by authority it be made a Law) hath end with the Officer, who made the fame, faith Varro. Qui plurimum Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam effe dicunt; They who afcribe the most unto an Edict, say that it is a Lawfor one yeere: Though Isdore doth also expresse by the word Constitutions or Edicts, those Ordinances called Acts of Prerogatives; as Constitutio vel Edictum est quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit; An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or

Emperour deth ordaine or preclaime.

Lastly, the Humane Law is divided into the Secular, and into the Ecclesiasticall, or Can non. The Secular commanding temporall good, to wit, the peace and tranquility ofthe Common-weale: the Ecclesia fical the spiritual good, and right Government of the Ecclesiasticall Common-wealt b, or Church: Illud natur a legem, hoc divinam spectat; That refe. Eteth the Law of Nature, this the Law of God. And fo may Jus Civile be taken two wayes, first, as distinguished from the Law of Nations, as in the first division: Secondly, as its the same with the Secular, and divers from the Ecclesiasticall. But this division of the Schoolemen is obscure. For although the Civil be the same with the Secular, as the Grall is a Law, yet the Secular is more generall, and comprehendeth both the Civill, and allo ther Lawes not Ecclesiastials. For of Secular Lawes, in use among Christian Princes, and in Christian Common-weales, there are three kindes; the Civill, which hath every where a voyce, and is in all Christian estates (England excepted) most powerfull; the Lawesof England called Common, and the Lawes of custome or Provinciall. In Spaine besides the Law Civill, they have the customes of Castill, and other Provinces. In France besides the Civill, the cultomes of Burgundy, Blogs, Berri, Nivernois, and Lodunois, &c. Tous lines situes & assis en Lodunois, seront governez selon les costumes du dit pays; All places lying mithin the precincts of Loduneis, shall be governed according to the customes of that plan There are also in France the customes of Normandy, and these of two kinds; General, ad Locall; and all purged and reformed by divers Acts of the three Estates. The Charters of confirmation of these ancient customes, before and fince their reformation have these words; Nos autem, registrum pradictum, usus laudabiles, & consuetudines antiquas, ou i laudamus, approbamus, & authoritate Regia confirmamus ; The Register aforesaid, laudable use, and ancient customes we praise, approve, & by our Kingly authority confirme. The common Law of England is also compounded of the ancient customes of the same, and of certaine Maximes by those customes of the Realme approved. Upon which customes all are grounded those Courts of Record, of the Chancery, Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, with other small Courts.

These ancient customes of England have bin approved by the Kings thereof from age to age: as that custome by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised, not otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answer by the Law of the Land, was confirmed by the Statute of Magna Charta. It is by the ancient custome of England, that is the eldest sonnes should inherite without partition. In Germany, France, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In Ireland it is the custome for all Landes (that have not bin refigned into the Kings hands) that the eldest of the House shall enjoy the Inheritance during his owne life: and fo the fecond and third eldeft (it there be so many brothers) before the Heire in lineall descent: this is called the custome of Tanistrie. For example, if a Lord of Land have foure sonnes, and the eldest of those their Brother, enjoy their Fathers Lands before the Grand-childe: the custome being

grounded upon the reason of necessity. For the Irish in former times, having alwayes lived in a fubdivided Civill Warre, not only the greatest against the greatest, but every Bas ron and Gentleman one against another, were enforc't to leave successors of age and ability, to defend their owne Territories. Now as in Normandy, Burgundy, and other Provinces of France, there are certaine peculiar and petty Customes, besides the great and generall cultome of the Land, so are there in England, and in every part thereof. But the greatest bulke of our Lawes, as I take it, are the Atts of Parliament: lawes propounded and approved by the three estates of the Realm, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of whichall men are therefore bound, because they are Alls of choice, and selfe-desire. of which alia caufa nos tenent, quam quod judicio populi recept a funt; The lawes doe there - vip ff.de. Leg. forebinde the subject because they are received by the judgement of the subject. Tum demum Leg 32.

humana leges in abent vim suam cum fuerint non modo institut a, sed ctiam firmata approbating deverares tione communitaties. It is then that humane lawes have their strength, when they shall not onely Graian indec.

he devised, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.

Isidore fasteneth their properties to every Christian Law, that the same be honest, that it be possible, that it be according to Nature, and according to the custome of the Country salfo for the time and place, convenient, profitable, and manifest, and without respect of private profit, that it be written for the generall good. He also gives foure effects of the Law, which Modestinus comprehends in two; to wit, obligation, and instigation: the former bindes us by feare, to avoid vice; the latter encourageth with hope, to follow verthe For according to Cicero, Legem oporte; effe vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricem aut viriutum: It behoveth the Law to be a mender of vices, and a sommender of vertues. The part obligatorie or binding us to the observation of things commanded or forbidden, is aneffect common to all lawes : and it is two-fold; the one constraineth us by scare of our consciences, the other by feare of externall punishment. These two effects the law performeth, by the exercise of those two powers, to wit, Coactive and Directive.

The second of these two effects remembred by Modestinus, is Instigation, or incourage ment to vertue, as Aristotle makes it the end of the law, to make men vertuous. For lawes being such as they ought to be, doe both by prescribing and forbidding, urge us to welldoing laying before us the good and the evill, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding evill, are those into which the law is divided, as touching the matter: and in which David comprehendeth the whole body and substance thereof: saying, Declina à malo, of fac bonum, Decline Pfalme ??

fromevill, and doe good.

CHAP.4.5.16.

6. XVI.

That onely the Prince is exempt from humane Lawes, and in what fort.

Now whether the power of the humane Law be without exception of any perfon, it is doubtfully disputed among those that have written of this subject, as well Divines as Lawyers: and namely, whether Soveraigne Princes be compellable yea,orno: But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforefaid; the one Directive, the other Coactive: to the power Directive they ought to be subject, but not to that which constraineth. For as touching violence or punishments, no man is bound to give a prejudiciall judgement against himself; and if equals have not any power over each other, much leffe have inferiours over their superiours, from whom they receive their authority and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of lawes, simply then is the Prince so much above the lawes, as the foule and body united, is above a dead and senselesse carkasse. For the King is truly called. Jus vivum, & lex animata: An animate & living lam. But this is true, that by giving authority to lawes, Princes both adde greatness to themselves, & conserve it; and therfore was it faid of Bratten out of Justinian; Merito debet Rextribuere legi quod Bigital lex attribute ei:nam lex facit ut ipse sit Rex; Rightfully ought the King to attribute that to the

law, which the Law first attributeth to the King; for it is the Law that doth make Kings. But whereas Bratton ascribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein mistaken. four have alfo a Sonne, the three Brothers of the eldest Sonne, shall, after the death of the laws are made by God, and lawes divine; and by humane lawes onely, declared to be Kings. As for the places remembred by the Divines and Lawyers, which inferre

a kinde of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conskings of congacon of the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to give an acticience, and profit arising from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to give an act count of their actions to God only.

Pfal.50. ff de Leg.

ount of their actions to God only against thee only have I sinned: therefore, the Prince can not be faid to be subject to the Law; Princeps non subjectur legi. For seeing, according to the Schoolemen, the Law humane is but quoddam organum & instrumentum potestatis qubernativa:non videtur posse ejus obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vis potestatis humana non pertinet; sed vis potestatis humana non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet. Ergo neq; lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest insum conditorem. O mnis enim potentia activa, est principium transmutandi aliud; Seeing humane Law (say they) is but 416 kind of Organ or Instrument of the power that governeth, it seems that it cannot extend the to binde any one whom no humane power can controll, or lay hold of : but the Governous him. self, in whom the governing power doth reside, is a person that cannot by himselfe, or by his own power be controlled. And therefore the Law which is made by such a power, cannot bindeshe law-maker himselfe: for every active ability, is a cause or principle of alteration in another body, not in the body in which it selfe resides. And seeing Princes have power to deliver Greg de Valen- others from the obligation of the Law : ergo etiam potest ipsemet Princeps sive legislator sur se voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare; Therefore also may a Prince or Lan-ma. ker at his owne will and pleasure, deliver himselfe from the bond of the Law. Therefore in the rules of the Law it is thus concluded: Subditi tementur leges observare necessitate coactionin, 10 Princeps vero sola voluntate sua, & intuitu boni communus The subjects are bound to fulfilth Law by necessity of compulsion, but the Prince onely by his own will, and regard of the common

1

Now concerning the politique Lawes, given by Moses to the Nation of the Israeling whether they ought to be a Prefident, from which no civill institutions of other people should presume to digresse, I will not presume to determine, but leave it as a question for fuch men to decide, whose professions give them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirme, That we ought not to seeme wiser than God himselfe, who hath toldis that there are no Lawes fo righteous, as those which it pleased him to give to his Elect people to be governed by. True it is, that all Nations have their feverall qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next borderers, no leffe than in their peculiar laguages: which difagreeable conditions to governe aprly, one and the same Law very hardly were able. The Roman civill Lawes did indeed containe in order a great panof the then knowne World, without any notable inconvenience, after fuch time as once it was received and become familiar: yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yeelded much unto the naturall customes of the fundry people, which it governed For whether it be through a long continued perswasion; or (as Astrologers more willing ly grant) fome influence of the Heavens; or peradventure some temper of the soilead climate, affoording matter of provocation to vice (as plenty made the Sybarites luxurious want and opportunity to steale, makes the Arabians to be Theeves) very hardit were to forbid by Law an offence so common with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be diffinguished from just and honest. By such rigour was the Kingdome of Congo un happily diverted from the Christian Religion, which it willingly at the first embraced but after with great fury rejected, because plurality of Wives was denied unto them, I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously than seasonably. In such cases, me thinkes it were not amisse to consider that the high God himselfe permitted some things to the Ifraelites, rather in regard of their natural disposition (for they were hard-heared) than because they were consonant unto the ancient rules of the first perfection. So, where even the generall nature of man doth condemne (as many things it doth) for wicked and unjust; there may the Law, given by Moses, worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the evill, which forceth man, as neere as may be, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custome hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habite, with fo long and fo publike approbation, that the vertue opposing it would seem as uncouth, as it were to walk naked in England, or to weare the English fashion of apparell in Tarkie: there may a wise and upright Law-giver, without presumption; onit formewhat that the rigour of Moses Law required; even as the good King Hezekiab did, in a matter meerely Ecclefiasticall, and therefore the lesse capable of dispensation, praying for the people; The good Lord be mercifull unto him, that prepareth his whole heart

to feek the Lord God, the God of his Fathers, though he be not cleanfed according to the 2 Chro 304 purification of the Sanctuary: which prayer the Lord heard and granted.

To this effect it is well observed by Master Doctor Willer, that the morall Judicials of Moles doe partly binde, and partly are let free. They doe not hold affirmatively that we aretyed to the same severity of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negative-To they doe hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adjudged, where senrence of death is not given by Moses: Christian Magistrates ruling under Christ the Prince 1629 of peace, that is, of Clemency and Mercy, may abate of the feverity of Moses Law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot adde unto it to make the burden more

heavie: for to shew more rigour than Moses, becommeth not the Gospell. But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath beene the subject of many learned discourses, neither will I take upon me, to speak any thing definitively in a case which dependeth still in some controversie among worthy Divines. Thus much (as in honour of the Judiciall Law, or rather of him that gave it) I may well and truly fav that the defence of it hath alwayes beene very plaufible. And furely howfoever they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a generall and onely Law: yet shall we hardly find any other ground, whereon the conscience of a Judge may rest, with equal satisfaction in making interpretation, or giving fentence upon doubts, arifing out of any Law befides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Judge could have beene wittnesse, of whom Fortescue, that norable Bulwarke of our Lawes, doth speake, complaining of a judgement given against a Gentlewoman at Salisbury; who being accused by her owne Man, without any other proofe, for murdering her Husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: the Man who accused her, within a year after being convict for the same offence, confest that his Miltris was altogether innocet of that cruel fact, whose terrible death he then (though over-late) grievously lamented: but this Judge, saith the same Author, Sapius ipse mihi fassues, quod nunquam in vita sua animum ejus de hoc facto ipse purgaret. He himself often caps confessed unto me, that he should never during his life, be able to cleare his conscience of that fatt. Wherfore that acknowledgment which other Sciences yeeld unto the Metaphyliques. that from thence are drawne propositions, able to prove the principles of Sciences, which out of the Sciences themselves cannot be proved, may justly be granted by all other politique institutions, to that of Moses,; and so much the more justly, by how much the subject of the Metaphysiques, which is, Ens quatenus Ens , Being as it is being ; is infinitely inferiour to the Ens Entium; The being of beings, the onely good, the fountaine of truth, whole feare is the beginning of wifedome. To which purpose well faith Saint Augustine, Conditur legum temporalium si vir bonus est & sapiens, illam ipsam consulit aternam, de qua nullianima judicare datum est; The Author of temporall Lawes, if he be good and wife doth. therinconsult the Law eternall to determine of which there is no power given to any soule. And as well Prince Edward, in Fortescue his discourse, Nemo potest melius aut aliud fundamentumponere, quam posuit Dominus: No man can lay abetter, or another foundation than the Lord has blazed.

CHAP. V.

The Story of the Israelites from the receiving of the Law to the death of Moses.

6. I.

Of the numbring and disposing of the Host of Israel, for their marches through the Wilderness with a note of the reverence given to the worship of God in this ordering of their troupes.

Hen Moles had received the Law from God, and published it among the people, and finished the Tabernacle of the Arke and Santuary; he must red all the Tribes and Families of Israel: and having seene what numbers of Men sit to be are armes, were found in every Tribe, from 20. yeares of age upwards; he appointed unto them, by direction from the Lord, such Prin-

seand Leaders, as in worth and reputation were in every Tribe most eminent. The

rumbes

number of the whole Army was 603550. able men for the wars, befides women & chilnumber of the whole Army was only followed them out of Egypt. This great Army dren; also, besides the strangers which followed them out of Egypt. was divided by Moses into source grosse and mighty Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400 able men, consisted of three Regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of Judah, I Jachar and Zabulon. In the Tribe of Judah were 74600 fighting men. led by Naasson: in I fachar 54400.led by Nathaniel in Zabulon 57400.led by Eliab. All these marched under the Standard of the Tribe of Judah, who held the Vaunt-guard, and was the first that moved and marched, being lodged and quartered at their general incam-10 ping on the East fide of the Army, which was held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The fecond Battalion or Army, called in the Scriptures the Host of Reuben, had joyned unto it Simeon and Gad, in number 151450. All which marched under the Standard of Reuben. In the Tribe of Reuben were 46500. under Elizur: in Simeon 59300. under Shelumiel: in Gad 45650 under Eliafaph: These had the second place, and incamped on

the South-fide of the Tabernacle.

The third Army marched under the Standard of Ephraim, to whom were joynedthe Regiments of Manasse and Benjamin; who, joyned together, made in number 108100. able men. These marched in the third place, incamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. Ephraim had 40500 under Elishama: Manasse 32200 under Gambiel: Ben. 10 jamin 35400. under Abidam.

The fourth and last Army, or Squadron, of the generall Army, containing 157600 able men, marched under the Standard of Dan; to whom were joyned the two Tribes of Nephtali and Alber. And these had the Rere-ward, and moved last, incamping on the North-side. Dan had 62700 under AbieZer: Asher 41500 under Pagiel: Nephtali 53400

under Abira.

Besides these Princes of the severall Tribes, there were ordained Captains over Thosa fands, over Hundreds, over Fifties, and over Tens; as it may appeare by that mutinican insurrection against Moses; Num. 16.v. 1. & 2. For there arose up against Moses 250. Cap. tains of the Affembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renowne: of which numbers were Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Which three principall Mutiners, with those 250. Cap tains that followed them, were not any of the 12. Princes of the Tribes or generall Colo

nels before spoken of, as by their names, Num. 1 is made manifest. The bleffing which Ifrael gave to his children, tooke place not onely in the division the Land of promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but even in forting them under their severall Standards in the wildernesse it was observed For Judah had the precedency and the greatest Army, which also was wholly component ded of the Sonnes of Leah, 7 acobs wife. Reuben having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother Simeon, who had under-gone his Fathers curse; and with Gad, the sonne of his Mothers Hand-maid. Foseph, who in temporall blef fings had the prerogative of the first borne a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and divided into two Regiments: the younger (according to Jacobs prophecy) king place before the elder. He was affifted by Benjamin, his best beloved brother, theo ther fon of Rachel. To Dan, the eldest son of Jacobs Concubines, was given the leadings the fourth Army, according to Jacobs prophecy. He had with him under his Standard none of the Children of Leah, or Rachel, but onely the fonnes of the Hand-maides.

In the middle of these foure Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, fur-rounded by the Levites. Neere unto which, as the Heathers and Pagans could not approach, by reason of these foure powerfull Armies which grave ded the same : so was it death for any of the children of Ifrael to come neere it, who were not of the Levites, to whom the charge was comitted. So facred was the moveable Tenple of God, and with fuch reverence guarded and transported, as 22000. persons wert dedicated to the service and attendance thereof: of which 8580. had the peculiar charges according to their severall offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written the third and fourth of Numbers. And as the Armies of the people observed the forms order in their incampings: so did the Levites quarter themselves, as in an inner square on every fide of the Tabernacle; the Geshurites on the West, within the Arms, and Standard of Ephrains, over whom Eliasaph commanded, in number 75

The Family of Cobath on the South-fide guided by Elizaphan, within the Army of Reuben, and betweene him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third company were of the Family of Merari, over whom Zuriel commanded, in number 6200, and these were lodged on the North fide, within the Army of Dan; on the East-side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which Juda led, did Moses and Aaron lodge, and their children who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies & of the people; under whom, as the chiefe of all the other Leviticall Families, was EleaZar the fon of Agron, his fuccessour in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Army of Ifrael, and of their incamping and marchingsthe Tabernacle of God being alway fet in the middle & center therof. The reverend care which 10 Moles the Prophet, and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, Arke and Sanetuary, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeake born towards God himselfe. The industry used in the framing therof, and every, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the provisions; the dutifull observance in the laying up, and oreferving the holy Vessels; the solemne removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, & the provident defence of the same, which all Ages have in some degree initated, is now fo forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the Family, by the Anabaptift, Brownift, and other Sectaries, as all coft & care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accounted a kinde of Popery, and as proceeding from an idolarrous disposition: informuch as time would foon bring to passe (if it were not refifted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barnes, & from thence again into the Fields and Mountains, and under the hedges, and the Offices of the Minifen(robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as those places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-government, left to newneffe of opinion, and mens fancies: yea, and foon after, as many kinds of Religions would fpring up, as there are Parish-Churches wirhin England:every contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancy with the Spirit of God, and his imagination with the gift of Revelation; infomuch, as when the Truth, which is but one, shall appeare to the simple multitude, no lesse variable than contrary to it self, the Faith of Men will soone after dye away by degrees, and all Religion be held in scorn and contempt. Which distraction gave a great Prince of Germany cause of this answer to those that perswaded him to become a Lutheran, Si me adjungo vobis, tune condemnor ab aliis : & mealis adjungo à vobis condemnor ; quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar, non habeo : If I adtown my selfe to you, I am condemned by others; If I joyn with others, I am condemned by you. what I should avoide I fee, but I know not what I should follow.

§. II. The offerings of the twelve Princes: the Passeover of the second yeere: The departing of Jethro.

Ow when Moses had taken order for all things necessary, provided for the fervice of God, written the lawes, numbred his Army, & divided them into the battells and troups before remembred, & appointed them Leaders of all forts; The twelve Princes or Commanders of the Tribes brought their offerings before the Lord, to Num. wit, fixecovered Chariots, and twelve Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto, the Sanduary excepted, which for reverence was carried upon the shoulders of the sons of Korah, to whom the charge was committed; and the Charlots, in which was conveyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were delivered to the Levites for that fervice, namely to the Sonnes of Gershan and Merari.

Befides these Chariots, each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered unto God, and for his service in the Temple, a Charger of fine filver, weighing The Hebrew 30 heckles; a filver Bowle of 70 fleckles, after the sheckle of the Santhury; and an In- Gerab weighcense-Cup of gold, of ten sheekles, which they performed at the same time when the Altar was dedicated unto God by Aaron: and before they marched from Sinai towards Gerab effiver

malic-pencesterling: the Sick of the Sanctuary (as it is expounded, Exad 30.13.) contained 20. Gerahs, so a Sanctuary Siele of Silver is about 7-groats, the common Siele is but halte as much, to wit, ten Gerahs: as it is usually expounded; though Villelpandus Parours optove that the common and the Sanctuary Siele were all one. Nums 9, veric 1. Nums 10, 11, Exocuts sit. 34. Numbers

CHAP.4.5.2.

rhe Egyptian flavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and ter-

rible Wildernesse (for so Moses calleth it) with the victory which he gave them against the

Ceremoniall, the weight of all the twelve filver Chargers, and twelve filver Bowles, amounted unto 2400. sheckles of silver; and the weight of gold in the Incense-Cups, to 120. sheckles of gold; which makes of sheckles of filver 1200. every sheckle of gold valuing ten of filver, so that the whole of gold and filver which they offered at this time, was about foure hundreth and twenty pound sterling. This done, Moses, as in all the rest, by the Spirit of God conducted, gave order for the celebrating of the Passeover, which they performed on the fourteenth day of the fecond moneth of the fecond yeare: and on the twentieth day of the same, the cloude was lifted up from above the Tabernacle, as a figne of going forward; Moses beginning his march with this invocation to God: Rise 10 up Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that have thee flie before thee. Then all the people of Ifrael removed from their incamping at the foot of the Mountaine Sinai, towards Paran, the Armie, or great squadron of Inda, led by Naashon, taking the Vaunguard, followed by Nathaneel and Eliab, Leaders of the Tribes of Islachar and Zabulon. after whom the rest marched, as in the figure exprest. And because the passage through fo many defarts and mountaines, was exceeding difficult: Moses leaving nothing unforethought which might serve for the advancement of his enterprise, he instantly intreated his Father in Law, whom in the tenth of Numbers he calleth Hobab, to accompany them in their journey towards Canaan; promising him such part and profit of the enterprise, as God should bestow on them: for this man, as he was of great understanding & judge-26 ment (as appeared by the Counsell he gave to Moses for the appointing of Judges over the people) fo was he a perfect guide in all those parts, himselfe inhabiting on the from tier thereof, at Midian, or Madian: and (as it seemeth) a man of great yeares and expenence; for he was then the Priest or Prince of Madian, when Moses sted first out of Egypt, and married his Daughter, which was 42. yeares before this request made. And though Moses himselfe had lived 40. yeares in these parts of Arabia, through which he was now to travell: yet the better to affure his paffage, and fo great a multitude of foules; which could not be so sew as a Million, it was necessary to use many guides, and many conductors. To this request of Moses, it may seem by the places, Exed. 18.27 and Num. 10.30. that Jethro, otherwise called Hobab, yeelded not: for it is evident, that he went back from 30 Moses into his owne Countrey. But because it appeareth by other places of Scripture, And Regio. that the posterity of this Hobab was mingled with the Ifraelites, it is most likely that this his returne to his owne Countrey, was rather to fetch away his Family, and to take his leave of his owne Countrey, by fetting things in order, than to abide there.

their conquest, besides the beasts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the Law

Judic.1.16 0 I Chro. 2.55 Jcr.35.

> S. III.
> The voyage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cause of their turning backe to the Red Sea.

Frer this difmission of Hobab, I frael began to march towards the Defarts of Paran. and after three daies wandring, they fate down at the Sepulcbres of luft, afterward called Tabeers, or Incensio: by reason that God consumed with fire those Mutiners and Murmurers which rose up in this remove, which happened about the 23 day of the same Moneth. And from this 23. day of the second Moneth, of the second yeare, they rested and sed themselves with Quailes (which it pleased God by a Sea-winde to castupon them) to the 24. day of the third moneth; to wit, all the moneth of sinan or June: whereof surfeiting there dyed great numbers: from whence in the following month, called Thamus, answering to our July, they went on to Hazeroth, where Miriam the fifter of Moses was stricken with the leprosie, which continued upon her seven dayes, after Num.11.& 13. whole recovery Israel removed toward the border of Idumaa, and incamped at Rithma, 50 neere Kades Barnea, from whence Moses sent the twelve discoverers into the Territory of Canaan, both to informe themselves of the fertility and strength of the Country; as also to take knowledge of the Wayes, Passages, Rivers, Fords, and Mountaines. For Arad king of the Canaanites furprized divers companies of the Ifraelites, by lying in ambush neere those wayes, through which the discoverers and searchers of the Land had formerly past. Now, after the returne of the discoverers of Kades, the wrath of God was turned against Israel; whose ingratitude and rebellion after his so many benefits, so many remissions, so many miracles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their deliverance from

powerfull Amalekites, to be no other than the effects of his harred, thinking that he led rhem on and preserved them, but to bring them, their wives, and children to be slaughtered, and given for a prey and spoyle to the Amorites or Canaanites. For it was reported unto them, by the learchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong Towers and Castles; that many of the people were Grantlike of for they confest that they saw the sonnes of Anat there) who were men of fearefull stature, and so farre over-topped the Ifraelites, as they appeared to them, and to them felves, but as Grashoppers in their respect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the rest wherein they both accused God, and consulted to choose them a Captaine (or as they callitnow adayes, an Eletto) to carry them backe againe into Egypt; fo did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished every soule of the whole multitude (Josua and Caleb excepted) who being confident in Gods promiles, perswaded the people to enter Canaan, being then neere it; and at the mountaine footeof Idumes, which is but narrow; laying before them the fertility thereof, and affuring them of victory. But as men, whom the passion of feare had bereaved both of rea- Num 1416 1 fonandrommon fense, they threatned to stone these encouragers to death; accounting themas men either desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the lives, goods, and children to of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God refifted these wicked purposes, and interpoling the feare of his bright glory betweene the unadvised fury of the multitude, and the innocency and constancy of his servants, preserved them thereby from their violence; threatning an intire destruction, of the whole Nation, by sending among them a consti- Num.14223 ming and mercilesse pestilence. For this was the tenth insurrection and rebellion, which they had made, fince God delivered them from the flavery of the Egyptians. But Mofes Numaza (the mildest or meekest of all men) prayed unto God to remember his infinite mercies: alledging, that this fo fevere a judgement, how defervedly foever inflicted, would increase the pride of the Heathen Nations, and give them occasion to vaunt, that the God of Ifiael, failing in power to performe his promiles, fuffered them to perish in these barrenandfruitlesse Desarts. Yet as God is no lesse just than mercifull, as God is slow to anger, fois his wrath a confuming fire; the same being once kindled by the violent breath of mans ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand leffe heavie than hoped for, he scourged this iniquity; fo by the measure of his glory (evermore jealous of neglect and derision)he suffered not the wicked to passe unpunished; reserving his compassion for the innocent: whom, because they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleased to preserve, and in them to performe his promises, which have never beene fru-

> of their unwillingnesse to returne: with the punishment thereof, and of divers accidents in the returne.

Tow when Moses had revealed the purposes of God to the people, and made them know his heavie displeasure towards them, they began to bewaile themselves though overlate: the times of grace and mens repentance, having also their appointment. And then when God had left them to themselves, and was no more among them, after they had to often plaid and dallied with his mercifull fufferings, they would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt, and make offer to enterthe Land contrary against to the advice of Moses; who assured them, that God was not among them; and that the Arke of his covenant should not move, but by his diretion, who could not erre; and that the enemies fword, which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no leffe sharpe than death; and in the hands of the Amale. kites and Canaanites, no leffe cruell: But as men from whom God hath with-drawne his grace, doe alwayes follow those counsels which carry them to their owne destructions: To the Hebrewes, after they had for faken the opportunity by God and their Conductors offered: and might then have entered Judes before their enemies were prepared and joyhed; did afterward, contrary to Gods commandement, undertake the enterprise of themfelves, and ranne head-long and without advice into the mountaines of Idumaa. There

Num.12.

Muma 21

CHAP.5.\$.5.

the Canaanites and the Amalekites being joyned, and attending their advantage, feton them, brake them, and of their numbers flaughtered the greatest part and following their victory and pursuit, confumed them all the way of their flight, even unto Hormah: the A. malekites in revenge of their former loffe, and overthrow at Raphidim the Canaanites to prevent their displantation and destruction threatned. Of which powerfull assembly of those two Nations (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings, joyned together for their common safety) it pleased God to forewarne Moses, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to returne by those paineful pailages of the Delarts, through which they had formerly travelled, till they found the bankes of the red Sea againe: in which retrait before they came backe to paffe over for to dan, there were confumed 38. yeares; and the whole number of the 600 and odde thoufand, which came out of Egypt (Moses, Josua, and Caleb excepted) were dead in the Wildernesse, the stubborne and carelesse generations were wholly worne out, and the promifed Land bestowed on their children; which were increased to 600000 and more. For besides the double fault, both of refusing to enter the Land upon the returne of their difcoverers, and the prefumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded: it fee. meththat they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worshipping Moloch, and the Host of Heaven. For although Moses doth not mention it, yet Amos doth, and so doththe Martyr Stephen; as also that the Israelites worshipped the Sun and Moon in after-times, it is proved out of fundry other places.

Amos 5125. Acts 7.42. 2 Kin.17.16. & cap.21.V.3 & c.23.V 4,5.II 2 Chron-33-3 Hierem. 19. V.1 2.&c.

Nuna 337

Now after the broken Companies were returned to the Campe at Cades, Moses according to the commandement received from God, departed towards the South from whence he came, to recover the shoares of the Red Sea. And so from Cades or Ritima he removed to Remmonparez, so called of aboundance of Pomegranates there found, and divided among them. From whence he went on to Libnah, taking that name of the Frakincense there found. From Librah he crost the Valley, and fate downe at Ressa, near the foot of the mountaine. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the Well, and incamped at Ceelate; where one of the Hebrewes, for gathering broken wood on the Sabbath, was stoned to death. After which, Moses, alwayes keeping the Valley between two great ledges of mountaines, (those which bound the Defart of Sin, and those of Pharan) crost the same from Ceelata, and marched Eastward to the mountaine of Sapha, or Sepher: this making the twentieth manfion. From thence he passed on to Harada, then to Maceloth; and then to Thahah, and fo to Thara or Thare; the foure and twentien mansion. Where Moses rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutiny of Korah, Dathan, & Abiram; who for their contempt of God & his ministers, were some of them swallowed up alive, and by the Earth, opening her mouth, devoured; others, em two hundred and fifty which offered incense with Korah, were consumed with firefrom Heaven; and 14700. of their party, which murmured against Moses, stricken dead with sudden pestilence: one of the greatest marvailes and judgments of God, that hath been shewed in all the time of Moles his government, or before. For among so great a multiple tude, those lay-men who would have usurped Ecclesiasticall authority, were suddenly fivallowed up alive into the Earth with their families and goods; even while they fought to overthrow the Order, Discipline, and Power of the Church, and to make all men alike zherein, rebelliously contending against the High Priest and Magistrate, to whom God had committed the government both of his Church, and Common-weal of his people And the better to affure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirme them, it peat feth him in this place also to approve by miracle the former election of his servant Maron, by the twelve rods given in by the Heads of thetwelve Tribes; of which Mofeste ceived one of every Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and dried Wands, and on every rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and Aarons on 9 that of Levi, it pleased God, that the rod of Aaron received by his power a vegetable spirit, and having laine in the Tabernacle of the Congregation, before the Arke one night, had on it both Buds, Blossomes, and ripe Almonds.

From Tharah the whole Army removed to Methra; and thence to Efmona; and thence to Moseroth, (or Masurit, after Saint Hierome) and from Moseroth to Benefacan; and ford Gadzad, which Hierome calleth Gadgada; thence to Jetabata, the thirtieth Manfion; where from certaine fountaines of water gathered in one, Adrichomius maketh a River, which falleth into the Red Sea, betweene Madian and Asiongaber.

Now although it be very probable, that at A fiong aber, where Salomon furnished his Fleetes for the East India, there was store of fresh water; and though Herodoins maketh Heridage mention of a great River in Arabia the Stonie, which he calleth Corys, from whence (faith he) the inhabitants conveigh water in pipes of leather to other places, by which device the King of Arabia releeved the Army of Cambyfes: yet is Adrichomius greatly deceived. as many times he is, in finding these Springs at Gadgad, or Jetabata, being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Mansion. For it was at Punon, that those Springs are spoken of which in Deuteronomy the tenth, and the feventh Verse, is also called Jetabata, or Jot bath, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the River Za-Fored, the next adjoyning. And that these Springs should fall into the Red Sea ar Assongaber, or Eloth, I cannot believe, for the way thither is very long. And this I finde in Belonius, that there are divers Torrents of fresh water in those fandy parts of Arabia: which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunke up by the hor and thirsty fand, before they can recover the bankes of the Red

From Jetabata, Moses directed his journey towards the Red Sea, and incamped at Hebrong, and from thence to Estongaber: which City in Josephus time had the name of Berenice and in Hieromes, Essia. From thence, keeping the Sea, and Eloth on his right hand, he turned towards the North, as hee was by God commanded: Estonga-Deuter o ber being the farthest place towards the South-East, that Moses travailed in that pas-

It feemeth that Estiongaber or Astongaber, Eloth and Madian, were not at this time in Numceo, v.t.3. the possession of the Kings of Edom. For it is said, That the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron in the Mount Hor, neere the Coast of the Land of Edom; so as the Mount Hor wasatthis time in the South border of Idumaa. And if Esiongaber, and the other places neere the Red Sea, had at this present bin subject unto the Idumaans. Moses would also have demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the future the Idumeans obtained those places : for it is said; And they arose out of Midian, and came i Kings 11.18. to Paran, and tooke men with them; which were those companies that followed young Adad of Idumaa, into Egypt, when he fled from Joab. Likewife it is faid of Salomon, that hemadea Navie of shippes in Estongaber besides Eloth, in the Land of Edom.

Of Moses arrivall at Zin Kades: and of the accidents while that they abode there.

Rom Efiongaber he turned against owards the North, and pirched in the Wilderneffe of Zin, which is Kadesh: or in Beroth, of the children of Jacan; where they fate downe in the first Moneth of the fortieth yeare, after they left Egypt. For at the next Mansion Aaron died in the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortietle yeare: the nine and thirtieth yeare taking end at Estongaber. And at this City of Cades (for fo it was thought to be) or neere it, died Miriam, or Mary, Moses fifter, whose Se-Num.2012 pulcher was to be feene in Saint Hieromes time, as himfelfe avoweth. From hence ere Num 20.3% they departed to the Mountaine Hor, all the people murmured most violently against Moses, by reason of the scarcity of water. For neither the punishments by fire from Heaven; by being devoured and fwallowed up by the earth; by the fudden pestilence, which often seized them; nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the love or wrath of God, could prevaile with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and fatiffied in every of their appetites: but in stead of seeking for helpe and reliefe at Gods hands, when they fuffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting ungratefully on Moses all their miladventures; yea, though they well knew that their own Fathers had left their bodies in the Defarts, and that they were now entred into the fortieth yeare, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in the fight of the Land Promifed, they againe as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of

God

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Num. 22

God are without beginning; so his mercies being without end, he commanded Moses to strike a Rocke adjoyning with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattell were satisfied. Neverthelesse, because God perceived a kinde of diffidence both in Moses and Aaron, at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly desires might invite them. But it pleased him to end the travailes of Aaron at the Mountaine Hor, being the next, and foure and thirtieth Station. At which Mountaine of Hor, Aaron was despoyled of the garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on Eleagar, his sonne, as God had commanded. Which done, Moses and EleAZAR descent ded the Mountaine; but GOD received Aaron on the top thereof, and he was no more in

Of this Mountaine called Hor, otherwise Mosera, as in Deuteronomy 10. Verse 6. those Horites tooke name which the Idumeans had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make Mosera, which was the seven and twentieth Mansion, and Mosera which they write Moseroth for difference, which was the foure and thirtieth Mansion, and is also cl. led Hor, to be two distinct places : because Moses in passing from Cadesbarne towards E. fiongaber, incamped at Mosera, after he departed from Hesmona, and before he came to Benjaacan. And this Mosera, which is also called Hor, he came unto after he left cades, where Miriam, Moses fister, dyed; the first being the seven and twentieth, and the se cond being the foure and thirtieth Mansion. But for Hor, which is also called Mostra, it should have bin written, Hor juxta Mosera; Hor neere Mosera: for it is but one roote of a Mountaine, divided into divers tops, as Sinai and Horeb are: Whereof the West part Mofes calleth Mofera, and the East part Horeb. By the West part Moses encamped, six past towards the Red Sea, on his left hand; by the East part, as he went backe again North-wards towards Moab: as in the description of Moses his passage through Arthu

Now it was from Cades, before they came to Hor, because Hor belonged to Edomini the Reader may perceive. Moses sent messengers to the Prince of Idumes, praying him that he might passe within people of Ifrael through his Territory into the Land of Canaan, which bordered it. In it was the neerest way of all other from the City of Kadesh, where Moses then encampage whereas otherwise, taking his journey by the Rivers of Zared, Arnon, and Jordan, might have runne into many hazzards in the passage of those Rivers, the far way about and the many powerfull Kings, which commanded in those Regions. Now the bear to perswade the Prince of Idumaa hereunto, Moses remembred him, that he was of famerace and family with Ifrael: calling him by the name of brother, because both Edomites and Ifraelites were the formes of one father, to wit, Ifaac; inferring therebying he had more reason to savour and respect them, than he had to assist the Canaanite; & gainst whom Efan his Ancester had made warre, and driven out the Horites (who wered their ancient races descended of Cham) out of the Region of Seir, calling it by his out name Edom, or Edumas. He also making a short repetition of Gods bleffings bestowd on them, and of his purposes and promises; affured Edom, or the King thereof, that h would no way offend his people, or waste his Country, but that he would restraine in Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high wayes, paying money in whatsoever he used, yea, even for the water, which themselves or their Cattellshould drinke. For Moles was commanded by God, notto provoke the children of Elas, But the King of Edumea knowing the strength of his owne Country, the same being nere Canaan, rampir'd with high and sharpe mountaines: and withall suspecting, as a natural wife man, that 600000. ftrangers being once entred his Countrey, it would restintly wills to give him law, resolvedly refused them passage, and delivered this answer to the Messengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible meanes. And not knowing whether such a denial might fatisfie or exasperate, he gathered the strength of his Countrey rogether, and shewed himselfe prepared to defend their passage. For, as it is written; Then Edom came out a gainst him(to wit, Moses) with much people, and with a mighty power. Whereupon Mose confidering, that the end of his enterprise was not the conquest of Seir or Edward that the Land promifed was that of Canaan: like unto mimicate who was that the World had who in the twelfth Chapter and four eteenth Verse, nameth this Arad by the name of his

he refused to adventure the Army of Ifrael against a Nation, which being overcome gave but a passage to invade others; and which, by reason of the seate of their mountain nous Countrey, could not but have endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the Grength of Ifrael, and rendred them leffe able, if not altogether powerleffe, to have conquered the rest.

9. VI. of their compassing Idumas; and travelling to Arnon, the border of Moab.

Etherefore leaving the way of Idamea, turned himfelfe towards the East: and marched towards the Defarts of Moab. Which when Arad King of the Canaamarched towards the Detaits of and blanched the way of Idumaa; and knowing that it was Canaan, and not Edom, which If act aimed at he thought it fafest, rather to finde his enemies in his neighbours Countrey, than to be found by them in his own: which he might have done with a farre greater hope of victory, had Moles bin enforc't first to have made his way by the Sword through Idumes, and thereby, though victorious, greatly have lessened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwise than Arad hoped for, yet being refolved to make trial, what courage the Ifraelites brought with them out of Egypt. hefore they came neerer his owne home; leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Defart, he fet upon some part of the Army; which, for the multitude occupied a great space, and for the many heards of Cattell that they drave with them, could not enrampe so neere together, but that some quarter or other was evermore subject to surorife. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he lew some few of the Israelites, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this Canaanite, or his Predecessous, which joved his forces with the Amalekites, and gave an overthrow to those mutinous Israelites. Numadas. which without direction from God by Moles, would have entred Canaan from Cadel arne. For it feemeth that the greatest number of that Army were of the Canaanites, beause in the first of Deuteronomy, 44. the Amorites are named alone without the Amale, ites, and are faid to have beaten the Israelites at that time. And this Arad, if he were the ame that had a victory over Ifrael, neere Cadesbarne; or if it were his Predecessour hat then prevailed; this man finding that Mofes was returned from the Red Sea, and in his way towards Canaan, and that the South part of Canaan was first to be invaded, and in langer of being conquered, not knowing of Moses purpose to compasse Moses, determined while he was yet in the Desart, to trie the quarrell. And whereas it followeth in the hird verse of the twelfth Chapter of Numbers, that the Israelites utterly destroyed the anaanites and their Cities, they are much mistaken that thinke, that this destruction was presently performed by the Israelises. But it is to be understood, to have beene done in he future, to wir, in the time of Josea. For had Moses at this time entred Canaan in the pursuit of Arad, he would not have fallen backe againe into the Defarts of Zin and Moak, nd have fetcht a weartsome and needlesse compasse, by the Rivers of Zared and

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirme, that Arad did not phabite any part of Canaan it selfe, but that his Territory lay without it, and neare the Mountaine Hor. For Hor and Zin Cades were the South borders of Edom, and not of Ca-Num 33.40 naan. And it was in the South of the Land of Canaan, that Arad dwelt: which South part of Canaan was the North part of Edom.

Againe, Horma (for so farre the Ifraelites after their victory pursued the Canaanites) is cated in the South of Judaa. There is also a City of that name in Simeon. But there is no Such place to the South of Edom. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed prefently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to prove, that the fame was obtained in the future, and in Josus his time, and not at the instant of Arads affault. For had the Ifraelites at this time fackt the Cities of Arad, they would not the next day have complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also water and bread. But it was in the time of Josua, that the Isaconfidering, that the end of his enterprite was not the conquest of our of formans in the time of Jojua, that the Land promised was that of Canaan: like unro himselfe who was of natural in the Land promised was that of Canaan: like unro himselfe who was of natural in the Land promised was that of Canaan: like unro himselfe who was of natural in the Land promised was that of Canaan: like unro himselfe who was of natural in the Land promised was that of Canaan: like unro himselfe who was of natural in the Land promised was that of Canaan: like unro himselfe who was of natural in the Land promised was that of Canaan: like unro himselfe who was of natural in the Land promised was that of Canaan: like unro himselfe who was of natural in the Land promised was that of Canaan: like unro himselfe who was of natural in the Land promised was that of Canaan: like unro himselfe who was of natural in the Land promised was that of Canaan: like unro himselfe who was of natural in the Land promised was that of Canaan: like unro himselfe who was of natural in the Land promised was that of Canaan: like unro himselfe who was of natural in the Land promised was that of Canaan: like unro himselfe was the like unro himselfe who was of natural in the Land promised was that of Canaan: like unro himselfe was the like unrounded was the l

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Num 20.20.

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Num.c.21.V.14-

Citie fo called; and with him the King of Horma: to which place the Ifraelites purfued the Canaanites-And he nameth them amongst those Kings, which he vanquished, and put ro death.

Now after this affault and furprize by Arad, Moses finding that all entrance on that fide was defended, he led the people Eastward to compasse Idumaa and the Dead Sea, and to make his entrance by Arnon and the Plaines of Moab, at that time in the possession of the Amorites. But the Ifraelites, to whom the very name of a Defart was terrible, began a. gaine to rebell against their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents, (that is, by the byting of Serpents, whose venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentifull grace, cured them againe by h their beholding an artificiall Serpent, by his Commandement fet up.

From the Mount Hor, Moles leaving the ordinary way which lyeth between the Red Sea, and Calofiria, encamped at Zalmona; and thence he removed to Phunon, where he erected the Brazen Serpent; making these journyes by the edge of Idumea, but without it. For Phunon was sometime a principall City of the Edomites. Now where it is witten in Numbers 21. Verse 4. That from Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieved the people, it was not thereby meant that the Ifraelites turned back towards the Red Sea; neither did they march (according to Fonfeca) per viam qua habet à latre mare rubrum; By the way that sided the Red Sea, but indeed they crost, and went athwar the common way from Galaad, Traconitis, and the Countries of Moab, to the Red Su, that is, to Effongaber, Eloth, and Midian: which way, as it lay North and South, folial to thun the border of Edom, and to take the utmost East part of Moab, crost the common way towards the East, and then they turned againe towards the North, as before.

From Phunon he went to Oboth; where they entred the Territory of Moab, adjoyning to the Land of Suph, a Country bordering on the Dead Sea; and from thence to Abarin, the eight and thirtieth Mansion, that is, where the Mountaines so called take beginning and are as yet but small Mountures of Hills, on the East border of Moab; from theme they recovered Dibon Gad, or the River of Zared, which rifethin the mountaines of Ant bia, and runneth towards the Dead Sea, not farre from Petra the Metropolis thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And having past that River, they lodged at DibonGal & from thence they kept the way to Diblathaim, one of the Cities of Moab; which Him. mie the Prophet Chap. 48. Verse 22. calleth the House of Diblathaim, the same which & terward was destroyed among the rest by Nabuchadnezzar. From thence they camen the River of Arnon, and encamped in the mountaines of Abarim: though in the 22. of Numbers, Moses doth not remember Helmondiblathaim, but speaketh of his remove from the River of Zared, immediately to the other fide of Arnon; calling Arnon the border of Mosh, betweene them and the Amorites: speaking, as he found the state of the Country at that time. For Arnon was not anciently the border of Moab, but was lately conque red from the Moabites, by Schon, King of the Amorites: even from the Predecessour of Balac Peor then reigning. From Diblathaim, Mofes fent meffengers to Schon, King of the Amorites, todefire a paffage through his Countrey which though he knew would be denied him, yet he defired to give a reason to the neighbour Nations, of the warrelt undertooke. And though Edom had refused him as Sehon did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. Moses also in sending messengers to Sehon, observed the same precept, which he left to his posterity and successours, for a law of the warre; namely in Deut. 20. Verfe 10. in these words; When thou comest neere unto a Citie to fight against, shou shalt offer it peace, which if it doe accept of and open unto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries unto thee, and servethee; but if it refuse, &c. thou shali smitt all the neales thereof with the edge of the fword. Which ordinance all commanders of Armies have observed to this day, or ought to have done.

6.V I I.

TOw concerning the Warre betweene Ifrael and Sehon, Mofes feemeth to referre great part of this Story to that Booke intituled, Liber bellerum Domini , The bookt of Gods bassailes: and therefore paffeth over many encounters, and other things

memorable, with greater brevity in this place. His words after the Geneva Translation are these: Wherefore it shall be spoken in the booke of the battailes of the Lord, what things be did in the Red Sea, & in the Rivers of Arnon. The Vulgar copie differeth not in sense from this: But the Greeke Septuagint vary. For the Greeke writes it to this effect . For thus it is faid in the Booke: The warre of the Lord hath burns (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brookes of Arnon. Junius for the Red Sea, which is in the Genevian & Vulgar Edition, names the Region Num. 21.

of * Suph; a Countrey bordering the Dead Sea towards the East, as he conjecture the trey of Suph; trey of Suph; Text he readeth thus. Ideireo dici solet in recensione bellorum Jehovæ, contra Vahebum in see more chapa Regione Suph: & contrassumina, sumina Arnonis . Therefore is it spoken in repeating of the 10.5.4.1.2. battailes of Jehovah, against Vaheb, in the Countrey of Suph and against the Rivers, the & of the word Rivers of Arnon. In which words he understands, that amongst the wars which the Lord subjection and disposed for the good of the Israelites, there was in those times a famous memory in the 18.5.3. mouth of most men, concerning the warre of Sehon against Vaheb, the King of the Moa- Num 21,261 hites, and of his winning the Country neere Arnon, out of the possession of the Moahites. For this Vabeb was the immediate predeceffour of Balac, who lived with Moles: though it be written that this Balac was the fon of Zippor, and not of Vabeb. For it feernes I Chronesis. (as it is plaine in the fuccession of the Edomites) that these Kingdomes were elective, and not fucceffive. And as Junius in this Translation understanderh no speciall Booke of the battailes of the Lord: fo others, as Vatablus in his Annotations, doubt whether in this place any speciall Booke be meant; and if any, whether it be not a prediction of warres infuture ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the Booke of Judges. Syra. cides c.46. tells us plainely, that those battailes of the Lord were fought by 70 ua . Who muthere (faith he) before him like to him? for he fought the bateailes of the Lord. But fecing the Hiltories of the Scripture elsewhere often passe over matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other Bookes, written of the fame matter at large: thereforeit feemeth probable, that fuch a Booke as this there was; wherein the feverall victories by Ifrael obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the Ifraelites, were particularly and largely written. And that the fame should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with divine discourse, have perished in the long race of time, or have bin destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrate. For the Bookes of Henoch, howsoever they have bin in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembred in an Epistle of Thaddaus, and cited by Origen wel dexw, and by Tertullian.

That worke also of the Patriarch Abraham, of Formation, which others bestow on Rabbi Achiba, is no where found. The Bookes remembred by Fofnac. 10. v. 13: and in the second of Samuel, c. 1. v. 18 called the Booke of Jasher, or Fustorum, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sunne and Moone in the middest of the Heavens is recorded, and how they stood still till Israel had avenged themselves of their enemies: out of which also David tooke the precept, of teaching the children of Juda, to exercise their bowes against their enemies.

Somethinke this to be the Booke of eternall Predestination, in which the just are written, according unto the fixty and ninth Pfalme, Verfe 28. where it is faid; Let them be put out of the Booke of Life, neither let them be written with the righteons. Hierome Hieronin queft. thinkes, that David by this Booke understood those of Samuel; Rabbi Salomon, that super-libe regumthe Bookes of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the just Abraham, of Isac, Jacob, and Moses, are written; Others, that it was the Booke of Exodus; others, as Theodoretus, that it was a Commentary upon Fosua, by an unknowne Au-

The booke of Chozai, concerning Manasse, remembred in the second of Chron.33. v.18.6 19. Of this booke, also loft, Hierome conceives that the Prophet Ifay was the Hierom.in an-Authour.

The same mischance came as well to the Story of Salomon, written by Ahia Silonites, whomet with feroboam, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdome of Ifrael from the some of Salomon; as to the bookes of Nathan the Prophet, and to those of feedo the Seer; remembred in the second of Chron.c.g.v.29. With these have the bookes of Shemaiah and of Iddo, remembred in the second of Chron.c. 12. v. 15. perished: and that of Jehn the sonne of Hanani, of the acts of Jehosaphat, cited in the second of Chron.c.20. 2.34. Also that booke of Salomon which the Hebrewes Write Hascirim, of 5000. verses,

Of the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Bookes mention ned in Scripture, which are loft.

Deut.2.v.9.&

Jof 15.v.13.

10,11,812.

of which that part called Canticum Canticorum, onely remaineth, 1 Kings 4.32. and with rhis divers others of Salomons works have perished, as his Booke of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beafts, Fishes, &cc. 1 Kings 4.33. with the rest remembred by Origen, 70sephus. Hierome Cedrenus, Ciccus Asculanus, Picus Mirandula, and others.

Of these and other Bookes many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith No. buchadne Xar burne the Temple of Hiernfalem. But let us returne thither where we

of Moses his sparing the issue of Lot; and of the Giants in those parts; and of Schon and Og.

Hen Moses had past Arnon, he incamped on the other side therof at Abarim opposite to the City of Nebo; leaving the City of Midian on the left hand, and attempting nothing upon the Moabites on that fide. For Moab dida this time inhabite on the South-fide of arnon, having lost all his ancient & best Territory, which was now in the possession of Sebon the Amorite. For Moses was commanded by God not to moleft Most, neither to provoke them to battaile, God having given that Land to the children of Los; the same which was anciently possest by the Emins, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those Giants called Anakims, or the sons of Anac God also commanded Moses to spare the Ammonites, because they likewise werede,

scended of Lot: who had expelled from thence those Giants, which the Ammonites called Zam Zummims. For it feemeth that all that part, especially to the East of Jordan, evento the Defart of Arabia, as well on the West, as on the East-side of the Mountaines of Gilud was inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promifed, the Ifraeling did not at any time passe those Mountaines to the East of Basan, but left their Country to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We find also, that as there were many Giants both before and after the floud: fo these Nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of Canaan, and the Land it selfe, had among them many Families of Giant-like men. For the Anakims dwelt in Hebron, which fometimes was called the City of Arbah, which Arbah in Josua is called the father of the Anakims; and the greatestim of the Anakims. There had also bin Giants in the Land of the Moabites, called Emini: and their chiefe City was Areer or Ar, neere the River of Arnon. To the Giants of the Replains, the Ammonites gave the name of Zam Zummins; which were of the same cient Canaanites: and their chiese City was Rabba, afterward Philadelphia. They were also called Zuzims, which is as much to fay, as Virirobusti, horrendiq; Giantes; Sinng men, and fearefull Giants, who inhabited other Cities of Ham, or Hom, in the fame Province, and not farre to the North of Areer.

Now Moses having past Arnon, and being encamped at Abarim; and having (as before) fent to Sehon, as he had done to Edom, to pray a paffage through his Country, was denied it. For Sehon being made proud by his former conquest upon Vaheb the Moabite; which Nation the Amerites esteemed but as strangers and usurpers, (themselves being of the fons of Canaan, and the Moabites of Lot) refused to grant Ifrael any entrance that way; and withall prepared to encounter Moses with as much speed as he could, because Moses encamped in the Countrey of his new conquests, to wit, the Plaines of Moab, the two& fortieth and last Mansion: which Moses wasted with the multitude of his people, and cattell. Towards him therefore hafting himselfe, they encountred each other at Jaha. where Sehon with his children and people were broken and discomfitted: and the victory fo pursued by Moses, as few or none of the Amorites escaped. He also slaughtered all these Women and Children of the Amorites, which he found in Effebon, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of Canaan, as those of Basan also were, and descended of Emoreus or Amoreus: for Moses callerh the Basanites also Amorites. And although Israel might now have taken a ready way and passage into Judaa, being at this time, and after this victory at the bankes of Fordan: yet he knew it to be perillous to leave fo great a part of that Nation of the Amorites on his backe, as inhabited all the Region of Bajan or Traconitis: and therefore he led on his Army to invade Og: a person of exceeding frength and stature, and the onely man of marke remaining of the ancient Giants

of those parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defenced: lying betweene the Mountaine of Hermon (which Mountaine, faith Moses, the Sidonians call Shirion, and the Amerites Shewir) and the River of Jordan. And it befell unto the King of Balan (who artended Mofes comming at Edrei) as it did unto Sehon: for he and his fonnes perished. and all his Cities were taken and possest. After this, Moses with-drawing himselfe backe as gaine to the Mountaines of Abarim, left the profecution of that warre unto Jair the some of Manaffe: who conquering the East parts of Bafan, to wit, the Kingdome of Argob. even unto the Nations of the Geffuri and Machati, 60. walled Cities, called the fame after his own name Havoth Jair : of all which conquests afterward the halfe Tribe of Mamalle possest the North part as farre as Edrei, but the East part that belonged to Sebon the Amorite, with the Mountaines of Gilead adjoyning, was given to Reuben and unto Gad.

of the troubles about the Madiavites, and of Moses his death.

Fter these victories, and while Ifrael sojourned in the valley of Moab, the Madianites and Moabites (over both which Nations it feemeth that Balac King of the Moabites then commanded in chiefe I fought, according to the advice of Balaam, both by alluring the Hebrewes to the love of their daughters, and by perfwading them to honour and serve their Idols, to divide them both in Love and Religion among themfelves: thereby the better both to defend their own interest against them, as also to beate them out of Moab, and the Countries adjoyning. The Israelites as they had ever bin inclined, so were they now easily perswaded to these evill courses, and thereby drew onthemselves the plague of pestilence, whereof there perished 24000 persons: besides which punishment of God, the most of the offenders among the Hebrewes, were by Num 25 w. his commandement put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that Phineas the fonne of Eleazar had pierced the bodies of Zimri, a Prince of the Simeonites, together with Coshi, a Daughter of one of the chiefe of the Midianites, the plague ceased, and Gods wrath was appealed. For such was the love and kindnesse of his all-powerfulnesse, respecting the ardent zeale of Phineas in prosecuting of Zimri (who being a chiefe among the Hebrewes, became an Idolater) as he forgave the rest of Ifrael, and stayed his hand for his fake.

In this valley it was that Moses caused the people to be numbed the third time : and there remained of able men fit to beare armes, 601730. of which as his last enterprise, Num. 16.1.51 he appointed 12000, to be chosen out, to invade the Cities of Midian, who together with the Moabites practifed with Balaam to curse Ifrael: and after that fought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worship of the true God, to the service of Beth-Peor: and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatry. Over which companies of 12 000. Num. 3 t.v. 8. Moses gave the charge to Phiness, the sonne of Eleazar the high Priest: who slew the Joseph Joseph five Princes of the Midianites, which were, or had lately bin, the vaffals of Sehon, as appeareth by Josuah. These five Princes of the Midianites slaine by Eleas ar, were at this time but the vassals of Schonthe Amonite, to wit, Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Rera, the Dukes of Schon faith Josush. He flew also the men, male-children, and women: faving Cap. 13.212 such as had not yet used the company of men, but those they saved, and dispiere't them

And Moses having now lived 120. yeares, making both his owne weakenesse of body Deut. 31. v. i. knowne to the people, and his unability to travaile: and also that he was forewarned of his end by the Spirit of God, from whom he received a new commandement to af-Deut-31.7.2 cend the Mountaines of Abarim, and thereon to render up his life: He haftned to settle the Government in Fosca: whom he perswaded with most lively arguments to prosecute the conquest begun, assuring him of Gods favour and assistance therein. And so having spent these his later dayes after the Conquest of Og, and Schon King of the Amorites, in the repetition and exposition of the Law, (or an iteration of the Law, according to Saint Augustine) using both arguments, prayers, and threats unto the people: Augustine

among the children of Ifrael to ferve them.

which he often repeated unto them; thereby to confirme them in knowledge, love, feare, Mirab Jang and service, of the all-powerfull God: He bleffed the twelve Tribes, that of Simeon excepted, with severall and most comfortable bleffings: praying the greatnesse and good-Dem 381

Detit.1.v.8.

Deur 22.10 Deut.g4.v.6. nesse of him, unto whom in his prayers he commended them: He also commanded the Priests to lay up the Booke of the Law, by the side of the Arke of God: The last that he indited was that Propheticall Song, beginning: Hearken ye Heavens and I will speake, and let the Earth heare the words of my mouth: and being called by God from the labours and forrowes of this life, unto that rest which never afterward hath disquiet, he was buried in the Land of Moab, over against Beth. Peor: but no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day; which happened in the yeare of the World 2554.

Observations out of the Story of Moses, how Goddisposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.

TOw let us a little, for instruction, looke backe to the occasions of fundry of the great events, which have bin mentioned in this Story of the life of Moses, for (ex. cepting Gods miracles, his promife, and fore-choice of this people) he wrought in all things else by the medium of mens affections, and naturall appetites. And so we shall finde that the feare which Pharaoh had of the increase of the Hebrewes, multipled by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next naturall cause of the sorrowes and losse, which befell himselfe, and the Egyptian Nation: which numbers when he sought by cruell and ungodly policies to cut off and leffen, as when he commanded all the male children of the Hebrewes to be flaine, God (whose providence cannot be resisted, nor his purposes prevented by all the foolish and salvage craft of mortall men) moved compassion in the hear of Pharao's ownedaughter, to preferve that childe, which afterward became the most wife, and of all menthe most gentle and milde, the most excellently learned in all Divine and Humane knowledge, to be the conductor and deliverer of his oppressed brethren, and the overthrow of Pharao, and all the flower of his Nation; even then, when he found by the strength of his men of Warre, of his Horse, and Chariots, to tread them under, and bury them in the dust. The griefe which Moses conceived of the injuries, and of the violence offered to one of the Hebrewes in his owne presence, moved him to take reverge of the Egyptian that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his own Nation, by threatning him to discover the saughter of the Egyptian, moved him to flie into Madian: the contra tion betweene the Shepheards of that place, and Jethro's Daughters, made him known to their Father; who not onely entertained him, but married him to one of those Sisters and in that solitary life of keeping of his Father in lawes sheepe, farre from the press of the World, contenting himselfe (though bred as a Kings Sonne) with the lot of a poor Heards-man, God found him out in that Desart, wherein he first suffered him tolve many yeares, the better to know the wayes and paffages through which he purpoled that he should conduct his people, toward the Land promised and therein appearing unto him, he made him know his will and divine pleasure for his returne into Egypt. The like may be faid of all things elfe, which Mofes afterward by Gods direction performed in the Story of Ifrael before remembred. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may feeme unto men as falling out by chance, and of no confequence, but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by : yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many yeares after, when the casions are either not considered, or forgotten.

丠兺笗疺灹灹灹灹椞椞椞椞椞 CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after their comming out of Egypt; and of the men of renowne in other Nations, about the times of Moses and Josua, with the summe of the History of Josua.

How the Nations with whom the Israelites were to have Warre were divers wayes as it were. prepared to be their enemies.



CHAP. 6. S.I.

N like manner if we looke to the quality of the Mations, while the first like safter their comming out of Egypt, had to doe, either in the Wilderneffe, or afterward, we shall finde them long before-hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmity spartly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of Ganaan, or at least of Ham; and N like manner if we looke to the quality of the Nations, with whom the Ifraelites, after their comming out of Egypt, had to doe, either in the Wil-

therest (as the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Israelites) were mingled with them by mutuall marriages: whereas the I fraelites still continued strangers, and separate from them: and fo partly in this respect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmitties, and partly by reason of diversity in Religion, were these Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the Israelites : and so to serve for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, we must understand that this part of Syria, bounded by the mountaines of Libanus, and Zidon on the North, by the same mountaines continued as farreas the Springs of Arnon on the East: by the way of Egypt, and the Red Sea, on the South: and by the Mediterran Sea on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one springing from the sonnes of Chamathe other from Sem: but those of Sem, were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with * one *It seemethallothat Hus. Family, to wit, that of Abraham, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part the Some of the s were the Canaanites, the ancient Lords and possessor of those Territories, by processes Nachor, and of time divided into feverall Families and names: wherof fome of them were of eminent the ulanted flature and strength, as the Anakims, Zamzummins, or Zuzei, Emins, Horites, & others, themselves in These (as men most valiant and able commonly do) did inhabite the utter borders and the East side of forders, about mountaines of their Countries: the rest were the Zidonians, Jebusites, Amorites, Hevites, Basan: where Hetites, and others, who tooke name after the fonnes of Canaan, and after whom the they finde the Country in generall was still called.

As for the Hebrewes which descended of Shem by Abraham, they were of another Fadweltasone milie, and ftrangers in that Country, especially the Israelites: and this was some cause Husthe Some that the Canaanites did not affect them, or indure them, no more than the Philiftims did, of Nathor, and who descended also of Chamby Mizraim. For though Abraham himselfe being a stran- Elibu, his friend which is called ger, was highly efteemed and honoured among them; efpecially by the Amorites inhabiting the West part of Jordan: yet now even they which descended from Abraham, or hereaster cha. from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from Exeditate the Ifraelites, as holding them strangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the Canaanites, and the rest of the issue of Cham, with whom they daily con-

tracted affinity, than of their old pedigree from Abraham.

True it is, that these Nations descended of Abraham, or of his kindred, who had lin-Deut 11.50 ked themselves, and marched with the Canaanites and others, had so farre possess themfelves of the borders of those Regions, as they began to be equall in strength to the bordering Canaanites, if not superiour. For of Lot came those two great Families of the Moabites, and Ammonites: of Efan the Idum wans: of Madian the Madianites: of Ismael the eldest sonne of Abraham, came the Ismaelites, with whom are joyned as of the same Nation, the Amalekites; whom though the more common opinion thinketh to have bin a Tribe of Edom, because Esau had a grand-childe of that name, yet manifest reason con-

CHAP.

CHAP. 6. S.2.

The second Booke of the first part 262 Deut. 11.11.1.1. vinceth it to have bin otherwife. For the Ifraelites were forbidden to provoke the Edomites, or do them any wrong, whereas contrariwife Amalek was curfed, and endlesse Exalci7.v.16 warre decreed against him: but hereof more elsewhere, Chap. 8. §. 3. Of Ismaels eldest sonne Naboth sprung the Arabians of Petraa, called Nabathai. Now even as Abrabam besought God to blesse Ismael, so it pleased him both to promise and performe it. For of him those twelve Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land Gcn.17. betweene Havilab upon Tigris, and Sar which is the West part of the Defart of Arabia Petras. Yet howfoever the strength of these latter named Nations, which descended from Abraham, were great; it is not unlikely, but that fome reason which moved them not to favour the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan, was in respect of seare: because in all Princes and States doe not willingly permit any stranger or powerfull Nation to enter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these Families before named, were not fo united in and among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselves, whether they stood apart or united, they were taught by the care of their own preservation, to jovne themselves together against Israel: though they did it nothing so maliciously and refol. vedly as the Canaanites did. For the Edumæans onely denied the Hebrewes a passage, which the Moabites durst not denie : because their Country lay more open ; and because themselves had lately bin beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the Amorites: and as for the Ammonites, their Countrey lay altogether out of the way, & the strength of Sehon and Og Kings of the Amorites, was interjacent: and besides that, the border of the Ammonites was strong, by reason of the mountains which divided it from Numeral National Pagan. Againe, that which moved the Moabites in their own reason not much to intermpt

If ael, in the conquest of Sehon the Amorite, and of og his confederate, was that the Moabites might hope after such time as the Amorites were beaten by Moses, that themselves might recover againe their owne inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plaines lying betweene the mountaines of Arabia and Jordan: But as foone as Sebon was flaine, and that the King of Moab, Balac, perceived that Moses allotted that valley to the Tribes of Gal and Ruben, he began to practife with Balaam against Ifrael, and by the daughters of Midian, as aforefaid, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at the length the Moabits by speciall occasion were more and more stirred up to enmity against Israel. And as for divers of the rest that were descended from Abrahams kindred, we may note, how in the beginning, between the Authors of their Pedigrees, God permitted some enmittes to ke as it were presages of future quarrels, which in the posterity might be the easier incented by the memory of old grudges: and withall by some disdaine from the elder in name to the younger. For the Ismaelites being descended from the eldest some of Abraham, and the Edomites from the eldest sonne of Isaac, 3acob, being but a second sonne, of alecond brother; those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses, being natural men, might scorne to give place, much lesse to subject themselves to their inferiours, 15 they tooke it : and for a more aggravation, the issues of Esas, Princes of Idamea, might keepe in record that their Parent was bought out of his birth-right by Jacobs taking his

after reconciliation came not unto him as he promised, into Seir or Idumea. So also in the posterity of Ismael, it might remaine as a seed or pretence of enmity, that their fore-father was by the infligation of Sara, cast out into the Defart, with his mother Hagar; and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angell to relieve them. Ismael also had an Egyptian both to his mother and to his wife: and Amalec was also an Horite by his mother: which Horites were of the ancient Canaanites. The Edumæans also, or Edomites, were by their Maternall line descended of the Canaanites. For Efau tooke two wives of that Nation: one of them was Adath, the daughter of Elon, the St Hittite; and the other Abolibamah, the grand-child of Zibeon the Hevite, Lord of Seir, before the fame was conquered by Efan, and called after his name, Edom, or Edumaa.

advantage, and that he was deceived of his fathers bleffing also by him and that Jacob

Lastly, it appeareth that all those Families of the Ismaelites, Amalekites, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, &c. were in processe of time corrupted, & drawn from the knowledge, and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the conversation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those wives of the Canaanites which they had married : onely a few of the Kenites and those Madianites, which inhabited on the edge of the Red Sea, whereof Jethro was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped the true audever-living God.

of the Kings of the Canaanites and Madianites, mentioned in the ancient Warres of the Il

Fthe Kings of the Canaanites, descended of Cham, (for Melchizedek may be thought to be of a better Petigree) we finde foure named by Mafes : and one and thirty remembred by Jofus, though few of these named, otherwise than by the Cities over which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Territory adjoyning, and no other Dominion. These Canaanites in a generall consideration are to he understood for all those Nations, descended of Chamby Canaan, as the Hettites. Februs fites, Amorites, Gergefites, Hevites, erc. and fo here we understand this name in speaking of the Kings of the Canaanites: and so also we call the Countrey of their habitation, the holy land, or the Land of promife: for God hath appointed that the feven principle Families hould be rooted out, and that his own people should inherit their Lands and Cities. But if we consider of the name and Nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by fordan, on the East, and by the Mediterran Sea on the West: in which narrow Countrey, and in the choy fest places thereof, those Canaanites which held their Paremall name chiefly inhabited.

The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was Hamor or Hemer, of the Gen 343 Hevites, whom Simeon and Levi flew, together with his fon Sicken, in revenge of their fifters ravishment.

And was the fecond King which the Scriptures have remembred, who had that part of Consan towards the South, neighbouring Edom and the dead Sea; the same which fur Num 21.1 prifed Ifrael, as they encamped in the Wilderneffe in the edge of Edumaa.

The third named was Sehon King of Ellehon, who before Moles arrivall had bearen the Mosbites out of the West part of Arabia Petras or Nabathes, and thrust them over Arnon Numas 2.de into the Defarts, the fame whom Mofes overthrew in the plaines of Moab: at which time hetooke Effebon, and all the Cities of the Amorites.

Prefently after which victory, og was also flaine by Ifrael, who commanded the North and the North part of that Valley between the Mountaines Traconi or Galand and Fordan, who was also Numer. a King of the Amorites.

The fift was Adonizedek King of the Jebusites, and of Hierusalem, with whom Josud namethfoure other Kings.

Hoham, King of Hebron. Piram King of farmuth. Papia King of Laches: and

Deber, King of Eglon, who were all Amorites overthrowne in battell; and hanged by John Roll Folia. After this overthrow Josua nameth Fabin, King of Hazor, and

Jobab, King of Madon: whom he also flaughtered, and tooke his Cities: and this Jabin 5.cap.1. feemed to have forme dominion over the reft; for it is faid in the Text, For Hazor be- joint 11. foretimes was the head of all those Kingdomes.

After these Adonibezek that notorious Tyrant is named: who confest that he had cut off the thumbes of the hands and feete of seventy Kings, inforcing them to gather fulls follows trummes under his Table: who, after Juda and Simeon had used the same execution 465.689.20 sponhimselfe, acknowledged is to be a just revenge of God: this King was warried to Hierufalem where he died.

The last King named is Jabin the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt Hazer, burnt by Josia. For at such time as he employed Sisara against Israel, whom he opprest twenty yeares, after the death of Ebud, He inhabited Hazor. This Jabin, Barac (encouraged by Jud. Debora) overthrew; and his Captaine Sifare had by Jack, the wife of Heber the Kenite; a had a nailedriven into his head while he slept in her Tent: Jabin himselfe perishing afterward Pfal.837 in that warre.

The Madianites had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the Moabites: Tolephils at and they held a corner of Land in Nabathea: to the South-east of the Dead Sea. They descended from Madian, Abrahams sonne, by Cethura, Reguel surnamed Gethegless or Ithres, faith Josephus, called Jethroin Exedus, Kenis in the first of Judges, the son of Da- Exed 30 than, the grand-childe of Jexanic, or Joksham, the great grand-childe of Abraham by Ge-

Gen.25. Gen.33.14.

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Plin. 6.6.28.

The second Booke of the first part Cedron.pag-34. thura, was Priest or Prince of the Madianites by the Red Sea: whose Daughter or Neece, Moses married, and of whom I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This Jethroishe were not the fame with Hobab, must be his father: and this Hobab had seven daughters. Were not the fame with Wildernesse, and became one of the Israelines: of him descended He guided Moses in the Wildernesse, and became one of the Israelines: the Kenites, so called of his father Raguels furname, of which Kenites was Heber, which Jud. Ed had peace with Jabin the second, even now remembred. At fuch time as Saul invaded the Amalekites, he knowing the good affection of the Ke. nites to Ifrael, gave them warning to separate themselves : and yet the Kenites had firon & Sam. 15.60 seates, and lived in the mountaines of the Defarts. The Kings of the Canaanites, and Madianites, and the Amalekites, as many as I find

named, were these:

1. Homer the Hevite of Sichem 2. Arad of the South parts 3. Sehon of Effebon 4. Og of Bafan 5. Adonizedek the Jebusite, King of Hierufalem 6. Hoham of Hebron 7. Piram offarmath 8. Fapia of Lachis 9. Debir of Eglon 10.7abin of Hazor 1 1. Jobab of Meden

12. Adonibezek of Bezek, and 13. Jabin the second King of Hazor.

Of the Madianites these:

* Evi or Evis. Rekam or Recem who built Petra the Metropolis of Petras, fo called by the Greeks: Rings of fever by Efai.cap. 16. verse 1. and Selab, which is as much as Petra: and so also it is called a Ref. rall portions of the Madianites: 14.7. where it is also called Joktheel.

Zur Hur and Reba * Oreb Zeb Zebah Zalmunna.

After the death of Barac, Judge of I frael, the foure last named of these Madianite King Gideous victory: vexed Ifrael feven yeares: till they being put to flight by Gideon, two of them, town Oreb and Zeb, were taken and flaine by the Ephraimites, at the passage of Jordan, winter 6.7 and 8. of Judges it is written at large. Afterward in the pursuite of the rest, Giden himselse laide hands upon Zebah and Salmana, or Zalmunna, and executed them, being pi foners in which expedition of Gideon there perished 120000 of the Madianites and that confederates. Of the Idumans, Moabites, and Ammonites, I will speake hereafter with description of their Territories.

6. III. Of the Amalekites, and Ismaelites.

Fthe Kings of the Amalekites and Ismaelites, I finde few that are named; and though of the Ismaelises there were more in number than of the rest (forther were multiplied into a greater Nation, according unto the promise of God made unto Abraham) yet the Amalekites, who together with the Midianits were number among them, were more renowned in Mojes time than the reft of the Ismaelites. So all were they when Saul governed Ifrael. For Saul purfued them from Sur unto Havilah, withover a great part of Arabia Petras, and the Defart. The reason to me seemeth to Vations have valuated of those their antiquities, accompanied not onely with civill this: That the twelve Princes which came of Ismael, were content to leave those band Defarts of Arabia Petraa, called Sur, Paran, and Sin, to the iffue of Abraham by Cethan

that joyned with them (for fo feemethe Amalekites to have bin, and fo were the Madianites:) themselves taking possession of a better soyle in Arabia the Happy, and about the Mountaines of Galaad in Arabia Petraa: For Nabaioth the eldest of those twelve Princes planted that part of Arabia Petraa; which was very fruitfull; though adjoyning to the Defart in which Moses wandred afterward called Nabathea: the same which neighbourreth Judes on the East-side. They also peopled a Province in Arabia the Happy, whereof the people were in after-times called Napathei (B) changed into (P).

Kedar, the second of Ismaels sonnes, gave his owne name to the East-part of Basar, of Retained, which was afterward possest by Manasse, so much therof as lay within the mounraines Traconi, or Gilead: Which Nation Lampridius calleth Kedarens, & Pliny Cedraans. Abbtel fat downe in the Defart Arabia, neere the Mountaines which divide it from the

Happy: and gavename to the Adubens, which Ptolomy calleth Agubens.

Mibsam was the Parent of the Masamancuses, neere the Mountaine Zamath, in the same Arabia the Happy.

The Readens were of Mishma: who joyned to the Orchens, neere the Arabian gulfe. where Ptolomy fetreth Zagmais.

Of Duma were the Dumaans, betweene the Adubens and Raabens: where the Citie numer formetimes stood.

Of Massathe Massani, and of Hadar or Chadar, the Athrita, who bordered the Navatheans in the fame happy Arabia.

Thema begat the Themaneans, among the Arabian Mountaines, where also the Citie of Thema is feated.

Of Jetur the Itureans, or Chamathens : of whom Tohu was King in Davids time.

Of Nathri the Nubeian Arabians, inhabiting Syria Zoba: over whom AdadeZer commanded while David ruled Ifrael.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of Ismaels sons, was the Ancestor of the Cadmoneans : who were afterward called Afta, because they worshipped the Fire with the Babylonians. Tunius.

The Amalekites gave their Kings the name of Agag, as the Egyptians the name of Pharaphrotheirs, and the ancient Syrians Adad to theirs, and the Arabian Nabatheans Antas as Names of Honour-

The Amalekites were the first that fought with Moses, after he past the Red Sea: when

of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished.

Afterward they joyned with the Canaanites, and beatethe Ifraelites neere Cadesbarne, After the government of Othoniel, they joyned them with the Moabites : after Barat with the Madianites: and invaded Ifrael. God commanded that as foone as Ifrael had reft, they should roote out the name of the Amalekites; which Saul executed in part, when he wasted them from the border of Egypt, to the border of Caldaa: from Havilah to Shur.

In Davids time they tooke Siklag in Simeon; but David followed them, and furprifed them, recovering his prisoners and spoiles. And yet, after David became King, they a-25am. S. 12 gaine vexed him, but to their owne loffe.

In Exthias time as many of them as joyned to Edumes were wasted and displanted by E. the children of Simeon.

6.IIII.

Of the inflauration of Civility in Europe about these times, and of Prometheus and Atlas. Here lived at this time, and in the same age together with Moses, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength, as in all forts of learning. And as the World was but even now enriched with the written Law of the living God, so did Art and Civility (bred and sostered farre off in the East, and in Egypt) begin at this time to discover a passage into Europe, and into those parts of Greece, heighbouring Asia and Judga. For if Pelasgus besides his bodily strength, was chosen King of Arcadia, because he taught thole people to erect them simple Cottages, to deend them from raine and storme: and learned them withall to make a kinde of Meale, and pread of Acornes, who before lived for the most part, by Herbes and Rootes: we hay thereby judge how poore and wretched those times were, and how falfly those aming, but with all other kindes of knowledge. And it was in this age of the World, as

Gen.17.20. Jud.c.7.

CHAP. 6. S. 5.

Aug.1.18.6.8. de Civit Dei.

Aefchyl.in Prom vinct. Inc.8.lib.18de Civit.Dei.

L. Vives ex

both Eusebius and S. Augustine have observed, that Prometheus flourished: Quem prop. terea ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientiæ doctor fuisse perhibetur of whom it is reported that he formed men out of clay because he was an excellent reacher of Wise. dome : and for Theophrastus expoundeth the invention of fire ascribed to Prometheus, Ad inventa sapientia pertinere , To have reference to wise inventions : and Aschylus affirmeth, That by the stealing of Jupiters fire, was meant, that the knowledge of Prometheus reached to the Starres, and other celestiall bodies. Againe, it is written of him, that he had the art for ouse this fire, as thereby he gave life to the Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning that before his birth and being, those people among whom he lived, had no. thing else worthy of men, but externall forme and figure. By that fiction of Promethem, it being bound on the top of the Hill Caucafus, his entrailes the while devoured by an Eagle, was meant the inward care and reftleffe defire he had to investigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of Heavenly bodies; for so it is said: I deo altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, ut sereno calo quam longi sime astra, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret; That he ascended Caucasus, to the end that he might in a cleere skye discerne a far off the settings and risings of the Starres: though Diedorus Siculus expounds it otherwise, and others diversly.

Of this Mans knowledge Æscylus gives this testimonie.

Aelcbyloin

Aug.1.18.6.3.

Alt agebant omnia Ut fors ferebat : donec ipfe repper? Signorum obitus, ortufq, qui mortalibm Sunt utiles : & multitudinem artium His repperi : componere inde literas ; Matremq; Musarum auxi ego Memoriam Perutilem cunctis Oc.

But Fortune govern'd all their workes, till when I first found out how Starres did set and rise : A profitable art to mortall men: And others of like use I did devise: As letters to compose in learned wise I first did teach : and first did amplific The Mother of the Muses Memorie:

Africanus makes Prometheus farre more ancient, and but 94. yeares after Ogygei, 100.

phyrius fayes that he lived at once with Inachus, who lived with Isaac.

There lived also at once with Moses, that famous Atlas, brother to Prometheus, both being the sonnes of Japetus, of whom though it be faid, that they were bornebelor Moses dayes, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date: yet theadvan rage of their long lives gave them a part of other ages among men, which came into the Worldlong after them. Besides these sonnes of Japetus, Aesculus findes two other, to wit, Oceanus and Hesperus, who being famous in the West, gave name to the Evenings and fo to the evening Starre. Also besides this Atlas of Lybia, or Mauritania, there were others which bare the same name: but of the Lybian, and the brother of Promelous it was that those Mountaines which crosse Africa, to the South of Marocco, Sus, and Hu, with the Sea adjoyning, tooke name, which memory Plate in Critias bestowes on Miles

the some of Neptune. Cicero in the fift of his Tusculan questions, affirmeth that all things written of Prometheus and Atlas, were but by those names to expresse divine knowledge. Nee vero Ala sustinere cælum, nec Prometheus affixus Caucaso, nec stellatus Cepheus cumuxoretradit tur, nisi divinacognitio nomen corum ad errorem fabula traduxisset; Neither should Aria be said to be are up Heaven, nor Prometheus to be fastened to Caucasus, nor Cepheus with wife to be stellistied; unlesse their divine knowledge had raised upon their names these cross ous fables.

Orpheus sometimes exprest Time by Prometheus, sometime he tooke him for Saturat as Rhea conjux alme Prometheu. But that the ftory of Prometheus was not alrogethe

a fiction: and that he lived about this time, the most approved Historians and Antiquaries and among them Eusebius and Saint Augustine, have not doubted; For the great indgement which Atlas had in Astronomy, faith Saint Augustine, were his daughters cal- Lib. 18. cap. 8. led by the names of constellations, Pleiades and Hyades: Others attribute unto him the de Civic Dei finding out of the Moones course, of which Archas the sonne of Orchomenus challengeth the invention. Of this Arcas Arcadia in Peloponnessus tooke name; and therefore did the the inventions value that they were more ancient than the Moone: Et Luna gens prior illa ovid, defast. It fuit: which is to be understood, saith Natalie Comes, before there had bin any observarion of the Moones course: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there be that beltow the finding out therof upon Endymion: others (as Xenagor as) on Typhon: ver Ilacins Taet Zes, a curious fearcher of antiquities, gave it Atlas of Libya : who besides his offs of minde, was a man of unequalled and incomparable strength: from whom Thales the Milefian, as it is faid, had the ground of his Phylosophy.

§.V. of Deucalion and Phaeron.

Nd in this age of the World, and while Moses yet lived, Deucalion reigned in Thessale, Crotopus then ruling the Argives. This Dencalion was the sonne of Pro-com. Alex-Ametheus, faith Herodotus, Apollonius, Hesiodus, and Strabo. Hesiodus gave him stromat. Pundorafor mother; the rest Clymene: Homer in the fifteenth of his Odysses, makes Strabotib. 9. Descalion the sonne of Minos: but he must needs have meant some other Descalion. for else either Ulysses was mistaken, or Homer, who put the tale into his mouth. For While after his returne from Troy, fained himselfe to be the brother of Idomeneus, who was some to this later Deucalion, the some of Mines : but this Mines lived but one age before Troy was taken: (for Idomeneus served in that warre) and this Dencation the some of Promitteus, who lived at once with Moses, was long before. In the first Dencalions time happened that great inundation in Theffalie: by which in effect every foule, in those parts, perished, but Deucation, Pyrrha his wife, and some few others. It is affirmed that at thetime of this floud in The false, those people exceeded in all kinde of wickednesse and villany and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractive of Gods vengeance, so did all that Nation for their foule sinnes perish by waters: as in the time of Noah, the corruption and cruelty of all man kinde drew on them that generall destruction by the floud univerfall. Onely Deucation, and Pyrrha his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be lovers of Vertue, of Justice and of Religion. Of whom evid:

Nonillo melior quifquam, nec amantior aqui. Vir fuit : aut illa reverentior ulla dearum.

No man was better, nor more just than he: Norany woman godlier than shee.

It is also affirmed that Promethens fore-told his sonne Deucation of this over-flowing. and advised him to provide for his safety : who hereupon prepared himselfea kinde of Vessell, which Lucian in his Dialogue of Timon calles Cibetium; and others Larnax. And because to these circumstances, they afterward adde the sending out of the Dove, to distover the waters fall & decrease, I should verily thinke that Story had bin but an imitation of Noahs floud devised by the Greekes, did not the times for much differ, and Saint Magustine with others of the Fathers and reverent Writers approve this Story of Deneaion, Among other his children Deucalion had these two of note, Hellen, of whom Greece had first the name of Hellas, & Melanthe, on whom Neptune is said to have begot Delphors. which gave name to Delphos, fo renowned among the Heathen for the Oracle of Apollo Augusta Civil therein founded.

And that which was no leffe strange and marvailous than this stoud, was that great exempline burning and conflagration which about this time also happened under Phaeton; not onely hEthiopia, but in Istria, a Region in Italy, and about Cuma, and the Mountaines of Vefuof both which the Greeker, after their manner, have invented many ftrange fables.

6. VI. Of Hermes Trismegistus.

Ut of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, Mercurius was the most famous, and renowned the same which was also called Trismegistus, or Ter Maximus; and of the Greekes, Hermes.

Many there were of this name; and how to diffinguish, and set them in their own times, both S. Augustine and Lastantius finde it difficult. For that Mercury which was esteemed the God of Theeves, the God of Wrestlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and the God to of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the same with that Mercury,

of whole many workes fome fragments are now extant.

Eufeb.l. I.C.6. de Prap. Evan.

End. Vives out

Aug.de Civ.Dei. 1-8.6.26.

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Cicero, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, and certaine of the Greekes reckon five Mer. curies. Of which, two were famous in Egypt, and there worshipped; one, the some of Nilus, whosename the Egyptians feared to utter, as the Jewes did their Tetragrammaton; the other that Mercury, which flew Argus in Greece, and flying into Egypt, is faid to have delivered literature to the Egyptians, and to have given them Lawes. But Diodorus affirmeth, that Orpheus, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of Egypinto Greece : which Plate also confirmeth, faying; That letters were not found out by that Mercury which flew Argus, but by that ancient Mercury, otherwise Thevet; whom Phila Byblins writeth Taautus; the Egyptians Thoyth; the Alexandrians Thot; and the Greeks (as before) Hermes. And to this Taautus, Sanconiatho, who lived about the war of Troy, gives the invention of letters. But S. Augustine making two Mercuries which were both Egyptians, calles neither of them the fonne of Nilus, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have flaine Argus. For he findes this Mercury the flayer of Argus, to be the grand-child of that Atlas, which lived while Mofes was yet young. And yet L. Vives upon S. Augustine seemes to understand them to be the same with those, whom Cicero, Alexandrinus, and the rest have remembred. But that conjecture of theirs, that any Gracian Mercun brought letters into Egypt, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there be any truthin prophaine antiquitie) that all the knowledge which the Greekes had, was transported out of Egypt or Phanicia, and not out of Greece, nor by any Gracian into Egypt. Forthey all confess, that Cadmus brought letters first into Boeotia, either out of Egypt, or out of Phoenicia: it being true, that between Mercurius, that lived at once with Mofes & Caami, there were these descents cast; Crotopus King of the Argives, with whom Moses lived, and in whose time about his tenth yeare Moses died; after Crosopus, Sthenelus, who reigned eleven yeares; after him Danaus fifty yeares; after him Linceus : in whose time, and the ter him in the time of Minos King of Crete, this Cadmus arrived in Boeotia. And therefore it cannot be true that any Mercurius about Moses his time, flying out of Greece for the flaughter of Argus, brought literature out of Greece into Egypt. Neither did either of those two Mercuries of Egypt, whom Saint Augustine remembreth, the one the grand a father, the other the Nephew or grand-child, come out of Greece. Eupolemus and Artapt nus note, that Moses found out Letters, and taught the use of them to the Jewes; of whom the Phoenicians their neighbors received them3& the Greekes of the Phoenicians by Cadmus. But this invention was also ascribed to Moses, for the reason before remembred, that is, because the Jewes & the Phoenicians had them first from him. For every Nationgave unto those men the honour of first Inventors, from whom they received the profit. Fisinus makes that Mercurie, upon part of whose workes he Commenteth, to have been foure descents after Moses, which he hath out of Virgil, who calls Atlas, that lived with Mofes, the maternall grand father of the first famous Mercury, whom others, as Dioderus, call the Counfailer and Instructer of that renowned Iss, wife of Ofris. But Finns Fich in Prefat giveth no reason for his opinion herein. But that the elder Mercury instructed Iss, Die dorus Siculus affirmeth, and that fuch an infeription was found on a pillar erected on the Tombe of Iss. Lod Vives upon the fixe and twentieth Chapter of the eight Booked Saint Augustine de Civitate Dei, conceiveth, that this Mercury, whose workes are extant was not the first which was entituled Ter maximus, but his Nephew or grand-child, choniaten, an ancient Phoenician, who lived thorrly after Mofes, hath other fancies ofthis Mercury; affirming that he was the Scribe of Saturne, & called by the Phoenicians Time

Virg.l.4.de.

Penand. Mercurii Trifmegifti.

* Or Sanchemiathe: Sec

sus; and by the Egyptians Thoot, or Thost. It may be, that the many yeares which he

faid to have lived, to wit, three hundred yeares, gave occasion to some Writers to finde Vives in lib. 3. him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those who have collected the confidence of the c grounds of the Egyptian Philosophie and Divinitie, he is found more ancient than Moles: because the Inventor of the Egyptian Wisedome, wherein it is said, that Moses was ex-

It is true, that although this Mercurie or Hermes doth in his Divinitie differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approving of Images, which Moses of all things most detested: yet who soever shall reade him with an even judgement, will rather resolve, that these workes which are now extant, were by the Greekes and Egyptian To Priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, than that ever they were by the hand of Hermes written, or by his heart and spirit devised For there is no man of understanding, and mafter of his owne wits, that hath affirmed in one and the fame Tract, those things which are directly contrary in doctrine, and in nature: For out of doubt (Mofes exceptted) there was never any man of those elder times that hath att ributed more, and in a filemore reverend and divine, unto Almighty God, than he hathdone. And therefore ifthose his two Treatises, now among us; the one converted by Apuleius, the other by that learned Ficinus, had beene found in all things like themselves: I thinke it had not Majing binnerillous to have thought with Eupolemus, that this Hermes was Mofes himselfe; and that the Engine Theology hereafter written, was divised by the first, & more ancient Merourie, which others have thought to have bin Joseph, the son of Jacob: whom, after the exmilion of Pharaohs dreames, they called Saphanetphane, which is as much to fay, as abfconditorum repertor; A finder out of hidden things. But these are over-venturous opinions. Forwhat this man was, it is known to God. Envie and aged time hath partly defaced, and parly worne out the certaine knowledge of him : of whom, who foever he were, Lattan- L. r.e. foliaj timiwriteth in this fort: His scripst libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rirum pertinentes, in quibus Majestatem summi ac singularis Dei asserit, iisdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem . He bath written many bookes belonging to or expressing the knowledge of divine things, in which he affirmeth the Majesty of the most High & one God, calling him by the same names of God & Father, which we do. The same Father also o feareth not to number him among the Sybils and Prophets. And so contrary are these his acknowledgements to those Idolatrous fictions of the Egyptians and Gracians, as for my felfe I am perswaded, that whatsoever is found in him contrary theseunto, was by corruption inserted. For thus much himselfe confesseth: Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, fond vita, potentia & lux. & mens, & spiritus; & omnia in ipso, & sub ipso sunt Verbum enimen ejus effe prodiens, perfectifsimum existens, & generator & opifen, &c. God (faith he) the Lord and Father of all things, the fountaine, and life, and power, and light, and minde, and spirit: and all things are in him, and under him. For his Word out of himselfe Proceeding, most perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitfull nature, made it also fruitfull and producing. And he was therefore (faith Suydas) called Ter maximus, quiade Trinitate loquutus est, in Trinitate unum esse Deum asserens; Because he stake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. His ruinam (faith Ficinus) pravidit prisea Religionis, hic ortum nova fidei, hic adventum Christi, hic futurum judicium, re- In Presi Mete surrectionem saculi, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum; This Mercurie foresam the trismeg. ruine of the old or superstitions Religion, and the birth of the new faith, and of the comming of Christ, the future judgement, the resurrection, the glory of the Blessed, and the torment of affliction of the wicked or damned.

Tothis I will only adde his two last speeches reported by Calcidius the Platonist, & by Volseran out of Suydas. Hattenus, fili, pulsus à patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto: cumq; post paulum à vobis corporeis vinculis absolutus discessero, videtote ne me quase mortuum lugeatis: Nam ad illam optimam beatamq; Civitatem regredior, ad quam universi aves mortis conditione venturi sunt. Ibi namq; solus Deus est summus Princeps, qui cives suos replet suavitate mirifica: adquam hæc quam multi vitam existimant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita; Hitherto. O Sonne being driven from my Country, I have lived a stranger and banished man but now I am repaired home-ward againe in safety. And when I shall after a few dayes (or in a short time) by being loosed from these bonds of stesh and bloud, depart from you see that you do not bewaile me us arman dead, for I doe but resurne to that best and blessed Citie, 20 which all her CisiZens (by the condition of death) shall repaire. Therein is the only God, the most high and chiefe Prince; who filleth or feedeth his CitiZens with sweetnesse more than

marnellous à

marveilous : in regard whereof, this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death than a life. The other, and that which feemeth to be his last, is thus converted by o. thers, agrecing in sense, but not in words, with Suydas: O calum magni Dei sapiens opus. tég; O vox patris quamille primam emisit, quando universum constituit mundum, adjuro per unigenitum ejus verbum, & Spiritum cuncta comprehendentem, miseremini met: I adjurethee O heaven, thou wife worke of the great God, and thee O voyce of the Father, which he first uttered, when he framed the whole World, by his onely begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all things. Have mercy upon me.

The second Booke of the first part

But Suydas hath his invocation in these words: Obtestor te calum magni Dei sapiens opus obtestor te vocem Patris quam loquutus est primum, cum omnem mundum sirmavit, obte-19 stor te per unigenitum Sermonemomnia continentem, propitius propitius esto; I beseech thee O heaven, wife worke of the great God, I befeech thee O voyce of the Father, which he pake firs when he established all the World, I beseech thee by the onely begotten Word containing all

things, be favourable, be favourable.

of Jannes and Jambres, and some other that lived about those times.

Here were also in this age both Esculapius, which after his death became the 10 God of Physicians, being the brother of Mercurius, as Vives thinks in his Commentary upon Jugustine, de Civitate Dei lib. 8. and also those two notorious Sorcerers, James and Jambres, who in that impious art excelled all that ever had been heard of to this day : and yet Moses himselfe doth not charge them with any familiarity with Divels, or ill Spirits: words indeed that seldome came out of his mouth; how-ever by the Septuagint they are called Sophifta, or Venefici & Incantatores; Sophifts Poysoners and Inchanters: by Hierome, Sapientes & malesici; Wise men, and evill doers: and so by Varablus, who also useth the word Magi. The Greeke it selfe seemes at attribute fomewhat of what they did to naturall Magicke: calling them paguants, workers by drugs, The Genevian, Sorcerers and Inchanters: Junius, Sapientes, praftigiatores & Magi. Magicians and Wise men here by him are taken in one sense: and Prestigiators are such as dazel menseyes, and make them seeme to see what they see not: as false colours, and false shapes. But as some vertues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded; and the one taken for the other: (Religion and Superstition having one face and countenance) so did the workers and workings of Moles, and of Pharao's Sorcerers appeare in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the fame art and gift of knowledge. For the Divell changeth himselfe into an Angell of light : and imitateth in all he can the waies and workings of the most High. And yet on the contrary every worke which surmounteth the wifedomeof most men, is not to be condemned, as performed by the helpe or ministery of ill a Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to naturall things, are fuch, as where he also bestoweth the knowledge to understand their hidden and best verues, many things by them are brought to passe, which seeme altogether impossible, andabove nature or art: which two speculations of workes of nature, and of miracle, the Cabilists distinguished by these names; Opus de Beresth, & opus de mercana : the one they call Sapientiam natura; The Wisdome of nature: the other Sapiensiam divinitatio; The Wisdome of divinity: the one Jacob practifed in breeding the pied Lambes, in Mefopotamia; the other Moses exercs ied in his miracles wrought in Egypt, having received from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature : of the other fo farre as it pleased God to proportion him, both which he used to his glory that gave them : affirming to himselfe nothing at all either in the least or most. Also Saint digufine noteth, that from the time that Mofes left Egypt, to the death of Joshua, divers other famous men lived in the World, who after their deaths for their eminent vertues and inventions, were numbred among the Gods: as Dionysius, otherwise Liber Pater, who taught the Gracians the use of the Vine in Attica: at which time also there were instituted Musicall playes to Apollo Delphicus: thereby to regaine his favour, who brought barrenneffe and scarcity upon that part of Greece, because they resisted not the attempts of Dinaus, who spoiled his Temple and set it on fire: so did Erithonius institute the like games

L. Vivis.in 1.8. August de Civ.

Exod.9.110

to Minerva: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a prefent of Oyle, in memory of her that first prest it out of the Olive.

Inthis age also Xanthus ravished Europa, and begat on her Radamanthus, Sarpedon and Minos, which three are also given to Jupiter by other Historians. To these Saint Augu-Lib de civilis Aine addeth Hercules; the same to whom the twelve labours are afferibed, native of Ty-Deicap, 124 rinthia a City of Peloponnefus: (or as others fay, only nurfed and brought up there) who rame into Italy, and destroyed many Monsters there; being neither that Heroules, which Euspins furnameth Delphin, famous in Phanicia; nor that Hercules, according to Philo-Philoship, Philoship, Phi fratus, which came to Gades, whom he calleth an Egyptian: Manifestum fit, non Thebanum Herculem, sed Agyptium ad Gades pervenisse, & ibi finem statuisse terra (faith Philofrains; It is manifest that it was the Egyptian Hercules, and not the Theban, which travailed as farre as the freights of Gades, and there determined the bounds of the earth. Inthis timealfo while Moses wandered in the Desarts, Dardanus built Dardania.

But who foever they were, or how worthy foever they were that lived in the dayes and age of Mofes, there was never any man, that was no more than man, by whomir plealed God to worke greater things; whom hee favoured more to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) hee so often appeared; never any man more familiar and conversant with Angels; never any more learned both in Divine and Humane knowledge: never a greater Prophet in Ifrael. Hee was the first that received and delivered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World Universall, and all the creatures therein: that taught the detestation of Idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed.

Syracides calleth Mojes the beloved of God and men, whose remembrance is blessed. He made him (faith the fame Author) like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the syracas, 1215 fure of his enemies, made him glorious in the fight of Kings, shewed him his glory, caused him to heare his voyce, Cantified him with fait bfulneffe and meekeneffe, and chofe him out of all.

Heeis remembred among prophane Authors; as by Clearchus the Peripatetick; by Megastines, and Numenius the Pythagorian. The long lives which the Patriarchs enjoyed before the floud, remembred by Moses, Estieus, Hieronymus Egiptius, Hecataus, Elanicus, Acufilans, Ephorus, and Alexander the Historian, confirme. The universal floud which Godrevealed unto Muses, Berosus, Nicolaus Damascenus, and others have testified. The building of the Tower of Babel, and confusion of tongues, Abydenus, Estiens, and Sybilla haveapproved. Berofus also honoureth Abraham. Hecataus wrot a Booke of him. Da. mascenus before cited, speaketh of Abrahams passage from Damascus into Canaan, agreeing with the Bookes of Moses. Eupelemon writeth the very same of Abraham, which Mofirdid. For beginning with the building of Babel, and the overthrow thereof by divine Power, hee faith that Abraham, borne in the tenth generation, in the City called Camerina, or Urien, excelled all men in wisedome: and by whom the Astrologie of the Caldaans Was invented. Is justitia pietateq; sua (faith Eusebius out of the same Author) sic Deo gratus fuit, ut divino pracepto in Phæniciam venerit, ibiq, habitaverit; For his justice and piety hewas fo pleasing unto God as by his commandement he came into Phænicia, and dwelt there. Likewise Diodorus Siculus, in his second Booke and fift Chapter, speaketh reverently of Moses: There are many other among prophane Authors, which do confirme the Bookes of Mosts, as Eusebius hath gathered in the ninth of his Preparation to the Gospell, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I referre the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things mircommend this notable testimony of Strabo, who writeth of Moses in these words Moses enim affirmavit, docebatq; Aegyptios non rette sentire, qui bestiarum & pecorumima-Sines Deo tribuerunt itema; Afros & Gracos qui Dits hominum figuram affinxerunt : id Strabol. vero solum esse Deum, qued nos & terram & mare continet, quod calum & mundum, & reruna omniam naturam appellamus : cujus profecto imaginem, nemo sana mentis, alicujus earum rerum, qua penes nos sunt similem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effictione rea Padiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum : Moles affirmed and taught that the Egyptians thought amisse, which artributed unto God the Images of beasts and cattell: Also that the Affricans and Greekes greatly erred in giving unto their Gods the shapes of men: whereas that onely is God indeed, which containeth both the Earth and Sea, which we call Heaven; the World, and the nature of all things, whole

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image, doubtlesse, no wise man will dare to fashion out unto the likenesse of those things, which are among ft us : That therefore (all devising of Idols cast aside) aworthy Temple and place of prayer was to be erected unto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure at all therein. Now concerning the Egyptian wisedome, for which the Martyr Stephen commended

Moles, faving, That Moles was learned in all the wisedome of the Egyptians, and was might in his works and words , the fame is corrected (how truly I know not) by Diodorus, Diogenes, Laertius, Iamblicus, Philo Judaus, and Eusebius Casariensis, and divided into source

parts, vi7. Mathematicall, Naturall, Divine, and Morall.

In the Mathematicall part, which is distinguish't into Geometrie, Astronomie, Arithme. tick, and Musick, the ancient Egyptians exceed all others. For Geometry which is by in. terpretation measuring of grounds, was usefull unto them : because it consisting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands, and Ter. ritories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of Nilus, were yearely overflowne and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged unto him.

For the fecond part, to wit, Astronomie, the fite of the Country being a levell and fnactous Plaine, free and cleere from the clouds, yeelded them delight with ease, in observing

and contemplating the rifings, fallings, and motions of the Starres.

Arithmeticke alfo, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied because without it, in Geometry and Astronomy, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of Musicke they made no other account, nor defired farther knowledge, than seemed to them suffici-

ent to serve and magnifie their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Naturall part of this Wisedome, which handleth the principles, causes, elements. & operations of naturall things, differs little from Peripatericall Philosophie, teaching, that Materia prima is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies and living creatures have their being; that Heaven is round like a Globe; that all Starres have a certaine fovent heate, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that raines proceed and be from mutations in the ayre; that the Planets have their proper

foules, &c.

The Divine part of this wisedome, which is called Theologie, teacheth and beleeven that the world had a beginning, and shall perish; that men had their first orignall in Egype; partly by meanes of the temperatenesse of that Country, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heate are offensive; and partly through the fertility, that Wilns giveth inthose places: That the soule is immortall, and hath transmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other gods are, as the Sunne and Moone, whom they worshipped by the names of Ofiris and Isis, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and divers Images, because the true fimilitudes of the Gods is not known; that many of the Gods have beene in the estate of mortall men, and after death, for their vertues, and benefits bestowed on many kinde, have bin Deified; that those beasts, whose Images and formes the Kings did carrie in their Armes, when they obtained victory, were adored for Gods: because der those Ensignes they prevailed over their enemies. Moreover the Egyptian Divins had a peculiar kinde of writing, mysticall and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worship of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar fort, were ob-

Elem.Stron.1.5.

Clemens distributeth the whole summe of this later Egyptian learning into three several forts, viz. Epiftolar, which is used in writing common Epistles; Sacerdotall, which is peculiar to their Priests; and Sacred, which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kindes: the one proper, which it expressed by letters Alphabeticall in obscure and figure rative words; as for example, where it is written: The Ibis by the Hornet participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moone doth by the Sunne borro part of the light of God: because Light is an Image of Divine beauty; the other symbols call, or by fignatures, which is threefold, viz. Imitative, Tropicall, and Ænygmaticall Imitative, which defigneth things by characters, like to the things fignified, as by a Circle the Sun; and by the Hornes of the Moone, the Moone it selfe: Tropicall or transferent, which applies the divers formes and figures of naturall bodies or creatures, to fignified dignities, fortunes, conditions, vertues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods, and men. So with the Egyptian Divines, the Image of an Hawke fignifieth God, the figure of the Hornet significant the Sunne, the picture of the Bird 16 is fignishen the Moone by the forme of a Man, Prudence and Skilfulneffe: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horse Libertie: by a Crocodile, Impudency: by a Fish, Hatred is to be understood. Ænigmaticall is a composition or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sense, the monstrous Image of a Lions body having a Mans head, was graven on their Temples and Altars, to fignifie, that to men all divine things are Anigmaticall and obscure. So the Image of the Sunne set on the head of a Crocodile, (which liveth as well in the Waters, as on Land) expressent that the Sun nourisheth Meteors in the Aire, aswell from the Waters, as from the Farth. So a Scepter, at the top whereof is made an Eye, and an Eare, fignifieth God. Hearing, Seeing, and governing all things. The Scythians are thought to have bin delighted with this kinde of writing. For Pherecides Syrius reporteth, That when Darius fending letters, threatned Idanthura, King of the Scythians, with ruine and destruction of his Kingdome, unlesse he would acknowledge subjection: Idanthura returned to hima Mouse, a Frog, as Bird, a Darr, and a Plough-share which orontopagas, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to fignific, that by the moule, their dwellings: by the Frog. their waters : by the Bird, their ayre: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough their landes, were fignified to be ready to be delivered to Darius, as their Soveraigne Lord. But Nyphodres made another construction, viz that the King meant, That except Darius withhis men did haften away, as a Bird through the Ayre, or creepe into holes as a moule, or runne into the waters which they had passed as a Frog, they should not escape moule, or runne into the waters water is with little difference reported by Herodotus.

The fourth and last part, which is Morall and Politique, doth containe especially the Lawes, which (according to Laertius) Mercurius Trismegistus, or Ter Maximus devised: who in his Bookes or Dialogues of Pimander and Afelepius, hath written fo many things of God, worthy of admiration; aswell (faith Sixtus Senensis) of the Trinity, and of the comming of Christ, as of the last and scarefull day of Judgement : that (as faith the same Author, the opinion being also ancient) he is not onely to be accounted a Philosopher,

but a Prophet of things to come.

lamblicus in his Bookes of Mysteries of the Egyptians, taking two very ancient Hiflorians for his Authors, to wit, Seleucus and Menatus, affirmeth that this Mercury was not onely the Inventor of the Egyptian Philosophy, but of all other learning, called the Wildome of the Egyptians before remembred: and that he wrote of that fubject 36525. Bookes, or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Books; of Aereall Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestiall a thousand; which because they were out of the Egyptians language converted by certaine learned Philosophers into natural I Greeke, they feemed to have bin first written in that Tongue. Clemens Alexandrinus Clem. Swomles writeth, that among the Bookes of Hermes, to wit, of the Wifedome of the Egyptians, there were extant in his time 36. Of Phylicke fixe Bookes; of the orders of Priefts ten; and of Astrology foure.

§. VIII.

A Briefe of the History of Tosua; and of the space between him and Othonicl; and of the rea mainders of the Canaanites; with a note of some Contemporaries to Josua: and of the breach of Faith.

Free the death of Moles, and in the one and fortieth years of the Egreffion, in the first moneth called Nifan, or March, Josua, the son of Nun, of the Tribe of Ephraim, hit moneth cauca response to the spirit of wisedome, tooke on him the government of Israel and the poly God giving him comfort, and encouraging him to passe the River of Jordan, and to polleffe, and divide among the Ifraelites the Land promifed.

The beginning of Josua's rule, Saint Augustine dates with the raigne of Amyntus, the Lib. 18 de cit eighteenth King in Affria, with Coras the fixteenth King in Sicyonia, when Dariaus go-vit Deno. 12

verned the Argives; and Ericthonius, Athens.

Jofus imitating in all things his Predeceffor, fent over Jordan certaine discoverers to Joseph view the feate and strength of Jeries, the next City unto him on the other side of the River, which he was to passe over: Which discoverers being saved, and sent back by Rahab, a woman of ill fame, because she kept a Taverne or Virling-house, made Josus know that the inhabitants of ferice, and those of the Country about it, hearing of the approach Joleans fof.1.12.

Jol.4.19.

Jof.5.24

Aug.q.3.in Je

Thom-part-3.

[of.5.10]

auaft.70.art.4.

of Ifrael, had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the returne of the Spies, which was the fixth day of the one and fortieth yeercafter the Egression, Josua removed from Sittim Jofa.r. in the plaines of Moab, and drew down his Army to the bankes of the River Jordan; and gave them commandement to put themselves in order to follow the Ark of God, when the Jof.3.1. Levites tooke it up, and moved towards the River; giving them withall this forcible encouragement, That they should thereby affure themselves of his favour and presence Jol3.3. who is Lord of all the world, when the River of Jordan should be cut off and divided. Jol.3-13 and the waters comming from above should stand still in a heape, whereby those below and the waters comming from above medical might passe over into the land of Canaan with towards the Dead Sea wanting supply, they might passe over into the land of Canaan with dry feet.

He also commanded Reuben, Gad, and the halfe Tribe of Manasse, to prepare themfelves (according to their Covenant made with Moses) to march in the head of the rest. and as we call it in this age, to lead in the Vantguard, which through all the Defarts of Arabia, from the Mount Sinai to this place, those of the Tribe of Juda had performed. For these Tribes being already provided of their habitations, and Countrie and Cities of the Amorites, by the helpe of the rest, conquered for them: it agreed with justice and equalitie, that Reuben, Gad, and the halfe of Manasse should also affist their brethren inthe ob-

taining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession.

On the banks of Jordan they rested themselves from the fixth day to the ninth; and on the tenthday of the first moneth Nijan, or March, they past over to the other side, taking 20 with them twelve stones from the drie ground in the middest of the River: which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought, they fet upat Gilgal, on the East fide of the Citie of Jerico, where they encamped the first night. At which place Josus gave commandement, that all born in the last fortieth yeere in the Defarts should be circumcifed, which ceremonie to that day had beene omitted. Of the neglect whereof S. Augustine givethfor cause, The peoples contempt of their superiours. Thomas excuseth it in this fort; That the Ifraelites knew not the certaine time of their removing from one place to another: D4mascen, That it was not needfull by circumcifion to distinguish them from other Nations, at fuch time as they lived by themselves, and a-part from all Nations.

On the fourteenth day of the same Moneth, the children of Israel celebrated the Paffeover now the third time; first, at their leaving Egypt; secondly, at Mount Sinai; & now at Gilgal. After which, being defirous to tafte of the fruits of the Country, and having, s it-were, furfeted on Man, they parched of the Corne of the land, being not yet fully ripe,

and ate thereof.

- 44 de 2.1

And as Mofes began to distribute those Regions beyond Jordan, to wit, the Lands of the Amorites which og of Basan, and Sehon held, so did Josua performe the rest; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, he gave to each Tribe his portion by low But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three severall times; first, by Moses to Gad, Reuben, and the halfe Tribe of Manasse, of the Lands over Jordan; fecondly, by Tolua, to the Tribe of Juda, Ephraim, and the other halfe Tribe of Manafe, 10 about the fift yeere of his government; proved in the 14.0f Josus v. 10. and a third divifion was made to the other feven Tribes, at Shilo, where Jofus feated the Tabernacle of the Congregation.

The victories of Jofua against the Kings of the Canaanites, are so particularly setdown in his own bookes, as I shall not need to lengthen this part by their repitition. In whole Storie I chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the warre, those little Kings or Reguli of the Canaanites, had not fo much understanding, as to unite themselves together against the Israelites; but according to the custome of those estates, from whose Governours God hath taken away all wisedome and foresight, they left those of their owne Nation, which were next the invaders, to themselves, and to their owne defences; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat farre off, might againe have been quenthed, ere it could spread it selse so farre as their owne Territories and Cities. But after fuch time as Jerico and Ai were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities confumed; five of those 31. Kings (all which at length perished in that warre) joyned themselves to (the reft looking on to the fuccesse) namely, the King of the Jebusites, in Jebus, or Hient falem, the Kings of Hebron, Jarmoth, Lachis, & Eglon, address themselves for refistance whose Armie being by Josus surprised and broken, themselves despairing to escape by

flight, and hopeleffe of mercy by fubmiffion, creeping into a Cave under ground, were flight, and topological thence by Joseph drawne forthand hanged. In the prosecution of which victory he also joseph tooke Makkedath, and Libnah, and Lachis. To the reliefe whereof Horam King of Gezar hastened, and perished. After which Josus possest himselfe of Eglon, Hebron, and Debre, Joseph

In the end, and when the South Countries were possest, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made dust: the rest of the Canaanites, guided by the overlate counfailes of necessitie, united themselves, to make one grosse strength & body of an Armie: which Jabin, King of Hazor, practifed & gathered together, by Josua discovered as the same rested neere the Lake of Merom, he used such diligence, as he came on them unawares; and obtaining absolute victory over them, he prosecuted the same to the utmolt effect. And, besides the slaughter of the desendants, he entred their Cities, of which heburnt Hazor only, referving the rest for Israel to inhabite and enjoy.

Secondly, I note, that Jofus shewed himselfe a skilfull man of Warre, for that in those ancient times he used the stratagem of an ambush in taking of Ai; and in that he broke the Armies of the first five Kings of the Amorites, which attempted Gibeon by surprise. For hemarched all night from his campe at Gilgal, and feron them earely the next day; when Josson 93 heoverthrew Jabin and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victo-

ry, he assaulted the great Citie of Hazor.

Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this warre, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the River Fordan at the Springs, so as the Armie of Ifrael past it with adrie foote; the fall of Jerico by the found of the Hornes; the showers of Haile-stones, Josa, v. 13. which fell upon the Amorites in their flight from Gibeon, whereby more of them perished Capato, ware thanby the fword of Ifrael : againe, the arrest of the Sunne in the firmament, whereby the dy was fo much the more lightened, as the Ifraelites had time to execute all those which fled after the overthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a worke only proper to the

Fourthly, out of the passage betweene Josus and the Gibeonites, the Doctrine of keeping Faithis fo plainely and excellently taught, as it taketh away allevation, it admitteth no pintrusion, nor leaveth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning persidiousnes, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called Equivocation. For, notwithstanding that these Gibenites were a people of the Hevites, expresly and by name, by the commandement of Jose 75 Godtobe rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were liars, and deceivers, and counterfeits, and that they did over-reach, and, as it were, deride Fostua, and the Princes of Ifrail, by faining to be sent as Embassadours from a farre Country, in which traveile their clothes were worne, their bread mouldie, which they avowed to have bin warme for newnesse when they first set out; their barrels and bottels of wine broken; their shoes patcht; and their facks rent and ragged: Yet Josua having sworne unto them by Josus fem the the Lord God of Ifrael, he durft not, though urged by the multitude of the people, to 5.00 the 13.00. o lay violent hands on them; but he spared both their Lives, and the Cities of their in-

Now if ever man had warrant to breake Faith, and to retract his promise made, Josua had it. For first, the commandement which he received from God to roote out this Nation among the rest, preceded by farre the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, hemight justly have put these men to the sword, and have fackt their Cities, if there be any evafion from a promise made, whereof the living God is called to witnesse. For it was not to the Gibeonites he gave peace, because he knew them to be a people hared of God. He told them, that if they were of the Hevites, it was not in his power to make a Joseph league with them. But it was to a strange people that he gave faith, & to a Nation which came from farre, who hearing of the wonders which the God of Israel had done in Egypt and over Jordan, fought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the Josephia. accord, which I frael made with these crasty Canaanites, was without warrant. For it is written in the same place. That the Ifraelites accepted their tale, that is, believed what they had faid, and counsailed not with the mouth of the Lord. Fourthly, these men who were knowne Idolaters, and served those Puppets of the Heathen, men of an Apish Refive of those 31. Kings (all which at length perished in that warre) joyned the ligion, as all Worshippers of Images are, could not challenge the witnesse of the true. God, in whom they beleeved not. I fay therefore, that if ever man might have served himselfe by any evasion or distinction, Josea might justly have done it. For he needed

JoC1 4.3. 1

Jol.18.

not inthis case the helpe of Aquivocation or Mentall Reservation. For what he sware, he fware in good Faith; but he fware nothing, nor made any promife at all to the Gibeonites. And yet, to the end that the faithleffe subtiltie of man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promises he made in the name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying Man, he held them firme, and inviolable, notwithstanding that they, to whom he had sworne it, were worshippers

For it is not, as faithlesse mentakeit; that he which sweareth to a Man, to a Societie, of the Devill. to a State, or to a King, and sweareth by the name of the living Lord, and in his presence, That this promise (if it be broken) is broken to a man, to a Societie, to a State or to a lo Prince; but the promise in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect: we therein professe that we feare him not, and that we set him at naught, and defie him. If he that without Reservation of honour giveth a lie in the presence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth in point of Honour give the lie to the King himselfe, or to his Superiour; how much moredoth he breake Faith with God, that giveth Faithin the presence of God, promiseth in his name, and makes him a witnesse of the Covenant

Out of doubt, it is a fearefull thing for a Son to breake the Promise, Will, or Deed of made 🕏 the Father; for a State, or Kingdome, to breake those Contracts which have bin made in former times, and confirmed by publike fairh. For though it were 400. Yeares after to Josus, that Saul, even out of devotion, flaughtered some of those people descended of the Gibeonites: yet God, who forgat not what the Predecessors and Fore-fathers of Saul and the Ifraelises had fworne in his name, afflicted the whole Nation with a confin ming famine; and could not be appeafed, till feven of Sauls formes were delivered to the

Gibeonites grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainely, if it be permitted by the helpe of a ridiculous distinction, or by a Godmocking equivocation, to sweare one thing by the name of the living God, and to reserve in filence a contrary intent: the life o fman, the estates of men, the faith of Subjects to, Kings, of Servants to their Masters, of Vassals to their Lords, of Wives to their Huk bands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trialls of right, will not only bemade uncertaine, but all the chaines whereby free men are tied in the world, be torne afunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot passe) that we enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by oath that warres take end, which weapons carnot end. And what is it or ought it to be that makes an oath thus powerfull, butthis; That he that sweareth by the name of God, doth assure others that his words are true, s the Lord of all the World is true whom he calleth for a witnesse, and in whose present he that taketh the oath hath promised ? I am not ignorant of their poore evasions, which play with the severity of Gods commandements in this kinde: But this indeed is the best answer, That he breakes no faith, that hath none to breake. For who soever hath faith and the feare of God, dares not doe it.

The Christians in the Holy Land when they were at the greatest, and had brought the Caliph of Egypt to pay them tribute, did not onely lose it againe, but were soone after beaten out of the Holy Land it felfe: by reason (faith William of Tyre, a reverend Bishop which wrote that Storie) that Almerick the fiftieth King after Godfrey brake faith with the Caliph Elhadech, and his Vicegerent. The Soldan Sanar, who being fuddenly invaded by Almerick, drew in the Turke Sgracon to their aide : whose Nephew Seladine, after he had made Egypt his owne, beat the Christians out of the Holy Land; neither would the wooden Crosse (the very Crosse, say they, that Christ died on) give them victory over Seladine, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge, seeing they had for fworne themselves in his name, that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the holy Ghost, That he that speaketh lies, shall be destroyed, and that the mouth which util. reth them, flaieth the foule: how much more perillous is it (if any perill be greater thanto destroy the soule) to sweare a lie . It was Eugenius the Pope, that perswaded, or rather commanded the King of Hungarie after his great victory over Amurath the Turke, and when the faid King had compelled him to peace, the most advantagious that ever wa made for the Christians, to breake his Faith, & to provoke the Turke to renew the warre And though the faid King was farre stronger in the field than ever; yet he lost the bas taile with 30000. Christians, and his owne life. But I will stay my hand: For this fin

volume will not hold the repetition of Gods judgements upon faith-breakers; be it aounft Infidels, Turks, or Christians of divers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of outles now-a-dayes, is rather made a matter of custome than of consciences

Ir is also very remarkeable, That it pleased God to leave so many Cities of the Canaanites unconquered by Ifrael, to fcourge and afflict them, by fore-feeing their Idolatrie. &, as it is faid in the scriptures, To be Thornes in their eyes to prove them, and to teach them to young. makeWarre. For these Cities hereaster named did not onely remaine in the Canaanites Judga & possessionall the time of Josua; but soone after his death the Children of Dan were bea- Judgs.vae tenout of the plaine Countries, and enfore't to inhabite the Mountaines, and places of hardest accesse. And those of Juda were not able to be Masters of their owne Vallies: hecause, as it is written in the Judges, The Canaanites had Charlots of Iron. And those Judge 1934. principall Cities which stood on the Sea-fide, adjoyning unto Juda, were still held by the Juda. v.19. remainder of the Anakims, or Philiftims: as Azzah, Gath, Afdod; out of one of which John vite. Cities came Goliath, remembred in Samuel.

Neither did the children of Manasse over Jordan expell the Geshurites, nor the Maachathites: which inhabited the North parts of Bafan, afterward Traconitis.

Nor the Nepthalims possesses themselves of Bethshemish, nor of Bethanah; but they infore those Canaanites to pay them tribute. Neither did Asher expell the Zidonians, nor Jossa, viza thore of Acho, or Acon, Athlab, Achzib, Heblah, Aphike, & Rehob, nor inforce them to Jud 1.931. tribute.

No more could Zabulon enjoy Kitron, and Nahalol, but received tribute from them. John 16. V. Lo. Allothe Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among the Ephraims: & among the children of Ma. ruffion the West of Jordan, the Ganaanites held Bethshean, Taacnach, Dor, Ibleam, and Jud.2.v.27, Megaddo; yea, Hierusalem it selse did the Jebusites defend above soure hundred yeares. eventill Davids time.

Now Tofua lived one hundred and ten yeares, eighteene of which he governed Ifrael, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the Scriptures, whichcauseth divers to conjecture diversly of the continuance. Fosephus gives him five & twentie veares : Seder Ollam Rabbi the Authors of the Hebrew Chronologie eight and twentie; and Massius fixe and twentie: Maimonius cited by Massius, foureteene: Joannes Luidu, leventeene: Cajetanus ten: Eufebius giveth him feven & twentie: and fo doth S. Augustine: Melantthon, two and thirtie: Codoman, five and twentie. But whereas there palled 480. veares from the delivery of Ifraelout of Egypt, unto the building of the Temple, it is necessary that we allow to 70 fina only eighteene of them; as finding the rest suppliedotherwise, which to me seemes the most likely, & as I thinke, a well approved opinion.

The same necessity of retaining precisely 48 o. yeares from the departure out of Egypt unto the building of the Temple, convinceth of errour, fuch as have inferted yeares betweene Josua and Othoniel, of whom Eusebius findes eight yeares, to which Arius Mon- Euseb Prop. tonus adhereth; and for which he giveth his reason in his foure and twentieth and last Evang. Chapters upon Josua: Bunting reckons it nine yeares: Bucholzer and Reusner but one; Codomantwentie, and Nicephorus no leffe than three and thirtie: whereas following the fure direction of these 480. yeares, there can be no voide yeares found betweene Folia and Othoniel, unlesse they be taken out of those eighteene ascribed unto folia by the account already specified. The pray ses and acts of Josua are briefly written in the fixe and fortieth Chapter of Ecclesiasticus, where among many other things it is said of him, Who was there

before him like to him, for he fought the battels of the Lord?

That he wrote the booke called by this name, it was the opinion of Arius Montanus, because it is said in the last Chapter, v. 26. And Josus wrote these words in the booke of the Law of God: which feemeth rather to have bin meant by the covenant which Folus made with Ifrael in Sichem, where they all promifed to ferve & obey the Lord which promife Jossa caused to be written in the booke of the Law: and of this opinion were Cajetan and Abulensis: Theodoret doth likewise conceive that the booke of fosua was collected out of an ancient Volume, intituled Liber Justorum, remembred by Josus himself; and others, that twas the worke of Samuel: for whereas Montanus groundeth his opinion upon these 1.10.133 words of the 26. verie, And Josua wrote these words, &c. this place hath nothing in it to Prove it : for when the people had answered fosus; The Lord our God will we ferve, and his s. lat. v. 14 v. 16 Togice will we obey, it followeth that Fosus made a covenant with the people, and wrote the lane in the booke of the Law of God.

· id.r.rr.

7 16 18.C.12. De Civit. Dei. Homer.Odyll.

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& Iliad. Hom.Iliad.13

There lived at once with Jofus, Ericthonius in Attica, who taught that Nation to yoke beafts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease & speed: And about the same time the fiftie Daughters of Danaus (as it is faid) flew the fiftie Sons of Agyptus, all but Lynceus, who succeeded Danaus, if the tale be true. There lived also with Jossa, Phanix,& Cadmus, and neere the end of Josua's life, Jupiter is faid to have ravished Europa the daughter of Phanix, (afterward married to Afterius King of Creta) & begat on her Minos, Rada. manthus, & Sarpedon. But S. Augustine reports this ravishment to be committed by X411. thus, & yet they are more commonly taken for the Sons of Jupiter. But it may be doubted whether Minos was father to Dencalion, and Dencalion to Idomeneus, who was an old man at the warre of Troy, and Sarpedon was in person a young or strong man at the same st Trojan warre. And so doth Neftor reckon up in the Councell of the Greekes, Thefeus and Perithous for men of Antiquitie, and of Ages past: Minos being yet more ancient than any of these.But hereof else-where.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of Israel, that were planted in the borders of Phanicia, with sundrie Stories depending upon those places.

§. I.

The Proæme to the description of the whole Land of Canaan; with an Exposition of the name of Syria.

HE story of the Judges ought to follow that of Josus, after whom the Common-wealth of the Jewes was governed by Kings, of which so many of them as ruled the tenne Tribes, shall be remembred when we come the description of Samaria: but because the Land of Cunaan, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greatest part of the Story past, with that which followeth, hath bin acted, Ithinke it very pertinent (for the better understanding of both) to make a Geographical description of those Regions: that allthings therein performed by the places knowne, may the better be under Rood, and conceived. To which purpose (besides the addition of the Neighbour Countries) I have bestowed on every Tribe his proper portion: and doe shew what Cities and Places of strength were by the Jewes obtained: and what numbers it planfed God to leave unconquered; by whom he might correct and scourge them, when ungratefull for his many graces, they at fundry times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deafe and dead Idols of the Heathen. Divina bonitas (saith Augustine) ideo maxime irascitur in hoc seculo, ne irascatur in futuro: O misericorditer temporalem adhibet severitatem, ne aternam juste inferat ultionem; The Divine goodnesse is especially therefore angry in this world, that it may not be angry in the world to come, and doth mercifully use temporall severity, that it may not justly bring upon us eternall vengeance.

To the Cities herein described, I have added a short Story of the beginnings and ends of divers Kingdomes and Common-weales: and to helpe my felfe herein, I have perifed divers of the best Authors upon this subject : among whom, because I finde so great disgreement in many particulars, I have rather in fuch cases adventured to follow mine owne reason, than to borrow any one of their old patternes.

And because Canaan, with Palestina of the Philistims, and the Lands of og and Schon Kings of Basan, and the Arabian Amorites, were but small Provinces of Syria: it shall be necessarie, first to divide and bound the generall, and so to descend to this particular, now called the holy Land.

imbraced all those Regions from the Euxine Sea, to the Red Sea and therefore were the lead Sea to the Mediterran, But in Deuteronomie it seemeth to be far more large: For Cappadocians, which look into Pontus, called Leucofyrians or white Syrians. But taking

horter, and from the coast of Cilicia; which is the North border, unto Idumæa towards the South, Tigris towards the Sunne rifing, and the Mediterran Sea Westward: it then containethbe fides Babylonia, Chaldæa, Arabia the Defart, & Arabia Petræa, that Region also which the Greekes call Mesopotamia, the Hebrewes Syria, of the two Rivers, to wit. Tigris and Euplirates, for fo Aran Nahairajim is expounded: also Padan Aram : than is Jugum syria, because the two Rivers goe along in it as it were in a voke.

Edeffa, fometime Rages, now Rage, was the Metropolis of this Region of Syria. In Sv- Aurogalian ria taken largely, there were many finall Provinces, as Coelofyria, which the Latines call Syria Cava, because it lay in that fruitfull Valley betweene the Mountaines of Lybanus and Antylibanus, in which the famous Cities of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, with many others, were feated. Then Damascena, or Syria Lybanica, taking name of the Citie Damascus, and the Mountaines of Lybanus, the Regall seate of the Adades, the first Kings I Kara of Syria Adjoyning to it was the Province of Sophene, or Syria Soba, Choba, or Zobal: overwhich Adade Zer commanded in Salomons time. Then Phanicia and the people Sy-lim Dio 1,127 raphomicies: & lastly Syria Palæstina bordering Egypt: of which Ptolomie maketh Tildradioa part: and to that Province which Moses calleth Seir and Edom, Pomponius Prolationalist Melagiveth the name of Syria Judæa.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promises touching this Land-

Dut that Land which was anciently Canaan, taketh a part of Phanicia, and street Beheth from behinde Lybanus to the great Defarts betweene Idumaa and Egypt of bounded by the Mid-land Sea on the West, & the Mountaines of Hermon, Galaad and Arnon towards the East: the same Hils which Strabo calleth Traconi or Traconita, Strables and Piolomic Hippus. The name of Canaan it had from Canaan the fonne of Cham, & lingua appellata fuit Canaan: The language was also called Canaan, saith Montanus: and after Hebres of the Hebrewes: who tooke name from Heber, the sonne of Sale, according to cattle see Saint Augustine: But Arias Montanus not so well allowing of this derivation, makes in common name to all those of Noahs Sonnes, which past over Euphrates towards the West Sea. For the word Heber, faith he, is as much as transfens or transmittens, of going or Ming over. And because the children of Abraham had for a long time no certain abiding: therefore, as he thinkes, they were by the Egyptians called Hebrai, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of C. Sigonius, and of Eusebius long before them both. It had Euseb. Prop. allothename of Tudaa from Tuda; and then afterwards intituled the holy Land, because Evang Line 32 thereinour Saviour Christ was borne and buried. Now this part of Syria was againe divided into foure; namely, into Edom, (otherwise Sier, or Edumaa) Galilee, Samaria, and Judea. Galilee is double, the superior called Gentium, and the inferiour: and that Matthe? Galilee and Judaa are diftinguissicd, it is plaine in the Evangelists, though both of them Lukea. belong to Phanicia.

Now befides these Provinces of Phanicia, and Palastina (both which the River of Fordan boundeth; faving that Phanicia stretchetha little more Easterly towards Damasthat part also to the East of Fordan, and within the Mountaines of Hermon, Gilead, & Arnon, otherwise Traconi, fell to the possession of halfe Manasse, Gad, and Reuben, and therefore are accounted a part of Canaan also: as well because anciently possess by the Amorites; as for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the Ifraelites; which Eastermost Parts are againe divided into Basan or Batanea, into Gilead, Moab, Midian, Ammon, and the territories of the Machati, Gessuri, Argobe, Hus. They are knowne to the later Cosmographers by the name of Arabia in generall: and by the names of Traconitis, Pieria, Batanea, &c. of which I will speake in their proper places.

But where Moles describeth the Land of Canaan in the tenth of Genesis, he maketh no mention of the later Provinces, which fell to Manasse, Gad, and Reuben, for these be his Words. Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou commest to Gerar untill Mah (which is Gaza) and this was the length of the Countrey North and South: then followethin the Text: And as thou goeft unto Sodome and Gomorah, and Admah, and Syria, now Soria, according to the largest description, and as it was anciently taken thoism, even unto Lasha: by which words Moses setteth downe the breadth, to wit, from is therein written . All the places whereon the foale of your feet shall tread, shall be yours . Dett. 11.48

Ptol. A fie.tab.4.

y bur

gour coast shall be from the wildernesse, and from Libanon, and from the River Perah, unto the uttermost Sea. Now for the length of the Countrie North and South, this description agreeth with the former : only Libanon is put for Zidon: and the Wildernesse for Gerar & AZZah, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if Pe. rah be taken for Euphrates: then the Land promised stretchethit selfe both over Arabia Refraa, and the Defart, as far as the border of Babylon: which the Ifraelites never posses. nor at any time did so much as invade or attempt. And therefore Vadianus doth conceive that by the River Perah, was meant Jordan, and not Euphrates : taking light from this place of Tolua: Behold. I have divided unto you by lot thefe Nations, that remaine to be an inheritance according to your Tribes: from fordan with all the Nations that I have destroyed even. unto the great Sea Westward.

The second Booke of the first part

Vadian. Epitons. triam terra partium.cap.Pa-

Deut.11.V.21.

23.7.40

And though it be true that David greatly enlarged the Territorie of the Holy Land ver as Vadianus well noteth, if Perab in the former place be taken for Euphrates, then was ir pur per gentes in amicitiam receptas. For David did not at any time enter fo farre to the Fast as Asseria, or Babylonia. Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countries give advantage to those that would make any irreligious cavill, as touching the promise of God to the Ifraelites unperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, tell from his worship and service, it pleased him not only to inclose them within that Territorie, which was for fo many people exceeding narrow; but therein and elsewhere to subject them unto those Idolatrous Nations, whose false and foolish gods themselves, also served and obeyed. And fure the promise by which the Hebrewes claimed the inheritance of Canaan, and the lasting injoying thereof, to wit, as long as the heavens were a. bove the earth, was tied to those conditions, both in the Verses preceding, and subsequent which the Israelites never performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankinde could or can expect; who knew that all forts of comforts from the merci full goodnesse of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to beatter ded, than while we persevere in his love, service, and obedience. So in the eight Verself the eleventh of Deuteronomy, the keeping of Gods Commandements was a condition joyned to the prosperity of Israel. For therein it is written , Therefore shall yee keepealthe Commandements which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and go in, and possifi the Land, whither ye goe to possesse it. Also that you may prolong your dayes in the Landwhile the Lord (ware unto your Fathers &c.

Deut.123

Deur.zz.

The like condition was also annexed to the enjoying of the Land conquered, and the possession thereof so long as the heavens were above the earth. For if yee keepe diligently, faith he, all these commandements, which I command you to doe, that is to love the Lordyer God, &c, then will the Lord cast out all these Nations before you, and yee shall possesse great Nations of mightier than you. And here, though it bernanifest, that by reason of the breachos Gods Commandements, and their falling away from the worthip of his all-powerfull Ma jestie, to the Idelatry of the Heathen, the conditionall promises of God were absolutely void, as depending upon obedience unperformed vet I cannot millike that exposition of Melantthon: For, faith he, O stendit promissionem pracipuam non esse de hoc Politico regno; ht sheweth that his chiefe promise is not of a civill Kingdome. To which agrees that answer which S. Hierome made to a certain Heretique in his Epistle ad Dardanum, who accused S. Hierome that he overthrew the reputation of the Jewes Story, & brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an Allegorie, & adillam duntaxat viventium terram que in calis est; (that is)Only to that Land of the living which is in Heaven. 91ml amtota Judaorum Regio adeo angusta set ambitu ut vix longitudinem habeat 160 milliani um latitudinem verò 40.6 in his etiam regiones loca urbes & oppida (unt plurima, nunquam à Judeis occupata sed tantum divina pollicitatione promissa; Because the whole Country the Jewes is so narrow in compasse, that it scarce hath 160.miles in length, and 40. mil in breadth, and in these are Countries, places, Cities, & many Townes, which the Jewes never possest, but were onely granted by divine promise. In like manner the same Father speaket upon Esay, touching the bleffings promifed unto Hierusalem: where he hath these word De quo discimus Hierusalem nequaquam in Palastina Regione petendam, quatotius Provin cia deterrima est: & saxosis montibus asperatur, & penuriam patitur sitis itaut calestibu utatur pluviis, & raritatem fontium cifternarum extructione foletur: fedin Dei manibus, 16 quam dicitur, festinaverunt structores tui; From whence, saith he, we learne, that Hierusalems not to be fought in that region of Palestina, which is the worst of the whole Province, Grass

with craggie Mountaines, and suffereth the penurie of thirst: so as it preserveth raine water. and suppliet the scarcitie of Well's by building of Cisternes; best this Hierusalem is in Gods hands, to which it is faid, Thy builders have hastened: fo far S. Hierome; where also to prevent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himselfe. Neg; hoc dico in suggillationem terra Judaa. at hereticus Sycophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam bistoria veritatem, qua fundamentum est intelligentia spiritualis: fed ut decutiam supercilium Judeorum, qui Synagoge angustias Latitudini Ecclesia praferunt. Si enim occidentem tantum sequantur literam, & non spiritum vivisicantem, ostendant terram promissionis latte & melle manantem; Neither (faith hee) Cay I this to disgrace the land of Judaa (as the heretical Sycophant doth belie me) or totake awas the truth of the Historie, which is the foundation of piritual under standing : but to beate downethepride of the Jewes, which enlarge the straits of the Synagogue farther than the breadth of the Church: for if they follow onely the killing letter, and not the quickening first, let them show the Land of promise, flowing with milke and honey.

By this it may also be gathered, how soever it be unlikely (feeing the West-bound in the place, Deut. 11.24. had his truth in the literall fense, that Euphrates or Perath, which as made the East-bound, should be taken onely in a spiritual sense) yet neverthelesse that Hieroms opinion inclineth to this, as if this Perath were not to be understood for Euphratu, and that the promise it selfe was never so large: much lesse the plantation and con-

questof Ifrael. And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land, because Alber News talim, and Zabulon, held the Northermost part, and were feated in Phanicia, I will begin with these three, taking Alber for the first: of which Tribe yet before I speake, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names by reason of the divers fancies of Tranflaois, are diverfly expressed, so that to the unskilfull they may seeme divers, when they areone and the fame: the reason of this diversitie (as by those learned in the Hebrew I and taught)is, partly because the ancient Editions of the Hebrew want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the Hebrew Editions have; and partly becausethe Ancient expressed or omitted divers consonants, otherwise than the latter doe thinke fit.

THE TRIBE OF ASHER

The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

The Asherites descended of Asher the Sonne of Jacob by Zelpha, the handmaid of Lea, were increased while they abode in Egypt, to the number of 41500 and odde persons, all men above twenty yeares of age, and able to beare armes, at the time when they were mustered by Moses at Mount Sinai: all which number perishing in the Desarts, there remained of their issues, besides women and children, 5 3400. bodies fit for the warres: which past the River of Arnon, into the Plaines of Moab, and after the Conquest of Canaan, had for their portion that part of Phenicia, from Zidon and the fields of Libanus, unto Ptolomais Acon alongst the Seacoast: containing thirtie English miles, or thereabout: and from the Mid-land sea to the East border some twelve miles: though Antoninus makes it somewhat larger. This dutating part of Canaan was very fruitfull, abounding in Wine, Oyle, and Wheate, befides the Ballamum, with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that Prophecie, Affer pinguis panis: Concerning Affer, his bread shall be fat: And he shall give plealares for a King.

†·II. Of Zidon.

THe first City seated on the North border of the Territory of Affer, was Zidon, which Josus calleth the great Ziden, both for strength and magnitude. The Greekes and 2. Curtius

Fultim.1.18.

Q. Curtius make Agenor the founder thereof : and Justine derives the name from the a bundance of fish found on those shores: whereof it hath bin called Zidona. But that is Gento Joseph. was farre more ancient, Moses, Fosua, and Fosephus witnesse, the same being sounded by Zidon the eldest of Canaans Sonnes: and so strong it was in Josua's time, as neither did himselfe attempt it, neither could the Asserites, or any of their successors master it buth Efa. 23. Hier. 47. continued all the time of the Judges and Kings, even unto the comming of Christ; a Citie Exek. 28.0932 interchangeably governed, by their owne Princes or other Magistrates: though accor. ding to the warnings and threats of the Prophets, Efay, Hieremie, Ezechiel, and Zacharic

The second Booke of the first part CHAP. 7. \$.3.1.

it was often afflicted, both by the enemies fword, and by the peftilence.

Zidon is seated on the very wash of the Phoenician Sea, which is a part of the Mediter. ran or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North the Citie of Berythus, and the River Leonisand to the South Sarepta, or Sarphat, which standeth betweene it and Tyre: the distance Paleft Seigf. 19. Mattheway and famous Cities, to wit, Zidon & Tyre, is 14. thousand paces, Vadian Phon. f. between which two great and famous Cities, to wit, Zidon & Tyre, is 14. thousand paces, 278. Strabol. 16 faith Seiglerus: but Vadianus makes it two hundred furlongs, and fo doth Weissinburie in his description of the holy Land, and both from Strabo: which two hundred furlows make five & twentie miles. This difference of distance as well between these two known Cities, as all the rest, make it over-difficult to devise any new scale to the Mappe and de-

scription of the holy Land.

What Kings it had till Agenors time there is no memorie : the flory which Zeno the Philosopher, who was a Zidonian, wrote thereof, being by time confumed and lost. It feemeth to be more ancient than Tyre; which was also built by the Zidonians. For as Strabo noteth, Homer speaking of Zidon, neglecteth the memorie of Tyre, because it was but a member of Zidon; and a City subject to the Kings thereof: though it be true thain after-times it contended with Zidon for Primacie, and became farre more renowned opulent, and ftrong: From Zidon had Salomon and Zorobabel their principall workening * It feemes that both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all even in Joseph Company of the Temple. time they prate forts of learning, so did it in all other Mechanicall Arts or Trades: the Prophet Zachanic calling them the swife Zidonians. The Civil making whence having a Castle or Citadell on the North-side, standing upon an unaccessible Rocke, and phrebath majim, compassed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Christians, was held and defenwhich adver-burn is as much ded by the Knights of the Dutch Order: and another Castle it hath on the South side by as combustiones the Port of Egypt, which the Templers guarded It also fent many other Colonies belief aquarum, reades that of Tyre, into places remote: as unto Thebes, and Sephyra, Cities of Bestia in Greece formes, vitrari-Jonaces vitrans-as, Jo. 1. 3. as it Strabo and Plinie give the Zidonians the invention of * Glasse, which they used to make feemes, because of those sands which are taken out of the River Belus, falling into the Mediterran Ses, these torraces neere Ptolomais or Acon: and from whence the Venetians fetch the matter of thosedere there was flore Glaffes which they make at Murana: of which S. Hierome and Plinie: Zidon infignisa. of water, either tifex witri: Zidon vitrariis officinis Nobilis; Zidon afamous Glassemaker, or a skilful of the bellows worker in Glasse houses.

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the rest of the Canaanites) worshippers of Bull other necessary and Aftareth. which Idols though common to the other of the issue of Canaan (as Pinelli gathers out of 1.8am.31.10.and Judg.10.6.) yet especially and peculiarly were account ted the Gods of the Zidonians: as appeares I Kings 11.5. in the ftory of Salomons Idolatrie: where Aftaroth is called the God of the Zidonians : and 1. Reg. 16.33. in the flory of Achab, the chiefe worshipper of Baal, where it is said that he marrying feldel the Daughter of the King of the Zidonians, worshipped their Baal. Divers Baals and divers Afteroths in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appeares by the plurall names of Ba tohavebecne a alim & Aftaroth, 1 Sam. 12.10. & elsewhere: for even the name Aftaroth, as I am informed theep for Deut. by a skilfull Hebritian, is plurall : the fingular being Aftoreth: whence Judg. 2. 13.th Septuagint reade enargeurau rais asagraus: They worthipped the Aftarties. The occasion ofth their multiplying of their Baals, & Aftoreths, may be diverfly understood: either in resp of the diversitie of the formes of the Images, or of the worship in divers places, or of the firme Augustins stories depending upon them: which (as fables use to be) were doubtlesse in divers Citts divers. Augustine quest. 19. in Judg. thinkes Baal and Astarte to be Jupiter and Juno. the Garthaginians (which were Tyrians) call Juno by fuch a name as Aftarte. Tullie, 3. de Nat. Deorum, making divers Goddesses of the name of Venus, expounds the found to be Astarie: whom he makes to be borne of Tyrus and Syria, and to have bed the Wife of Adonis : as alfo Macrob. 2. Saturn. cap. 21, faics that Adonis was with g

veneration commonly worshipped of the Assyrians: and Hierome upon Ezek. 8.44. nores that Thairmou (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewaile) is the name of Adonis among the Syrians. So that it may feeme that in the worship of Alarte or Venus. they did bewaile her Husband Adonis: as also the Gracians did in their songs of Adonis: Mourne for Adonis the faire, dead is Adonis the faire. Howbeit others in that place of E- exalero ward Zekiel not without good probability, expound the mourning for Thammuz, to be the Adams. mourning for Ofiris in the facrifice of Is: whose losse of her Husband Ofiris, was as famous in the Egyptian Idolatrie, as with the Grecians, Venus loffe of Adonis. And to this agreeththat which Plutarch hath, de Iside & Ofiride, that Ofiris with the Egyptians is called o Ammu?: which word may feeme to be the fame with Ezekiels Thammu?. But howfoever these Zidonians were thus anciently fostered with the Milke of Idolatry : yet they were more apt to receive the Doctrine of the Gospell of Christ after his Ascension, than the Tewes: who had bintaught by Moses & the Prophets so many yeares, whereof our Saviour in Matthew and Luke: Woe beto thee CoraZin, &c. for if the great workes which were done in Matt. visto thee had beene done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long agone, &c. but I fay unto you. it hall be easier for Tyrus and Zidon, at the day of Judgement, than for you.

It received a Christian Bishop with the first: who was afterward of the Diocesse of Twe. But in the yeare of our Redemption 636 it fell into the hands of the Saracens, and communed in their possession till Baldwinus the first, then King of Hierusalem: in the yeare Tyr, IZ-Relli, III by the helpe of the Danes and Norwaies, who came with a Fleet to visite the holy Sacrit. Land, and tooke Port at Joppa, it was againe recovered, the commandement thereof being Viriacia. 27) givento Eustace Gremer, a Noble man of that Countrey. And againe in the yeare 1250. it was reedified and strengthened by Lodowicke the French King: while he spent source general the Warre of the holy Land. Laftly, in the yeare 1289 it was reconquered by Niger Polleting

t.III.

Of Sarepta with a briefe History of Tyre in the same Coast.

Arepta, or after the Hebrew, Sarphath, is the next City Southward from Zidon, betweene it and the River called Naar, or Fons hortorum Libani (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards Tyre, a City very famous for the excellent wine growing neere it: of which Sidonius:

> Vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna, 2 maq: Sareptano palmite mi fa bibas.

I have no wine of Gaza, nor Falerna wine Nor any for the drinking of Sarepta's vines

This City had also a Bishop, of the Diocesse of Tyre: after it came to the Saracens and

Turkes, as the rest : and is now called Saphet, faith Postellus.

Notfarre from Sarepta was fituate that fometime famous City of Tyre, whose flectes of shippes commanded, and gave the law over all the Mediterran Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatnesseand power, the Tyrians erected Utica, Leptis, & Carthage in Africa, of which Virgil. Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyris tenuere Coloni, Carthago. And Virgil. U.S. Caribage was therefore called Punica quasi Phænicum, a Colonie of the Phænicians. In Plin.l.s.c.1 of Spaine they founded Gades, now Caliz. In Italie, Nola: in Afia the leffe, Dromos A- Marcelin Land chillis, which Citie the Scholiast of Apollonius placeth neere the River Phyllis, in By-

It had anciently the name of Zor, or Thor : and fo it is written in Jofaathe 19. taking name from the fituation; because built on a high Rocke, sharpe at one end. The Latines, as it feemes, knew it by the name of Sarra: for Virgil calleth the purple of Tyre, Ofrum Sar-Gellius Lies ranum, by which name Juvenal and Silius remember it. The Zidonians built it upon a high Hill, whereof many ruines remaine to this day; the place being still knowne by the name of the ancient Tyre: and because it was a Colonie of the Zidonians, the Prophet

Strabo.l. 6. Zach.9.v.2. Herod.1.5.

by the force of the water, or for uses.But there are others that take them for falt pies, and othersagaine for hot baths. Theformeof Aftereth(ox A-

in the plurall rumber figni. fieth theepe : zhismay conopinion, that Altarte was Juno : for the forme of her husband FupiCap.23.

Cap.23.

Efay calleth it the Daughter of Zidon; which Trogus also confirmeth, though Berosus by affinity of name makes Thirds the fonne of Japher to be the Parent thereof: and though no doubt it was very ancient (for so much the Prophet Esag also witnesseth, Is not this your glorious Citie, whose antiquity is of ancient dayes?) yet, that Thir as the sonne of Japhet fet himselfe in the bosome of the Canaanites who built Zidon, and peopled all that Region, I fee nothing to perswade me.

Tuftin.l.18. Curt 1.4. Eufebin Chro. Foseph.ant.1.8. Cedren.pa.27.

But that new Tyre in after-times for renowned, feemeth to be the worke of Agenor. and of this opinion was Curtius: and Fosephus, and Eusebius make this City elder than Salomons Temple 240. yeares: Cedrenus 361. who also addeth that Tyrus the wife of Age. nor gave it her name: but of Agenor I will speake more at large in the story of their to Kings.

Ezck.28.2.27. verfe 3. Efai.23.3.

27.8.

For strength and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receive Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Iland, 700. paces from the continent; and therefore Ezekiel placeth it in the middest of the Sea, as some reade, or asothers, in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence he called it situate at the entry of the Sea, as also the same Prophet calleth it the Mart of the people for many Iles: and Esay, a Mart of the Nations: and fo Proud, Wealthy, and Magnificent was this City, as the Prophet Efay calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the

World.

It excelled both in learning, and in manu-facture: especially in the making and dying 19 of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, faith Julius Pollers, was first found out by Herceles Dogge, who passing along the Sea-coast, and eating of the Fish Conchilis or Purpura, the haire of his lippes became of that colour. It worshipped the Idols that Zidon did: faving that Hercules became their Patron in after-times. For Alexander Macedon, when the Tyrians presented him with a Crowne of gold, and other gifts, desiring to remain his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a facrifice to Hercules, the Defender of their City, and the Ancester of the Macedonians Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereuponthey fenthim word, that Hercules his Temple was in the Mountaine of old Tyre: where he might performe that ceremony . But this availed not: For Alexander was not fo superstitious, as ambitious; he defired to enter the Towne, which being denied, he as one whom no perill could feare, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ships as he could, and brought from Libanus fo great a number of Cedars, and fo many weighty stones from the old City of Tyre adjoyning, as notwithstanding that his materials were often washt away with the strength of the Sea and the Tydes, yet he never rested, till he had made a foote passage from the Continent to the Iland: and having once approached their Walls, he over-topt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (having filled the body of force with the violent moving spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the Sword that refifted; after which, he caused 2000. more to be hung up in a ranke all alongst the Sea-shore: which execution upon cold blood he performed (as some Authours affirme) upon the issues of those slaves which had somer to ly flaine all their Masters, taking their Wives, Children, Riches and power of Governe-Josephant Ju- ment to themselves. This victory of Alexander over the Tyrians, Josephus remembreth: and how Sanaballat revolted from Darius, and came to Alexander with 8000, Souldiers: who was the last Satrapa or Provinciall Governour, which Darius seated in Samaria: the fame who having married his Daughter to Manasse, brother to Paddas the high Priest of Hierusalem, obtained of Alexander that a Temple might be built on the Mountaine G4. riZim over Samaria: that the forces of the Jewes being divided, Alexander might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which Priesthood he bestowed on his some in law Manasse, whom the Jewes oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a Gentile: but while Alexander befieged Gaza, Sanaballat, whom Guil. Tyrins De bell,fatr.l.

13.6.4.

called Sanabula, died. Long before this defolation of Tyre by the cruelty of Alexander, it was attempted by Salmanaffer the Affrian King: when the growing pride of the Affrians, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of Syria, became envious of the beauty riches, and power of that City. He befieged it both on the Land-fide, and with threefort shippes of Warre held the Port to the end that neither any victuals nor any supply of men might enter it : but the Tyrians with twelve faile scattered that fleet, and took 500 prisoners of the Asyrians: notwithstanding, the Asyrian continued his resolution, and lay

before it by his Lievtenants five yeares, but with ill fucceffe. And this fiege Menander E_ Er cont. AD. 13 before it by Josephus, made report of in his Chronicles, as he found the Story among de Bell Sacre the Annalls of the Tyrians (which the faid Menander converted into Greeke) adding, that 13.4. Joseph the Annual Tyrius called Helifans, was then King of Tyre, having governed the fame Antibo grapa fixe and twenty yeares. Soon after this repulse of Salmana far, and about 200, yeares beforethe victory of Alexander, Nabuchodonofor, at fuch time as he destroyed Hierusalems with the Temple, came before this City: who indeed gave to Alexander the example of that despairefull worke, of joyning it to the Continent. For Nabuchodonofor had for merly done it: though by the diligence of the Cirizens, and the strength of the Sea. the

of the History of the World.

so fame cawfey and paffage was againe broken downe, and demolished.

Against Nabuchodonofor, for many yeares, the Tyrians defended themselves: for so Ezeron & long did those Babylonians continue before it, As every head was made bald, & every [hout- Itaia] &c dermade bare; faith Ezekiel, who with the Prophet Efay had manifeftly foretold the defruction of this proud place. In the end and after thirteene yeares fiege or more the Tyrians despoiled of all their hopes, and remembring over-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, having prepared a convenient number of shippes, abandoned their City, transporting with themselves the ablest of all that remained, and with their wives, children, and portable riches, fay led thence into Cyprus, Carthage, and other Maritimate Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: fo as the Babylonians finding nothing therein, either to fatisfie fo many labours and perils for any person upon whom to avenge themselves for the losse of so many bodies in that Warre: It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengthened this resolution, as in a worke of his owne) to make Nabucho- Exik, 29,150 dowler victorious over the Experians: and gave him that Kingdome and the spoile thereof sit were, in wages for his Army. Whereupon Saint Hierome noteth, that Godleaverh not the good deeds of the Heathen unrewarded. who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attaine unto that eternall happineffe referved for his Servants and Saints: yet fuch is the boundleffe goodneffe of Godas he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporall bleffings.

Now of this enterprise of Nabuchodonofors against Tyre, prophane Historians have Tolepaniera onot bin filent. For both Diocles, and Philostratus (as fosephus citeth them) the one in his cit.

fecond Booke, the other in his Phanician Histories, remember it.

After these two great Vastations by the Kings of Babylon and Macedon, this Citie of Tyre, repaired and recovered it felfe againe: & continued in great glory about 300. years. evento the comming of our Saviour Christ: and after him flourished in the Christian Faith neere 600 yeares: the Archbilhop whereof gave place to none but to the Patriarke of Hierufalem onely, who within his owne Diocesse had foureteene great Cities, with their Bi-Thopsand fuffragans: namely Caipha, otherwise Porphiria, Acon, or Ptolomais, Sarepta, Zi-Guilty, bel. don, Casarea Philippi, Berytus, Byblus, Botrys, Tripolis, Orthosia, Archis, Aradus, Antaradus sac. (or Tortofa) and Maraelea. But in the yeere 636 it was with the rest of that beautifull Region of Phanicia and Palestina, subjected to the cruell and faithlesse Saracen: under the burthen and yoke of whose tyranny it suffered, with the other Palestine Cities, 488. yeares.

Inthe yeare 1112 it was attempted by Baldwine King of Hierufalem; but in vaine : yet Guil Tritts in the yeare 1124. by Guaremonde, Patriarke of Hierusalem, Vicegerent to Baldwine Bettlarite the fecond, with the affiftance of the Venetians, and their fleete of Gallies, it was againe recovered, and subjected to the Kings of Hierusalem, and so it remained 165. yeares.

Finally, in the yeare 1189. Saladine having first taken Hierufalem, removed his whole Army, and fate downe before Tyre: drawing his fleete of shippes and Gallies from Alexandria into the Port, this City as then onely remaining in the Christian power.

The Citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseles, they at once with certaine rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens leete, and fally edout refolvedly upon his Army, flew fo great numbers of them, and followed their victory with fuch fury as that the Saracens for laking their Trenches and Tents, removed in great disorder and dishonour. Two yeares after which victory the ody of that famous Fredericke Barbaroffa (who by the lamentable accident of following the Christians enemies over a River unfoordable, perished by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and interred in the Cathedrall Church of Tyre, neere unto that glolous Sepulchre of origen, garnished and graven with guilt pillars of Marble, 940. yeares

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before therein buried : but in the yeare 1289. the Saracens againe attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subject to the Turkes.

f.IIII.

Of Prolomais or Acon.

He third City alongst the coast of the Sea, which the Afferites could not obtaine on the South bound of Affer was Acho, which was the ancient name thereofafter Hierome, though other good Authours affirme that it tooke name from Acon . Tan. 185.6.19 the brother of Ptolomy. Plinie calleth it Ace : and otherwise the Colonie of Claudius. It in description had also the name of Coth, or Cod, and by Zeiglerus it is called Hactipos.

Ptolomeus Philometer.

h Maccirio.

But lastly, it was intituled Ptolomais after the name of one of the Egyptian Ptolomies: which City also as it is, I Mac. 11. another of the Ptolomies, infideliously wrested from his some in law Alexander, which called himselfe the some of Antiochus Epiphanes: the same Alexander having married Cleopatra daughter of the faid Ptolomie not long before. Therein also was Jonathan Machabaus treacherously surprised & slaine, as it is 1Mac, 12.48. by the perfidiousnesse of Tryphon, whom soone after Antiochus pursued, as it is in the Story ensuing: and by like reason about the same time was the aforesaid Alexander in the warre against Demetrius, one of the sonnes of Antiochus the great, with whom to., lomie joyned, overthrown & treacherously murthered by Zabdiel the Arabian: to whom he fled for fuccour: and his head prefented unto his father in law Ptolomie: who enjoyed Macorras. northe glory of his victory and treason above three dayes, for God strucke him by death.

Ant. Itik.

Berold.

For the beauty and strength of this City, this Alexander made it his regall seate; two parts of the same being invironed by the Sea, and the port for safety and capacity not inferiour to any other in all that Tract. This Citie is distant from Hierusalem some some and thirty miles: foure miles to the North from the Mountaine Carmel, and as much to the South from Castrum Lansberti: from Tyre, Antonius maketh it two and thirty Italian miles. In the middest of the City there was a Tower of great strength, sometime the Temple of Bel-Zebub: and therefore called the Castle of Flies, on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetual light, like unto that called Pharus in Egypt: to give comfort in the night to those shippes, which came neere and sought that part. It had in it a Bilhops Gry bell fact. feate, of the Diocesse of Tyre, after in became Christian: but in the yeare 636. (a stail yeare to the Christians in those parts) it was forced and taken by Haomarus, the Saraca, factitite of the first, by the helpe of the Gallis of a.cap.z. & alibi. Genoa: to whom a third of the revenew was given in recompence. Againe, in the year of our Lord God, one thousand one hundred fourescore & seven, Saladine King of Egypt and Syria, became Lord thereof. In the years of Christ, one thousand one hundred ninety and one, by Richard King of England, and Philip King of France, it was repossed and redelivered to the Christians. Lastly, in the yeare 1291 it was by the fury of the Saracens befieged with an Army of 150000 entred, fackt, and utterly demolished though in some fort afterward reedified, and it is now Turkish.

t.V. Of the Castle of Saint George.

Broch.

Of the place & memory of his death. See Chap.g.S.I.

Tive miles from Ptolomais towards the East, is the Castle of Saint George stated in which he was borne: the Valley adjoyning bearing the fame name. And though for s the credit of Saint Georges killing the Dragon, I leave every man to his own beliefe yet I cannot but think, that if the Kings of England had not fome probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was strange that the Order full of Honour, which Edward the third founded, and which his Successours royally have continued should have borne his name, seeing the World had not that scarcity of Saints in those dayes, as that the English were driven to make such an erection upon a fable, or personal ned. The place is described by Adrichemius in his description of Assertio have beene in the fieldes of Libanus, betweene the River Adonis, and Zidon: his owne words and thefe:

these: Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longe à Beryto, memorant inclytum thete: Militem D. Georgium, Regis filiam ab immanissimo Dracone asservasse : eamq; Christi Destia parenti restituisse. In cujus rei memoriam Ecclesia postmodum suit adissicata : macrain of position by the Inhabitants is called Cappadocia, not far from Berytus, men fay that the famous Knight of Christ, Saint George, did resource the Kings Daughter from a huge Dras ane James to having killed the beaft, delivered the Virgin to her Parent In memory of which deed gon: & having killed the beaft, delivered the Virgin to her Parent In memory of which deed a Churchwas after built there: Thus farre Adrichomius. His Authours he citeth Lodowicus Roman, Patric. Navigationum 1.1.6.3 and Bridenbach Itin. 5. The Valley under this Castle fometime called Affer, was afterward called the Valley of Saint George. If this authority soffice not, we may rather make the Story allegoricall, figuring the victory of Christ, than except of George the Arrian Bishop, mentioned by Am. Marcellinus.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

D Etweene Ptolomais & Tyre alongst the Seacoast, was the strong City of Acziba, or Achazib, which S. Hierome called Achziph, and Josephus Ecdippos, Plinie Ecdippa, Done of those which defended it selfe against the Asserites. Belforrest findes Acziba and Sandalium, or the Castle of Alexander to be one, but I know not whence he had ir. The twelve fearchers of the Land which Mofes fent from Cadesbarne, travailed as far Hieraride Local 10th North as Roob, or Rechob, in the Tribe of Affer, which Rechob, as also Berothæ, Fol Bell Fud, which by Ezekiel cap.47. verfe 16. is placed in these North borders, belonged in Davids 1.1.c.11. time to the King Hadarhezer, as it may be gathered out of the second of Samuel the 8. Plin 15 6.19 chap and 8. verse, and cap. 10. verse 6. and it defended it selfe against the Assertes, as Zidon Tyre, Achziph, Ptolomais, Alab, Helbah, and Aphek did.

This Aphek it was, whose wall falling downe, slew seven and twenty thousand of Benbudges Souldiers, after that a hundred thousand had bin flaughtered by the Israelites, undertheconduct of Ahab. Here Junius findes that the Philistims encamped a little before the harraile at Gilboa, though in his note upon the first of Samuel, the g, and I he takes Applekthere mentioned (at which battaile the Arke was taken) to have bin in Juda. Of 1 Kin 20 296 which Jos. 13. and 53. and in the second of Kings 13. 17. he reades, Fortiter, for, in Aphek. 1 Sam. 20, 1,

Where others convert it, Percutiens Syros in Aphek.

The next place along it the coast is Sandalium, first called Schandalium of Schander. which we call Alexander, for Alexander Macedon built it when he befreged Tyre : and fer it mapoint of Land which extendeth it selfe into the Sea, betweene Acziba and Tyre: which Castle Baldwine the first rebuilt and fortified; in the yeare of Christ 1157. when he undertooke the recovery of Tyre.

Not much above a mile from this Castle, there ariseth that most plentifull Spring of water, which Salemon remembreth, called the Well of living Waters: from whence not canada only all the fields and plaines about Tyre are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawn: but the same Spring, which hathnot above a bow-shot of ground to travaile till it recover the Sea, driveth fixe great Milles in that short passage, saith Brochard.

Withinthe Land, and to the East of Acziba, and Sandalium, standeth Hosa: and beyond Tollies it, under the Mountaines of Tyre, the City of Achfaph, or Axab, or after Saine Hierome, Acifap, a City of great strength, whose King amongst the rest was slaine by Josua, at the waters of Merom.

†. V I I. of Thoron Gifcala, and some other places.

Arther into the Land towards Jordan, was seated the Castle of Thoron, which Hugo de Santto Abdemare built on the Easter-most Hils of Tyre, in the yeare 1107. thereby to restraine the excutsions of the Saracens, while they held Tyre against the Christians: the place adjoyning being very fruitful, & exceeding pleafant. From this Castle the Lords of Thoron, famous in the Story of the Warres for the recovery of the Holy Land, derive their names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappell, dedicated to the bleffed Virgin, in which Humfrey of Thoron, Constable to Baldwine the 3. King of Hierualem, lyeth buried: There were five Castles besides this within the Teritory of Asser: Continuationis

Pell ac.

wherof foure are feated almost of equall distance from each other to wit, Castrum, Lamperti, Montfort, Indin (or Saron) Caftrum Regium, & Belfort: The first neere the Seaunder the Hills of Saron, the next three, to wit, Indin, Montfort, and Regium, stand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brotherhood and fellowship of the Teutonici, or Dutch Knights (by which they defended themselves, & gave succour to other Christians at fuch time as the Saracens possess the best part of the upper Galilee) the chiefe of which Order was in Ptolomais Achon. The first fortresse was for beauty & strength called Bel. fort, leated in the high ground upon the River Naar, neere the Citie Rama: of which in this Tribe Jos. 19.29. for which the Vulgar reades Horma making the article a part of the word, & mistaking the vowels . from the siege of this Castle of Belfort, the great Saladim King of Syria and Egypt, was by the Christians Army raised, and with great lossead

dishonour repulsed. To the East of Belfort, is the strong City of Alab(or Achlab) which S. Hierome calleth Chalab, one of those that defended themselves against Affer, as Roob (or Rechob) nor

farre thence did.

Towards the South from Roob they place Gabala (which Herod furnamed the Afcalonite rebuilt) making it of the Territory of Chabol, Quod Syrorum lingua dispicere significat (faith Weishenburg) fo called, because Hiram of Tyre was ill pleased with those twenty Cities, seated hereabout, which Salomon presented unto him in recompence of those provisions sent him for the building of the Temple. Others think this Chabol (or Cabul)con. 1 taining a circuit of those twenty Cities given to Hiram, to have beene without the compasse of the holy Land, though bordering Asher on the North side : as it is said, 1 Mg.g. 11. That they were in Regione limitis: that is, in limite Regionis, in the border of the comtrey: for it was not lawfull, fay they, to give to strangers any part of the possessions allotted to the Israelites howsoever, that after Hiram had refused them, they were people by the Ifraelites, it appeares, 2 Chron. 8.14. And it seemes they were conquered by David from the Syri Rechobea, whose City Roob, or Rechob, was in these parts.

Almost of equal distance from the Castle of Thoron, they place the Cities of Giscala, and Gadara: of which Gadara is rather to be placed over Jordan: Gifcala was madela mous by John the fon of Levi, who from a meane estate gathering together foure hundred Theeves, greatly troubled all the upper Galilee, at fuch time as the Romans attempted the conquest of Judæa: by whose practice Josephus, who then commanded in the upper Galilee, was greatly indangered: whereof himselfe hath written at large, in hissend Booke of those Warres. This John berraying in all he could the City of Giscala (where he was native) to the Roman State: and finding a refistance in the City, gave opportunity, during the contention, to the Tyrians and Gadarims, to surprize it: who at the same me fore't it, and burnt it to the ground: but being by Josephus authority rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to Titus by composition. They finde also the Cities of Cana Major, and Cades, or Cadessa) of the first was that syro-phanician, whose Daughter Christdell vered of the evill Spirit. Neere the other, they fay, it was that Jonathas Machabans over

threw the Army of Demetrius.

There are besides these forenamed Cities within the Tribe of Assert divers others: ason the South border, and neere the Sea, Mefall or Misheall: within the Land Befara, Bethdagon, & Bethemec, standing on the South border betweene Asher and Zabulon:on the North fide joyning to Syro-phœnicia, is the City of Hethalon, or Chethlon, theumoft of the holy Land that way : under which towards the Sea is Chali, and then Enoch supposed to be built by Cain, & named of his son Enoch, but without probability, as I have formerly proved. There are others also besides these, as Ammon or Chammon, of which Jos. 19.28. where also we reade of Nehiel, Rama, Alamelec, & Beton: the Cities of Al cath, or Chelcath, Habdon, and Rechob, and Misheal, which we have already mentioned were by the Afferites given to the Levites. Of others held by the Canaanites, mention is made, Judges 1.30. to which out of Josua we may adde Ebron, Amhad, and others, @ which no ftory dependeth; and therefore I will not pefter the description with them.

t.VIII. Of the Rivers and Mountaines of Affer.

He Rivers to the North of Affer, are Adonis, afterward Canis, to which Ziegler joyneth Lycus; Ptolomy, Leontis: both which fall into the Sea neere Berytus: which River of Leontis, Montanus drawes neere unto Zidon: finding his head not with Afre Tab. 43 standing, where Prolomy doth, between Zidon and Tyre. It hath also a River called fons bortorum Libani, which Adrichome out of Brochard intituleth Eleutherus: for which he alfo circth Plinie, and the first of Machabees the 11. Chapter; but neither of those authorities prove Eleutherus to be in Affer: for this River falleth into the Sea at the Ile of Aradus: Plinil.g. not far from Balanca, witnesse Ptolomie: & therfore Pinetus calleth it Valania, & Postellus Asa. Tab 4. Post Orthosian Velana; which River boundeth Phanicia on the North-fide: to which Strabo also agreeth: & Eleuberum but this principall River of Affer, Arias Montanus calleth Gabatus. Christianus Chrot Out of Theword ofthe mouth and Papers of Peter Laicstan (which Laicstan in this our age both viewed Nachallsambiand described the Holy Land) calleth the maine River Fons hortorum Libani: and one of guous, either for and described the Hory Land cancell the maine Niver 1 on North-fide, Naar, and another from the River but this South-west, Chabul: of the City adjoyning of the same name : for Eleutherus it cannot be. word Ghe is al. South-weit, Chaont: Of the City adjoyining of the father hand lot which I finde in no way a valley, as There is also another River described by Adrichome, named Jepthael, which I finde in no in Ghimon and other Author, and for which he citeth the nineteenth of Josua, but the word d Ghe, which Gellemanim. other Author, and for which he citem the infected that for a Valley and for a Valley the Joseph lib. 20 is added there to Jepthael, is not taken for a River, but for a Valley and for a Valley the Bell. Jud. 2030 Valyar, the Geneva, and Arias Montanus turne it. There is also found in Affer, the River of L. 5.6.19. In Belas, remembred by Josephus and Tacitus, which is also called Pagidas, faith * Plinie: Josua, c. 19.00. Belastemembred by Josephus and I actus, which is and caned I agrain, later I tomics softiscalled out of the fands of this River are made the best Glasse, which sometimes the Zidonians siebos, of which practifed: and now the Venetians at Murana. Arias Montanus makes Belus to be a branch name many unof Chidumin, which it cannot be: for Belus is knowner of flow from out the Lake Cende-ther streame via.sall Cosmographers, both Ancient and Moderne, and the later Travailers into those Fol. 13.3. which parts, with effe. It is true that the River of Chison taketh water from Chedumim, but not in running by that fathion which Montanus hath described it: neither doth it find the Sea at Ptolomais fallethinto the Acon, according to Montanus: but farther to the South betweene Caiphas and Sicaminum, Lake Sinbonis, witnesse Ziegler, Adrichomius, and Schrot.

Besides these Rivers there are divers famous Springs and Fountaines, as that of living promised land waters adjoyning to Tyre: and a Maserephot, or after Saint Hierome, Maserephotmain, they place whose Well filled by the floud of the Sea adjoyning (they fay) the Inhabitants by feeth-Rhimocolura, for

ing the water make falt thereof, as at Nantwitch.

The Mountaines which bound Affer on the North, are those of Anti-libanus, which eborinthat with Libanus bound Cælofyria: two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea of Phæni-place of Jolius cit and Syria, extend themselves farre into the Land East-ward, four hundred stadia or whether this furlongs, according to Strabo: for that length he giveth to the Valley of Calofyria, which Siebor, Jos. 3.3 turlongs, according to Strabo: for that length ne giveth to the valley of Strabo: for that length ne gives them 1500 furlongs in length from the West be a Riverora those Mountaines inclose: but Plinie gives them 1500 furlongs in length from the West City, trappears (wherethey begin at Theipsophon, or Dei facies, neere Tripolis to the Mountaines of Arabia that this name beyond Damafeus: where Anti-libanus turneth towards the South. Thefe ledges where is found both they beginto part Traconitis and Basan, from the Desart Arabia, are called Hermon: which bound of the Moses also nameth Sion, the Phanicians Syrion, and the Amorites Sanir, neither is this any holy Land, 701 one Mountaine apart, but a continuation of Hills: which running farther foutherly, is in South bound. the Scriptures called Galaad or Gilead: the same being still a part of Libanus, as the Pro- Joing: the Scriptures called Galaad or Gileaa: the lame being that this Galaad is the highest a Seethe maraphet Hieremy proveth: Galaad tu mihi caput Libani: noting that this Galaad is the highest ginall Note a. of those Hills of Libauns. Strabo knowes them by the name of Traconita: and Ptolomie bove in the seby Hippus. Arias Montanus calleth these Mountaines bordering After, Libanus, for Anti- cond, ection of libanus, contrary to all other Cosmographers, but he giveth no reason of his opinion.

They take the name of Libanus from their white tops, because according to Tacitus, Phil.5.c.20. the highest of them are covered with Snow all the Summer: the Hebrew word Libanos Strab.l.ro. (faith Weiffenburg) fignifieth whitenesse. Others call them by that name of the Fran-Pro. Affe. Tab. 4. kincence which those Trees yeeld: because nedvores is also the Greeke word for that Sucton. Nig. pig. 503.

Niger out of Aphrodifeus affirmeth, that on Libanus there falleth a kinde of hony dew, which is by the Sunne congealed into hard Sugar, which the Inhabitants call Sacchar, from Whence came the Latine word Saccarum.

1 Reg.9.11.

Fofeph.ant.13.

21.0 15.10.

Tun.annot.in

2 Sam. 10.6.

Cap. 26.

*See Kadesh in Nephthalim. Matth-15. Mark.7. Macca.1.73. Fosephus Antiq. a Of which Ju-Cephus in vita h Ofboth which Fos.19.

27.Ezek.47.15. c Or Enosa for fepb.ant.lib.1. Fos.21.30.

The Rivers which Libanus bestoweth on the neighbour Regions, are, Chrysorthous Fordan, Eleutherus, Leontes, Lycus, Adonis, Fons hortorum Libani, and others.

The rest of the Mountaines of Assertance those Hills above Tyre, and the Hills of Saron both exceeding fruitfull: but those are but of a low stature, compared with Libanus. for from Nebo, or the Mountaine of Abarim in Reuben, Moses beheld Libanus threescore miles distant.

6.II.II. THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

of the bounds of Nephtalim and of Heliopolis and Abila.

Henext Portion of the Land of Canaan bordering Alber, was the upper Galilus the greatest part whereoffell to the lot of Nephtalim, the sonne of Jacob by Billa. the hand-made of Rachel: who while they abode in Egypt, were increased to the number of 5 3400 persons, able men to beare armes, numbred at Mount Sinai: all which leaving their bodies in the Defarts, there entred the Holy Lord of their fonnes 45400. besides Infants, Women, and Children, under twenty yeares of age. The Land of Nephu. lim tooke beginning on the North part, from the Fountaines of Jordan, and the Hills of Libanus adjoyning as farre South as the Sea of Galilee, bounded on the West by Afin. and on the East and South-east by Fordan.

On the North-fide of Libanus, and adjoyning to this Territory of Nephralim, did the Amorites (or Emorites) also inhabite, in which Tract and under Libanus, was the Cityof Heliopolis: which the heighth of the Mountaines adjoyning fludowed from the Sunne, the better part of the day. Postellus calls it Balbec; Niger, Marbech; and Leonclavim, Beallebeca.

Of this name of Heliopolis, there are two great Cities in Egypt: the first called on, by the Hebrewes, and the Chaldean Paraphrast; otherwise Bethsemes, or after the Latines, Solin oppidum or Domus Solie : The City of the Sunne : into which, faith Ulpian, Severus the M. man Emperour fent a Colonie: the other Gestelius nameth Dealmarach: and of this name Stephanus also findeth a Citie in Thrace, and Glycas in Phrygia.

There is also in the same Valley adjoyning to Nephtalim, Chalcis, and Abila. Chalci, of whom the Region towards Palmyrena hath the name of Chalcidica, over which Hord Agrippa, and Bernice the Queene commanded.

Abila also gave name to the Region adjoyning, of which Lysanius the sonne of the rod the elder, became Tetrarch or Governour : whereof Ptolomie gave it the addition of Jornan, and (as Lyfanii, and called it Abila Lyfanii. Volateran names it Aphila, of which he notes that out Diogenes, a famous Sophister, was native, who by Volateran is intituled Aphilem, not Abileus. After that this City of Abila or Aphila, had received the Christian Faith, Prisille nus became the Bishop thereof: slaine afterward by our Brittish Maximus at Trever. For distinction of this Citie (if it be not the same, as it may be thought to be the same)it is to be remembred, that in the Tribe of a Manaffe, joyning upon the bounds of the Tribe of Nephtalim, there is another City of the same name, saving that it is written with an (E) for an(I) and called Abela, remembred in the 20. Chapter of the second of Samuel. The same Josephus calls Abelmachea, and Hierome Bethmacha. In the place of Samuel for distinction fake, it is written Abel Beth-Mahaca, (for belike it was the Towne of Mahaca, the wife of Macir, the some of Manaffe, the Father of Gilead) in the Chronicles it is called, Abel-Majim, This City 70ab befieged, because Sebathe sonne of Bichri, who rebelled against David, fled thereinto for fuccour: but a certaine wife woman of the Citie perswading the people to cast Seba his head over the wall, Joab retired his Army. The same Citie was afterward taken by the King of Damascus, Benadad: and after a while by Teglatphe.

and so doubtlesse *Abel-Missiam, Gen. 50. 11. and yet Junius in his notes upon Num. 33. And Abel and Society and Abel Signing and Society 49. thinkes that Abel-Sittim was so called, rather by reason of the plaine ground there 1 Samo 18. (rowit in the Land of Moab,) and so perhaps Abel-Meholah in the Tribe of Ephraim: Judg 7.24& the Towne of Elisha the Prophet: also Abel-Vincarum of the Ammonites, whither Index 1.25 Tephts purfued them.

†. II. Of Hazor.

-Nthe Tribe of Nephtalim, was that famous City of Jabin, in 70 sua's time called Afor (orafter the Chaldwan Paraphraft, Hafzor) by Josephus, Asora; by Junius* Chatzot: Oftwo other which Laicstan names Hesron; the Regall City, and Metropolis of Canaan: seated in Cities of this the West part of Nephtalim, towards Asher. In this City was that great Rendevous and name in Juda, affembly of those foure and twenty Kings against 30 such who being all overthrown, slain, of a fourth in and scattered, this their powerfull City was by Joses taken and burnt to dust. But in pro- Benjamin, lee ceffe of time the fame being rebuilt by the Canaanites, a fecond King Jabin, 137. yeares that which fold afferthe death of this first fabin, invaded the Ifraelites: and being ordained of God to place: of a fife punishtheir Idolatry, he prevailed against them, and held them in a miserable servitude in this Tribe of twenty yeares: till Debora the Prophetesse overthrew Sisera, Fabins Leivtenant, and his Hen-chasses, we Army, neere the Mountain Tabor. This City Salomon reftored at fuch time as he also re-reade, 16:19:27 edified Gezar, burnt by Pharao of Egypt, with a Megiddo, Bethoron, and other Cities; but wherero we may about 260. Yeares after, it fell into the hands of Teglatphalafar, King of the Affyrians. It is Henan, in the now, faith Adrichomius, called Antiopia: it was one of the principall Cities of Decapolis. uttermoft North Eart of Threis another Citie of this name in the Territory of Benjamin, feated on the confines Manaffe, over of Assalon, called the new Hazor, b faith Hierome.

a Simunchular-Sulima, of which, I Chron.4.31, which also is called Chalfer-Sulfa, and Chalfer-Gadde, and lattly Chalfer-Shileb, another City of imm fil 19.2. 2 I Kingso. b Hicror loc. Hebr. 14. out of Nehem 11.33.as it feemes .

> †.I I.I. Of Casarea Philippi.

Here was also on the border, and within the Territory of Nephtalim, that renowned City of Lais, or Lajisch, as Junius writes it, or Leschen; which City the Judg. 18.27 children of Dan (being straitned in their Territory under Juda) invaded & maste- John 9-47. red; and gave it the name of their own parent Dan: and by that name it is written in Gene-Is the foureteenth, at which place Abraham furprized Chedorlaomer and his confederates. & followed his victory as farre as Sobab, formerly remembred in the division of Syria, 0therwise called Sophena. And after the possession of the Danites, it had the joynt name of Leschem-Dan. Weissenburg writes it Lacis, the Geneva Laish, Josephus, Dana; Benjamin, Balina; Breidenbach, Belena: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of Judg 18; Belina tothis day: witneffe Neubrigensis, Tyrius, Volaterranus, Brochard the Monke, and Po-Mellus: who also taketh this City to be the same, which in Matth. 15. vers. 39. in the Vulgar is called Maradan for which the Greeke Text hath Magdala in that place, and in S. Marke, Chap. 8.101 peaking of the fame ftory, Dalmanutha. At fuch time as the children of Dan obtained this Place, it seemeth that it was either a free City, of the alliance & confederacy of the Zidonior elfe subject unto the Kings thereof; for it is written in the eighteenth of Judges, Verse 28, And there was none to helpe, because Lais was farre from Zidon: & they had no businesse with "ther men; for it was above thirty English miles from the Mediterran Sea, & from Ziden. Plin.1.5 c. 15; In after-times when these Regions became subject to the state of Rome, it had the name of Paneas, from a Fountaine adjoyning so called: and therefore Ptolomie calls it Cafarea Heg Liass, Pania. Hegesippus calls it Parnium, saith Weissenburg: but he had read it in a corrupt copy: or in Hegesippus set out by Badius, it is written Paneum without an (R): and at such ime as Philip the some of the elder Hered, brother to Hered, Tetrarch of Galilee, became Governour of Traconitie, Cometime Bafan; this City was by him amplified add forrified; Col another adboth to give memory to his owne name, and to flatter Tiberius Cafar, he called it farm called The word Abel may be expounded, either to fignific bewailing, or a plaine ground; Cafarea Philippi: and fo it became the Metropolis, and head City of Traconists, and one Consequently and therefore no marvell that many Townes (with some addition for distinction sale) the first Ciries of Decapelis. And being by Agripps in the succeeding age, greatly in the some were thus called for even of bewailing, many places tooke name; as Booking and some joby him in honour of Nero, it was called Neronia, or Neroniada. But as part of manage.

facr.1.9.6.15-Theod.4. Hift. Ecclesiaft. Juftin.Geftel.in itinerar. Josep inplurib. Eufeb.8.De-

Guil.Tyr.Bell.

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menst. Volat.l.11.f. Alfo athird in Epbrains

called Abel Mechola,and a fourth in Reuben, called Abel-Sittim, alfo Abel-Mitfraim, atthe Foordef Fordan, and (as Same Tribe of Reuben, of all whichinthat which follows: to which alfo

wemay adde Ahel-Magnum, the name as fome thinke of a City, otherwife called Beth hemes, neere the border of the Philistims, or according to others of the great ftone in the border. 1 Sam.6.18.

Foseph.ant 1.7. cap.10.

I King IS. 2 King 15.

Of Dincefuria, Lee Sephoris in Eufeb.bift.Eccl. 1.7.6.14. Niceb. 16.c.15.

> a Fosepus in the Jewish wa 18. Saith that Philip the Tetrach caft chaffe into a Fountaine called Phiala, diftant 120.ftadia North-east from Cafaria, which chaffe beingcarrice underground wascaft up againe at Paniun or Dan whereby ir is conicctured that the first Spring from this Fount rainecalled Dan receive their waters.

> > Matth 4.

Marke 7.

Niger.commer

Afie 4.f.503. Plin.l.5.c.18.

Opotos a City Standing in the Valley of Ca*lofyria*, watered by Chryforroas

Luke 8.

nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memory of his impiety: fo in Saint Hieromes time the Citizens remembred their former Paneas, and forecalled it, with the Territory adjoyning by the ancient name. Of this City was that woman whom Christ healed of a bloudy iffue, by touching the hemme of his Garment with a constant Faith: who afterward, as she was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindfull of Gods good. nesse, and no lesse gratefull for the same, as Eusebius and Nicephorus report, caused two Statues to be cult in pure Copper: the one representing Christ, as neere as it could be moulded : the other made like her felfe, kneeling at his feet, and holding up her hands towards him. These shee mounted upon two great Bases or Pedestals of the same Mettall, which she placed by a Fountaine neere her owne house: both which (faith Enfebius) remained in their first perfection, even to his owne time : which himselfe had seene, who lived in the Reigne of Constantine the Great. But in the yeare after Christ 363. that Monfter Julian Apostata, caused that worthy Monument to be cast downe, and defaced : setting up the like of his owne in the same place: which Image of his was with fire from Heaven brokening fitters: the head, body, and other parts fundered and fcattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by Sociomenus Salaminius, in his fift booke and twentieth Chapter.

This City built by the Danises, was neerethe joyning together of those two Rivers, which arising from the springs of for and Dan, the two a apparent Fountaines of Jordan in a foyle exceeding fruitfull, and pleasant: for, as it is written, Judges 18. it is a place " which doth want nothing that is in the World. In the fields belonging to this Citie it was that Saint Peter acknowledged Christ to be the Sonne of God: whereupon it was answer red, Tues Petrus, o fuper hanc Petram, oc. After this City received the Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate : and it ranne the same fortune with the rest, for it was after taken and retaken by the Saracens, and Christians: under Fulch the fourth King of Hierusalem, and after the death of Godfrey of Bullion, the King of Damascus wreftedin whence for and from the Christians; and shortly after by them againe it was recovered. Lastly, now itte

maineth with all that part of the World fub jected to the Turke.

t.IIII. Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

Mong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe. Capbernaum is not the leafile often remembred by the Evangelists. This City had the honour of Christs prefence three yeares: who for that time was a Citizen thereof, in which he fint preached and taught the doctrine of our falvation: according to that notable Prophecyal Esay 9. The people that walked in darknesse, have seene a great light : they that dweltin it Land of the shadow of death up on them bath the light shined.

Caphernaum was feated on Fordan, even where it entrethinto the Sea of Galilee, inan excellent & rich foyle : of whose destruction Christ himselfe prophecied in these words, so And thou Caphernaum which art lifted up unto heaven, shalt be brought downe to Hell, Gt. which shewed the pride and greatnesse of that City: for it was one of the principall Cities of Decapolis, and the Metropolis of Galilee. And although there were some markes of this Cities magnificence in Saint Hieromes time, as himselfe confesseth; it being then a reasonable Burge or Towne: yet those that have fince, and long since seene it, 45 #10chard, Breidenbech, & Saliniac affirme, that it then consisted but of fix poore Fisher-mens houses.

The Region of ten principall Cities called Decapolitana or Decapolia, is in this descip tion often mentioned, and in Saint Matthew, Marke and Luke also remembred; but I find no agreement among the Cosmographers, what proper limits it had : and so Plinie himselfe confesseth; for Marins Niger, speaking from others, bounds it on the North by the mountaine Cafius in Cafiotis: and endeth it to the South at Egypt and Arabia; by which description it imbraceth Phanicia, a part of Calofiria, all Palastina, and Judea.

CHAP.7. S.4. +.5. of the History of the World. fometim e Nifa, built (as is faid) by Bacchus, inmemory of his Nurse, who died therein, ancienly knowne by the name of Bethfan; for the fixthe fetteth Gadara (not that Gada-

ra in Calosyria, which was also called Antiochand Selencia:) but it is Gadara in Basan, which Plinie in this place meaneth, feated on an high hill, neere the River of Hieromaix. This River Ortelius takes to be the River Jabos: which boundeth Gad and Manasse over Jordan. but he mistaketh it; for Hieromain falleth into the Sea of Galilee, betweene Hippos and Gerafa, whereas Jabos entreth the same Sea betweene Ephron and Phannel. Forthe seventh henameth* Hippos, or Hippion, a City fo called of a Colonie of Horsementhere gar- *Plinie hath rifond by Herod, on the East-side of the Galilean Sea, described hereafter in the Tribe of Hippion Dion; Manaffe over Jordan. For the eighth Pella, which is also called Butis, and Berenice, seated laterran reades 10 in the South border of the Region over fordan, called Peraa. For the ninth Gelafa, which Hypidion Or-Josephus takes to be Gerasa: and Gerasa is found in Calosiria by Josephus, Hezesippus, and telim takes them for two Stephanus: but by Ptolomie (whom I rather follow) in Phanicia. The tenth and last, Plinie Cities. nameth Canatha, and so doth Suetonius and Stephanus, which Volaterran calls Gamala, but Higesippus rightly Camala, a City in the Region of Basan over Jordan, so called, because those two Hills on which it is seated, have the shape of a Camell. But the collection of these ten Cities, whereof this Region tooke name, is better gathered out of Brechard, Breidenbach, and Saligniae, which make them to be these; Cafarea Philippi, and Afor, beforeremembred, Cedes, Nephtalim, Sephet, CoraZin, Capharnaum, Bethfaida, Jotapata, Tiberias, and Scythopolis, or Bethsan. For all other Authours disagree herein, and give no reason for their opinion. One place of the Evangelist Saint Matthew makes it manifest, that this Region called Decapolitana, was all that Tract betweene Zidon, and the Sea of Galilee. For thus it is written: And he departed againe from the coasts of Tyrus and Lidon, and came unto the Sea of Galilee, through the middest of the coasts of Decapolis: fo that it was bounded by Damascus and Libanus on the North: by the Phanician Sea, betweene Zidon and Prolomais on the West: by the Hills of Gelbo and Bethsan on the South: and by

t.V. of Hamath.

South, neere the same distance, which may be each way forty English miles.

the Mountaines Tracones, otherwise Hermon, Sanir, and Galaad, on the East: which is

from East to West the whole breadth of the Holy Land: and from the North to the

Que to looke backe againe towards Libanus, there is leated neere the foot thereof the * The sepida D City of * Hammath or Chammath, of which (as they say) the Countrey adjoyning gint write it taketh name: the fame which Josephus calleth Amathitis, and Amathensis: a Jacobus Amath, Hierone Itures Page Page 1987 Leigler, Ituraa. Ituraa Regio tenet borealia tribus Nepthali ger montem Libanum usa; Trachones. The Countrey main: fos. c. 19: v. 35. Chammath, c. 21. v. 32. Chammath, of linea, saich hee, containeth the North parts of the por, in the first of Chrones, 76. Chammath, 2 King. Tribe of Nepthali, along the mount Libanus to Tracho- for further distinction there is added [in livel] to the parts of the post of the containing the said of the longing to said. nes. But herein following Strabo, who calls Trachontis note that it was ofold belonging to Juds, though features, hee mistakes the seate of this Region: and so the other Chamath, being in Syria Sobata a Zeigher in doth Mercator. For indeed were Ituraa (which Hege- Neptal. sppus calls Peraa and G. Tyrius, Baccar) the tame with Traconitis, yet Traconitis it selfe is farre more to the East than Hammath in Nephtalim: for Traconitis lyeth betweene Cafarea Philippi, and the Mountaines Trachones: which the Hebrewes call Gilead: and this b So Hierone Hammath or Chammath is feated under Cafarea, towards the Sea West-ward. And it see in his Commeth that the second among meth that this mistaking grew by confounding Emath or Hamath the great in Calosyria, c.6.v.z. where beyond the Mountaines Trachones, which b Hierome upon Amos calls Antiochia, with there is mendian manually and the state of the state o Hammath or Hamath the leffer in Phanicia, and Nephtalim, which he calleth Epiphania: the great asit for this Hammath, or in our Translation Hamath (and not that which is commonly called feenes for diffination Emath, which 2 Chron. 8. 3. is fet farre from the from the other in Nephthalim, though Matt. Broaddus rejecting North border of Canaan in Syria Soba) is remem.

Hierome, rather follows the opinion of Zeigler above mentioned, bred in Numbers 34. verse 8. and Numbers 13. ver. the seigles and sindeed it cannot easily be justified that either one or other of the is either antiochia or Epiphania, howboic that the same California in the seigles of th Plinie also makes it large, and for the ten Ciries of which it taketh name, he numbers 13. ver. these is either Antiochia or Epiphania, howbeit that the same Cife four of them to be situated towards Arabia: to wit, first these three, Damascus, Opotos, four of them to be situated towards Arabia: to wit, first these three, Damascus, Opotos, four of them to be situated towards Arabia: to wit, first these three, Damascus, Opotos, four of them to be situated towards Arabia: to wit, first these three, Damascus, Opotos, Opotos, four of them to be situated towards Arabia: to wit, first these three, Damascus, Opotos, Opotos

Ff3

The second Booke of the first part CHAP. 7. S.4. + 5.6.

Northborder which begins at the great Sea, they make Moses to namenever a place Eaftward along all the breadth of the holy Land, untill we come to Hermon (for fo they expound Mount Hor, Num.34.7.) and beyond Hermon Eastward in this North fide, they make him to name divers Townes, first Chamath, then Tstada, then Ziphron, and lastly, Chassar-benan, a thing most unlikely: seeing streat had little or nothing Eastward beyond Hermon. Therefore we must needs expound Hor to become of the Hills neere Sidon, and to those Townes, as they are named, to lie in order on the North side of Aster, Nephthalm, and Mato ne moraci on the Portunde of Apper, reponders, and manager those in Ezekiel, firth, Checlon, then Chanath, and so in order, Berotha, Sirraim, Isedad, Chauran, Chatlar-heran. c Of which Jos. 1935. d Which Rehob, or Rechob, in fol. 19 28. is placed in After towards Zidon, in the confines of Nephthalim.

and chamath Jude, as weehave noted, 2 Reg. 24. Secondly, because Numbers 34.8. and also Exchiel 47.10. Chamath in the North fide of the Holy Land, is placed too neare the West corner, to bee that Chamath Isoba: for in the line which should make the to go to Hamath: Then in Ezekiel; The West part also hallbe the great Sea from the border till a man come over against Hamath: that is, the coast of the sea shall be the Well border from the Southermost part of the holy Land, till you come directly over against Hamath Northward: from whence if a line bee drawne to the Sea, it will touch the wals of Zidon. which is the Northwest corner of the holy Land to Now that this Hamath or Hammath, which Mole also made the confine of the holy Land, is that of Nephthalim, both the reference which it hath to the West Sea, and the Citie of d Rehob adjoyning,

prove it: the other Hamath or Emath (being farre removed and beyond the forenamed mountaines, which inclose all those Lands which Israel ever had possession of) is that Emath, which is also called Iturea, witnesse * Stelle and Laicstan; and not that in Neph. talim, where f Jonathas Macchabaus attended the Army of Demetrius, who fledfrom

Laiestan in their him, and removed by night.

For though Traconitis be comprehended within Itures (and therefore it is faid to been finitima Galilea Gentiam) yet it hath beginning over the mountaines Traconis, and foit ftretcheth into the plains of the Territory of Ituras; whence Philip the brother of Hond £ Fof.Ant.13.8. Was Tetrarch or President both of Ituraa and Trachonitis: both which are over Jordan towards the East. But Chemath in Nephtalim, is on the West side of Jordan towards the

The Countrey Iturea was so called of Jethur one of the sonnes of Ismaelzit is placedin the bounds of Calofyria and Arabia * the defart.

The people Iturei were valiant and warlike men, and excellent Archers: Of whom Virgil:

Ituraos Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Of Eugh the Isur aans bowes were made.

This City Chamathor Hamathin Nephtalim feemes to have bin as ancient as theo ther in Itureas, both built by Amatheus the eleventh fon of Canaan. Whether in the time of David, this, or the other had Tobu for King, it is not certain; for Hamath or Emathbeyond the Mountaines , and Hammath in Nephtalim, were both neighbours to Damascuit made war, and of whose subjugation Tobu rejoyced, because Hadadeser, whom the Damasceni cameto whose country helpe, was his enemy. This Tobu fearing the strength and prosperity of David, hearing they possess in helpe, was his enemy. therine of 3.70. of his approach towards his Territory, bought his peace with many rich prefents, and boam, astheir with many ancient vessels of gold, silver, and brasse.

But it feemeth that David in such great successe would not have had peace with Tohi, time of Saulafter if he had beene King of any place in Nephtalim, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in Tibba: which City Salomon after his Fathers death made himselfe Master of, 363 part kies, T.Ch. 5.10. of the lands (* in the larger and conditionall promise) allotted by God to the children of

But this Hammath of Nephtalim, in the end, and after divers mutations and changes * Ofthelarger both of name and fortune, being, as it hath beene faid, possessed by Antiochus Epiphanis, promife exprest it was called Epiphania.

While Saint Hierome lived, it remained a City well peopled, knowne to the Syrianiby the name Amathe, and to the Greekes by Epiphania.

> t. V K Of Reblatha and Rama, and divers other Townes.

N the border of Hamath or Emath towards fordan standeth the Citie Reblatha, or Ribbi I watered from the fountaine Daphnis: which falleth into the lake of Merom. Hereumo

was Zedekias brought prisoner, after his surprize in the fields of Jerico: and delivered to Hierem. 52.113 Nabuchodonofor: who to be avenged of Zedekia's infidelity, beyond the proportion of Exchange. pietic, first caused the Princes his children to be saine in his presence: and to the end that a Or Kedish, this miferable spectacle might be the last that ever he should behold in this world, and so Josephson 10,762132 the most remembred, he commanded both his eyes presently to be thrust out: and bin-item Jud. 4.6. ding him in Iron chaines, he was led a flave to Babylon, in which effate he ended his life. b 1 Chron 6. Of which seldome-exempled calamity, though not in expresse words, Feremy the Pro- 1920 is called phet fore-told him in Hierufalem not long before : But EZekiel thus directly, speaking in Kishion. the person of God; I will bring him to Babel to the Land of the Chaldans, yet shall be not Kedesh in Galilea To fee it, though be shall die therein.

There are besides these before remembred, many other strong Cities in Nephthalim, Joseph as that which is called a Cedes: there are two other of the fame name, one in b [fachar, 0) See in B eride another in Juda, of which Jos. 13.23. and therefore to diftinguish it, it is known by the min, and in E. addition of Nephtalim, as Jud. 4. It is feated on a high hill, whence Jos. 20.7. Kedesh in Other Cities Galileain monte Nephtali : Josephus calls it Cedesis, and in Saint Hieromes time it was cal-therewereof led Cidiffus. Belforeft greatly mistakes this Cedes, and confounds it with Cades in the De-this name, Sart of Pharan.

art of Pharan.

After the King thereof among other of the Canaanites perished by the hand of Josua, it folia) as that in Juda, 2 Kin 14. was made a City of refuge, and given to the Levites. Herein was Barac borne; who o- 15, where forth b verthrew the Armie of the second Jabin of Hazor, at the Mount Tabor. It was somtime King of theren possest by Teglatphalasser, whenhe wasted all Nephtalim: afterward by the Romans, and Amassas field. numbred for one of the ten Cities of the Decapolitan Region: When it had imbraced of which allo the Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate, but in time it fell with the rest understand the into the power of the Saracens and Turkes, and by them it was demolished.

From Cedes some foure Italian miles towards the South-west, standeth Sephet, other-6.14 & 2. Chro. wise Lephet, which was also one of the ten Decapolitan Cities: a place exceeding strong, it seemes was in and for many yeares the inexpugnable Fortresse of the Christians, and afterward of the Dan. 1. Kin. 49. Saracens; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of those regions, both which for 19. In-land and Maritimate, neere it. Touching Rama of Nephralim, feated Northward neere Highernes, b Sepher, this is to be noted, that there are () divers places of this name in Palastine, all sections as trong last. mate on Hills: and therefore called Rama (Rama Hebrais excelsum; Ramath with the He-Jud.1.31. brews whigh.) Also that from this Rama Jof. 19.36, they read Arama, making the article d So it appears brews whigh.) (which it hath in the Hebrew, as being a name of divers Towns) to be a part of the word: of the places, whence casting away the aspiration, they reade Arema. From Sephet towards the West 16-1-32 and they place Bethfemes, of which Jos. 19.38. which defended it self against Nephtalim, Jud. 1 Chr. 6.76. Adichomius 1.33. but paid them tribute. On the other fide of Sephet towards the East was Bethanath, both here and who also kept their Citie from the Nephtalims.

Adjoyning to which standerh Carthan dor Kiriathajim, a Citie of the Levites, not far double name, from the Mountaine out of which the springs of Capharnaum arise, called Mons Christi, a makes two of place by our Saviour often frequented: as also then when calling his Disciples together, Ideny not but he made choise of twelve, which he called and ordained to be his Apostles or Messengers: that there was of which place, or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the Evangelists.

Adjoyning to thefe are Magdalel, a place of strength, and Mefaloth, of which we read ben, of which that it was forced by Bacchides in the time of the & Macchabees : alfo (according to Adri. Johns. chomius) one of the two Berotha's of Nephtalim. For Adrichemius maketh two of this Match-12. name in this Tribe, hone neere Chamath in the North border, of which Ezek. 47.6. ano-Ads 1. ther (upon a weak conjecture out of foseph. ant. 1, 5.6.2.) he therefore placeth in this track f Match. 5.67 neere the waters of Merom: because the Kings that joyned with Jabin against Jos. which g Macon. incamped at the waters of Merom, Jos. 11.5. are by Josephus faid to have incamped at the h Bavathena Citie Berotha in Galilee, not farre from Cedefa superior, which is also in Galilee : all which Agabie deferte : may be true of that Berotha of which Ezek. feeing it is in that Galilee which is called the Junio eadem upper Galilee, or Galilee of the Gentales. The same Adrichomius placeth the Region of civilatum Hada-Berim neer Abela (of which Abela or Abel-beih Mahacah we have spoken already) this he dezen is sam. 8: doth upon a conjecture touching the place 2 Sam: 20.14. where some read Abel & Beth. 8. Jol. 18.29. mahacah, & omnia loca Berim: but the better reading is & omnes Berim, that is, with all the Berai: for Shebah being of Benjamin (in which Tribe also there is a Citie called Berotha or Beeroth) drew the men of that Citie after him.

To the North of Berotha of Nephtalim standeth Sebarim under Libanus, remembred by

* That it doth properly belog to Arabia, the name of Jethur I(maels fonne, whose islue vabia's, may in partgive witnesse. Also the place of the 1 Chron.5.19. confirmes it, where Fethur is named among the Hagarens against whom the Rubenites

Tables of the

holy Land.

fettled in the A-

hisconquest where thecoun-trey is placed at

med for one of the bounds; feecap.7.5.2. Hieron.de Locis Hcbr.

Allroth. Hierorn. Fud.4.Lyr,in Jud.4. Fos.19.37. 1 Reg. 15.20. 2 Reg. 15.29.

Mar. 6.53. * This place of the Macchab. warrants no Galgala or Gilyal in Nepflood of Gilgal in Benjamin or in Manaffe. k This Reccath or Racath Funiss thinkes that it is the famewith

> * Foluat 2.22. a 701 z.bel. 19.

6 70f.z.bel.22.

d The greater

Cana is in the

Tribe of Affer.

701.22.2.Na-

thaniel is faid

to be of Cana in Gadilee. Of

Simonit may

be doubted :

Mat. 10 4.51-

mon Cannites,

which word (Luc 6.)hee

thinketh to be

expounded by

Vulgar hath

for Angelus

Exek. 47. and Aroseth gentium, neere the waters of Merom or Samochonitis, the Citie of Sifara Lievtenant of the Army of the fecond Jabin: from whence not farre off towards the Sea of Galilee, is Edrai, or Edrehi, aftrong Citie: besides many others, wherof I find no particular story of importance: as Ser in Josua c.19.v.35. called Triddim-Tzer, and named for the first of their senced Cities: whence they make two Cities, Asedim and Ser, Then Adama, which they call Edama: also Hion, which they call Ahion, of which in the Bookes of Kings. Then the strong Citie of Cinnereth, after called Genne areth, whence we reade of the Land and Lake of Genne Zareth, the fame Lake which is also called the Sel of Tiberius. In the body of the Land they place Galgala to the South border: of which 1. Mac. 9.2. also divers others, named Jos. 19. as ucuca or Chukkok Horem and Azanoth. taber (which they place towards the East parts) and out of the same place of Josua, Jerzon Lakkum Jepnael, Heleb, and & Raccath; which two last they place neere Cafarea Philippi, To thesethey adde out of Josua, Nekeb, and Adami: for which two Junius readeth Fosts well be under- Adamat, making it no Towne but a Dirch cast by some of Adameth, as it seemes; of at least the custodie of which March or Limit belonging to the Towne. To these out of Num. 34.10. they adde Sephana, which I Sam. 30.21. seemes to be called Sipmoth. As for Tichon and Helon, whereof the former they fetch out of EZek.47.16. and the latter out of Josea 19.33 it may appeare by Junius his Translation, that neither are to be taken for Gities: for the former he readeth Mediana, and for the latter Quercetum. The Citie of 1 Nephthalim, which they make the native place of Tobie, and Naaffon neere unto it, they n Nariban (one of the Vulgar Translation, Tob. 7.7. but in the Greeke Text there is no figne, no. made of the o- ther of the one nor of the other.

polition of letters) of which Karthan wee have noted already, that it is also called Kina-thajim. I In the place, I Reg. 4. it is, which also they bring be letters) of which Karthan wee have noted already, that it is evident by the following Verses: the Tibe of Nepthalim is meant, and not approve that there was a Citic called Nepthalim, as it is evident by the following Verses: the Tibe of Nepthalim is meant, and not approve that there was a Citic called Nepthalim, as it is evident by the following Verses: Citicof that name.

THE TRIBE OF ZABULON.

F Zabulon or Zebulon, another of the fonnes of Jacob by Leasthere were multered at Mount Sinat, 57400 able men, befides women, children, and aged unable m fons : all which dying in the Defarts, there entred the Holy Land of their illes 65000 fit to beare armes: who inhabited that part of Canaan, from Alber to the River Chifon Southward, and from the Sea of Galilee to the Mediterran, East and West.

The Cities within this Tribe which border Afher are Sicaminum on the Sea shore; of which Joseph. Ant. 13.6. 19. Debbaset, of * which Jos. 19. 11. Jekonam or Jokneham (whole King was a flaine by Josua, and the Citie was given to the Levites:) and Gaba, aftercalled the Citie of Horsemen, of a Regiment there garrisond by Herod. Then the City which beareth the name of Zabulon, or the Citie of men, exceeding ancient and magnificen, b burnt to the ground by Ceftius, Lievtenant of the Romane Armie. Adrichomius makes it the birth-Citie of c Elon Judge of Ifrael, because he is called Zabulonita: not marking Caninius reades that in the same place, he is said to be buried at Ajalon.

To the East of this City of Labulon is Cateth, of which Jof. 19.15. on the border of Alba: and beyond it the lefferd Cana of Galike, where Christ converted Water into Wine: the native Citie of Nathaniel, and as it is thought, of Simon Zelotes. Beyond it beginthe Mountaines of Zabulon : and then the Citie of Cethron (in Zeigler, Ghiltron) which defended it selse against Zabulon. Then Bersabe, which standeth in the partition of the upper e The Hebrers Hammethorn, (for which the and nether Galilee, fortified by Josephus against the Romanes. Not farre from hence Standerh Shimron of Meron, whose King was slaine by Josua.

19.13. Then Dothan or Dothain, where Joseph found his brethren feeding their flockes! the same wherein Elizaus besieged by the Syrians, strooke them all blinde.

Beyond it towards the East they imagine Amthar or Amathar: then Remmon of the Levises. The last of the Cities on the North border of Zabulon is Bethsaida, one of the ten Cities of Decapolis, situate on the Galilean Sea, and watered by the springs of Capharnaum, the native Citie of the Apostles, Peter, Andrew, and Philip. Herein Christ did many miracles, but these people being no lesse incredulous than the Capharnaims, and

thers, received the same Curse of threatened Miseries, as, Woe be unto thee Beiblarda

Alongst the West border of Galilee, towards the South from Bethfaida, was the strong Castle of Magdalum, the habitation of Marie Magdalen, not long fince standing.

And beyond it the strong and high seated Citie of Josephia, fortified by Josephia in the Roman Warre: but in the end after a long fiege surprised by Vespasian, who slaughteredmany thousand of the Citizens, and held 1200 prisoners, whereof Fosephus the Histor rian was one.

The last and greatest of the Cities on that * Sea, and the Lake of Genezzareth within The names of Zabulon, was that of Tiberias, from whence afterward the Galilan Sea also changed the chiefe Cities feared name, and was called the Sea of the Citie Tiberias, so named in the honour of Tiberius Ce-about this Sea. far; it was one of the ten Cities, and the Metropolis of the Region Decapolitan, & the grea- or lake, thorous test and last of the lower Galilee. From hence our Saviour called Matthew from the toll which Jordan runneth, were or custome house, to be an Apostle; and neere unto it raised the daughter of fairus from capernaum, death: it was built (as Josephus reports) by Herod the Tetrarch, the brother of Philip, in Taberias, Be h. the beginning of the raigne of Tiberius Cafar, in the most fruitfull part of Galilee; but in a Tarichea, and ground full of Sepulchers: Quum juxta noftras leges (faith he) ad feptem dies impurus ba-they adde cinheatur, qui in talibus locis habitet; Whereas by our law be should be seven dayes held as un-foreimesgave cleane, who inhabited in such a place . by which words, and by the whole place of Josephus name to the o it appeares, that this Tiberias is not (as fome have thought) the fame as the old Cinnereth, Countrie. which was feated, not in Zabulon, but in Nephtaline.

Neere unto this Tiberias, at Emaus, there were hot baths, where Vespasian the Empe-Luc.s. rourencamped against Tiberias. Moreinto the Land toward the South-west is Bethulia, Josephio 15. feated on a very high Hill, and of great strength, famous by the storie of Holofernes and Adunchan Zala Judith fuch as it is. Neere which standerh Bethleem of Zabulon: and adjoyning unto it Capharath, fortified by Fosephus against the Roman's : and Japha an exceeding strong place, John vieses. afterward forced by Titus: who in the entrance, and afterward in furie flew 15000 of the Josep. a. Bel. 25.

Citizens; and carried away above two thousand prisoners. On the South fide are the Cities of Cartha of the Levites, and Gabara, of which fole- Joseph 135.0phus in his owne life, then Jafe according to Adrichomius (of which Jof 19.12.) for hee therwise Killah thinkes that it is not that Japha of which we spake but now out of Josephus. Fideala, of thinkes upon which fol. 19. 15. Hierome Calls it fadela : under it Westward, Legio, (afterward a Bishops Joseph whence r Chro. scate) and the Citie Belma, in ancient times exceeding strong, remembred Judith 7.3. 6.77. it is called otherwise Chelma. Betweene Legio and Nazeret is the Citie Saffa or Saffra, the birth-Thaher. Citie of Zebedaus, Alphaus, James and John: Then Sephoris, or Sephora, according to for willa case Sephus: Sephorum according to Brochard: which afterward, faith Hegesippus and Hierome 20. was called Dioca farea, the Citie of Joachim and Anna, the Parents of the Virgin Mary ; it was called by Herod the Tetrarch, and by him, as Josephus speakes, made the head and Josephan. 183. defence of Galilee : in another place he faith, Urbium Galilearum maxima Sephoris & Ti. & in vita fun. berias. This Sephoris greatly vexed Vefpafian ere he wanne it. Herod Antipas, when he made it the Regall feat of the nether Galilee and furrounded it with a strong wall, called it Autocratorida, which is as much to fay as Imperiall, faith Fofephus; and it is now but a Castle called Zaphet.

To the South-west of this Sephoris or Diocasarea was that blessed place of Nazareth the Citie of Mary the Mother of Christ; in which he himselfe was conceived: it standeth betweene Mount Tabor, and the Mediterran Sea. In this Citie he abode chiefly foure and twenty yeares, and was therefore called a NaTarite, as the Christians afterward were for many yeares. It was erected into an Archbishopricke in the following age. Neere unto it are the Cities Buria (afterward well defended against the Turkes) and Nahalal, of which Jof. 19.15. and Judg. 1.30. where it is called Nahalol: and Jof. 21.35. where it is a Citie of the Levites; neere the Sea, adjoyning to the River of Chifon is Sarid, noted in Hose for the uttermost of Zabulon.

In this Territorie of Zabulon there are divers small Mountaines: but Tabor is the most renowned, by the apparition of Moses and Elias: and by the Transfiguration of Christ in the presence of Peter, James, and John : unto whom Moses and Elias appeared; in memory whereof on the top of the Mountaine, the Empresse Helen built a fumptuous Chappell.

The chiefe River of Zabulen is Chifen, which rifing out of Tabor, runneth with one Areame

Then Damna or Dimna, a Citie of the Levites : then Noa, or rather Neha, of which 10

Anithar, Fof. 19. 13-)Vatablus expounds que gyrat; Junias joynes it with the word going before it,& reades Rimmonema Methoarum, Mai. 8. [1. Mart.1.65

Lieke 4. 10.

ftreame Eastward to the Sea of Galilee, and with another streame Westward into the great Sea. This River of Chison where it riseth, and so farre as it runneth Southward, is called Chedamim or Cadumim: and for mine owne opinion, Itake it to be the same which Prolomie calleth Chorfeus: though others diftinguish them, and set Chorfeus by Cafaria Palestina. There is a second Torrent or Brooke that riseth in the Hills of Bethulia, and falleth into the Sea of Galilee by Magdalum: and the third is a branch of a river rifing out of the Fountaines of Capharnaum, which falleth also into the same Sea, and neere Magdalum; which Torrent they call Dotham, from the name of the Citie, from which it paf-Map in Ortelius. feth Eastward to Bethfaida, and so joyning with Jordanis parans which runneth from the Julies of Johnhard which Johnareck oneth in the bounds of Zahulan; it endeth in the Sal Valley of Jephthael, which Jofus reckoneth in the bounds of Zabulon: it endeth in the Sea of Galilee.

THE TRIBE OF ISACHAR.

He next adjoyning Territory to Zabulon, to the South and Southwest, was the char, who inhabited a part of the nether Galilee, within Jordan : of whomthere were increased in Egypt, as appeared by their musters at Mount Sinai, 54400 able and warlike men, who leaving their bodies with the rest in the Desarts, there entred then

Holy Land, 64300.

The first Citie of this Tribe neere the Sea of Galilee, was Tarichea, distant from The rias eight English miles, or somewhat more; a City wherein the Jewes (by the practice of a certaine mutinous upftart, John the fon of Levi) tooke armes against Josepus the Historian, then Governour of both Galilees. This Citie was first taken by Cassius, and 3000 Jewes carried thence captive; and afterward with great difficultie by Vefpasian, whom tred it by the Sea side, having first beaten the Jewes in a sea-fight upon the Lake or Seasi Galilee: he put to the fword all forts of people, and of all ages; faving that his furiebeng quenched with the Rivers of bloud running through every freet, he referved the remain der for flaves and bond-men-

Next to Tarichea is placed Cession, or Cishion, of the Levites, and then Isachar, remembred in the first of Kings.c.4.v.17. then Abes or Ebets, 70f.19.20. and Remeth, of which Jof. 19.21. otherwise Ramoth, 1 Chron. 6.73. or Jarmuth, Jof. 21.29. this also was a City of the Levites, from whose Territorie the Mountaines of Gilboe take beginning: & range themselves to the Mediterran sea, and towards the West as farre as the Citie of Figure, between which and Ramoth, are the Cities of Bethpheles, or Bethpaffes, according to Zegler; and Enadda, or Hen chadda, neere which Saul flew himselfe : under those, Aphe or Apheca, which Adrichomius placeth in Isachar: betweene which and Suna, he faith, that the Philistims incamped against Ifrael, & afterward against Saul: a Land thirstie of bloud, for herein alfo, faith he, the Syrians with two and thirty Reguli affifting Benhabad, income tered Achab, and were overthrowne and flaughtered : to whom the King of Ifrael made a most memorable answer, when Benbadad vaunted before the victory: which was, Tell Benhadad, Let not him that girdeth his harneis, boaft himfelfe as he that putteth it off: meaning, that glorie followed after victorie, but ought not to precede ir. In the yeare following, in the fields, as they fay, adjoyning to this Citie, was the fame vaine-glorious Syrian utterly broken and discomfitted by Achab: and 100000 footmen of the Aramites or Syrians slaine: before which overthrow the servants and Counsailors of Benhadad (in derifion of the God of Ifrael) told him, That the Gods of Ifrael were Gods of she Mountains: and therefore if they fought with them in the plaines, they should overcome them.

Under Aphec towards the Seathey fet the Citie of Esdrelon, in the plaines of Galilet; called also the great field of Esdrelon, and Maggeddo: in the border whereof are the ruines of Aphec to be seene, faith Brochard, and Breidenbach. After these are the Cities of Calaloth, of which, I Machab. 9.2. Anem or Hen-Gannim of the Levites, and Seefima or Shahatfims, the West border of Isachar, of which Jof. 19.22. From hence ranging the Sea coast, there is found the Castle of Pilgrims: a strong Castle, invironed with the Sea, some time the store-house and Magasine of the Christians, and built by the Earle of S. Giles of

From the Castle of Pilgrims the Sea maketh agreat Bay towards the North, and the farthermost farthermost sliore beginneth Mount Carmel, not farre from the River Chison, where E. linah affembled all the Prophets and Priests of Baal, and prayed King Achab and the people assembled, to make triall whether the God of Israel, or the Idoll of Baal were to be worshipped, by laying a sacrifice without fire on the Altar: which done, the Priests of Real prayed, and cut their owne flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while Elijah inderision told them that their God was either in pursuite of his enemies, not at levfure, or perchance asleepe, &c. but at the prayer of Elijah the fire kindled, not with standing that he had caused the people to east many Vessells of water thereon: by which miracle the people incensed, slew all those Idolaters on the bankes of Chison adjoyning.

At the foot of this Mountaine to the North, standeth Caiphas, built, as they fay, by Caibhas the high Priest. It is also knowne by the name of Porfina and Porphyria, sometime a Suffragane Bishops seate. Returning againe from the Sea-coast towards Tiberias by the bankes of Chison, there are found the City of Hapharaim or Aphraim, and the Castles of Mezra and Saba: of which Brochard and Breidenbach: and then Naim on the River Chison: a beautifull Citie while it stood, in the Gates whereof Christ raised from Lukt.

death the widowes onely fonne.

CHAP.7.5.7.1.1.

Then Seon or Sbion, named Jos. 19. betweene the two Hills of Hermon, in Ifachar : bevond it standeth Endor, famous by reason of the Inchantresse that undertooke to raise up the body of Samuel at the instigation of Saul.

Beyond it stands Anabarath and Rabbith, named Jos. 19.20. Then Dabarath. asitis named, 706.21.28. or Dobratha, as it is named, 1 Chron. 6.71. This Citie (which

ftretcheth it felfe over Chison) was a Citie of refuge belonging to the Levites.

Next to Dabarath is Arbela fituate, neere the Caves of those two Theeves which so *Called came greatly molested Galilee in Herods time. It joyneth on one side to the Mountaine of 1/a. I Macra 1/49. char or Hermon, and on the other to the Valley of Jefrael: which valley continueth it and Harbathe felfe from Bethsan or Scythopolis, the East border of Isachar, even to the Mediterran Sea: 1 Macc, 123, two parts whereof are inclosed by the Mountaines of Gilboe on the South, & by Hermon, 892. and the River Chifon on the North Inthese * plaines Gideon overthrew the Madianites Judg 6. and herein, they thinke, Saul fought against the Philistims, Achab against the Syrians, and King. 15 the Tartars against the Saracens.

6.VII. THE HALFE OF THE TRIBE OF MANASSE.

Of the bounds of this balfe Tribe: and of Scythopolis, Salem, Ther sa, and others.

Henext Tribe which joyneth it felfe to Isachar towards the South, is the halfe of Manasse, on the West fide of Fordan. Manasses was the first begotten of Foseph, the eleventh fon of Jacob. His mother was an Egyptian, the daughter of Putiphar, Priest and Prince of Heliopolis: which Manasses, with his brother Ephraim, the grandchildren of faceb, were by adoption numbred amongst the sonnes of faceb, and made up the number of the twelve Patriarkes.

Of Manasse there were increased in Egypt, as they were numbred at Mount Sinai, 32200 ablemen: all which being confumed in the Defarts, there entred of their iffues, ²⁷⁰⁰ bearing armes. The Territory which fell on this one halfe of Manasse, was bounledby Jordan on the East, and Dora upon the Mediterran Sea on the West, Fefrael on he North, and Machmata is the South border.

The first and principall Citie which stood in this Territorie was Berbsan, sometime If, faith Plinie, built by Liber Pater, in honour of his Nurse there buried, of the same plinte, sait ame, which Solinus confirmes. Afterward when the Soythians invaded Asia the lesse, and piere't into the South, to the uttermost of Calofyria, they built this Citie a-new, and very ragnificent: and it had thereupon the name of Scythopelia, or the Citie of Scythians given

These barbarous Northren people constrained the Jewes to fight against their owner Nation

Fol.21.28.Kithion, which

Tancheain

called Kedefh. Fosia 19. I Sam.4.1. I Sam.3.19. I Kings 20,26. two places Junius makes Aphec in Affer, Fos.19 30.in placeth it in Fuda,out of Fol. 15 .53. 1 Kings 20.

1 Kings 20.23.

7.3. 1 Chron.6.73.

Nation and kindred, by whose hands when they had obtained victory, they themselves fet on the Jewes which ferved them, and flew them all. Stephanus makes it the utmost towards the South of Coelofyria : and Strabo joynes it to Galilee. It is feated between Jordan and the Hills of Gilboe, in aulone ad montes acrabitena, faith Zeigler. But I finde it in the East part of the Valley of Jesrael neere Jordan : after that, Jordan strengtheneth it selfe againe into a River, leaving the Sea or Lake Genezareth Notwithstanding Montanus describes it farre to the West, and towards the Mediterran Sea, neere Endor, contrarieto Stella, Laicstan, Adrichome, and all other the best Authors. This Citie was the greatestof all those of Decapolis: but the children of Manasse could not expell the Inhabitants thereof: and therefore called it Sane, an enemie, or Beth-san, the house of an enemie.

Fidg. 1. Fof. 17. de Bell fact.

Over the walls of this Bethsan the Philistims hung the body of Saul, and his sonnes flaine at Gilboe. It had, while the Christian religion flourished in those parts, an Archbishop, who had nine other Bishops of his Diocesse, numbered by Tyrius, in his 14. Booke and 12. Chapter: but the same was afterward translated to Nazareth. The later travailers in those parts affirme, that there is daily taken out among the rubble and the ruines of that Citie, goodly pillars and other pieces of excellent Marble, which witnesse the stately buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poore and desolate

Hierom.inEpift. ad Evagr. & in

From Bethfan keeping the way by Jordan, they finde an ancient Citie called Salem, which Citie the ancient Rabbines, faith Hierome, do not finde to be the fame with Hieri-, falem: there being in the time of Hierome and fince, a towne of that name, neere Scythopolis before remembred, which if the place of Scripture, Gen. 13-18. doe not confirme, where the Vulgar readeth transsivita; in Salem urbem Sichemorum (for which others reade venit incolumis ad Civitatem Sechemum, making the word Shalem not to be a proper name, but an adjective) yet the place John 3.13. where it is faid, that John was baptizing in Enon neere Salem, may fomewhat strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not unlikely that this Salem of which S. John speaketh, is but contracted of Shahalim, of which in the Tribe of Benjamin, 1 Sam. 9.4. This word Junius maketh to be the plurall of Shuhal: of which we reade, I Sam. 13.17. for as for that which is added out of Canticles 6.12. of Shulammitis, as if it had bin as much as a Woman of this Salem, neere Ænon, it hath no probability.

This City Bezek by the feeneth to have beenein Fuda. Fos.ant.6.c.s.

1 Sam.c.II.

Fof.1.13.6.21.

* This Aner Fanius upon * Chron 6.70 makes to bet fame with which fof.21. 25. Hierome mames it from braham, Gen. 14.13.Jolaa * King. 14.

Not farre from thence where they place Salem, they find Bezech the City of Adonite zec, 3 ofephus calls it Bala: here it was that Saul affembled the strength of Ifrael and Juda to the number of 330000. when he meant to relieve Jabesh Gilead, against Naash the Ammonite: who would give them no other conditions of peace, than to suffer their right eyes to be thrust out. Neere Bezech is the City of Bethbera or rather Beth-bas, of which Judg.7.24. in the storie of Gideon: and then Ephra or Hophra, wherein Gideon it habited: in the border whereof stood an Altar consecrated to Baal, which he pulled downe and defaced; and neere it that stone, on which Abimelech the Bastard slew his 704 brothers; a Heathenish cruelty, practised by the Turke to this day: and not farre hence, betweene the Village of Asophon and Jordan, Ptolomeus Lathurus overthrew Alexando King of the Jewes, and flaughtered, as Josephus numbereth them, 3000. but according to Timagenes 50000. after which victory, as Ptolomie past by the Villages of the Jewes, he flew all their women, and caused the young children to be sod in great Caldrons, that the rest of the Jewes might thereby thinke that the Egyptians were growne to be meneaters and strike them with the greater terror.

Towards the West and on the border of Hachar, they place the Cities of * Antr of the Levites, and Abel-Mehola, which Junius, Judg. 7.22. placeth in Ephraim: it was the ha bitation of Helisaus the Prophet, numbred among those places, 1 Reg. 4-12. which were given in charge to Baana by Salomon, to whose charge also Tahanac belonged, a place of great strength, which at the first refisted Josus, though their King was afterward hanged

and their Citie given to the Levites.

In the body of this Territory of Manasse, but somewhat neerer Jordan than to Mediterran Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, Therfa, whose King was one of those th 30fua flew: which the Kings of Ifrael used for their Regall seate, till such time as Saman was built From hence the wife of Jeroboam went to Achia to enquire of her fons health who knowing her, though the were disguised, told her of her sonnes death.

The second was Thebes neere Samaria, of which name there are both in Egypt,

Greece, of great fame: in the affault of the Tower of this Towne, whereinto the Citizens retired, the Baftard Abimelec was wounded by a waighty stone, throwne by a Woman over the Wall, who despairing of his recovery, commanded his Page to flay him ourright, because it should not be said that he perished by the stroke of a Woman. But others Judg 9 ver 3 702 fet this Citie in Ephraim neere Sichem or Neapolis.

The third is Acrabata, of which the Territory adjoyning is called Acrabatena, (one of the ten Toparchies or Governments in Judea) for which Hierome, I Macc. 5. reades Ara-Hier. Mac. 1. bathena: but in the Greeke it is Acrabatine: Isidore calls it Agrabat. This Citie had one of c.s. the largest Territories of all Palastine belonging to the Governour thereof. Fosephus remembreth it often, as in his fecond Booke of the Jewes Wars, 6.11.25.28. & elsewhere.

The difference betweene a Tetrarchie and a Toparchie, was, that the first was taken for a Province, & the other for a City with some leffer Territory adjoyning; and a Tetrarch is the fame with Prases in Latine, and President in English, being commonly the fourth nart of a Kingdome; and thereof fo called. Plinie nameth feventeene Tetrarchies in Syria: Plin.15. partora Kingdom, and fo hath the Kingdome of Ireland to this day, Lengter, ul-Eugh.in Chron; fer, Connath, and Mounster.

To the South-west of Acrabata they place the Cities of Balaam or Bilham, & Get bremmon of the Levites: but Junius out of for. 21.25. and 1 Chron. 6.70. gathers that thefe two are but one and that Jibleham, Jof. 16.11 is another name of the same Citie.

Then is Jezael a Regall. Citie, set at the foot of the Mountaines of Gilboe, towards the South-west: herein 3ez abel, by a false accusation, caused Naboth to be stoned, to the end the might possessed his Vineyard adjoyning to the Citie, which Naboth refused to fell, because it was his inheritance from his Father.

Joran also was cast unburied into the same field: for which his Mother Jezabel mur-2 King.cap. 33

Toward the Sea from Jezael is the Citic which they call Gaber: in whose ascent as Ahaziah King of Juda fled from Jehu, when he had flaine Joram, he was wounded with the Thor of an arrow, of which wound he died at Maggeddo adjoyning. The Scripture calls 2 King 9 27; this Citie of Gaber, Gur.

Then Adadremmon, neere unto which the good King Folias was flaine by Necho, King of Egypt, in a War unadvisedly undertaken. For Necho marched towards Assyria against the King thereof, by the commandement of God; whom folias thought to relift in his

passage. It was afterward called Maximianopolis.

Aneighbour City to Adadremmon was Maggeddo, often remembred in the Scriptures; Jud. 1. 673 whose King was slaine among the rest by Josua: yet they defended their Citie for a long Joi 12-179 time against Manasse. The River which passeth by the Towne, may perhaps be the same which Ptolomie calleth Chorfeus: & not that of which we have spoken in Zabulon. For becaule this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that have described the holy Land, delineate no fuch River. Moore only fets it down in his Geographie of the twelve tribes:butthe River which passeth by Maggeddo, he understandeth to be but a branch, falling thereinto. Laicstan & Schrot make a great confluence of waters in this place, agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of Judges: Then fought the Kings of Canaan in Tanaac by the waters of Maggeddo. Butthese Authors, and with them Stella, give it no other name than the Torrent fo called.

But seeing that ancient Cosmographers stretch out the bounds of Phanicia, even to Sebaste or Samaria; and Strabo farre beyond it on the Sea-coast: And Fosephus calls Casaria Strab-less. Palastina a Citie of Phanicia, yea Laurentius Corvinus extendeth Phanicia as far as Geza: Nigero feeing also Ptolomie fers down Chorfens for the partition of Phanicia & Judaa, this River running East and West parallel with Samaria: it is very probable that this Torrent called Maggeddo, after the name of the Citie, which it watereth, is the same which Pto. omie in his fourth Table of Asia, calleth Chorseus. The later travailers of the holy Land call Maggeddo Subimbre at this day.

Of Cafaria Palastine, and some other Townes. Rom Maggeddo toward the West, and neere the Mediterran Sea, was that glorious Citie of Cafaria Palastina: first, the Tower of Straton: the same which Plinie calls Apollonia 5

LACT bell.

fact.l.10.c.6.

Apollonia: though Ptolomy fets Apollonia elsewhere, & toward Egypt, betweene this City and Joppe to which Veffagan gave the name of Flavia Colonia. It was by Herod re-built, who therein laboured to exceed all the workes in that part of the world. For besides the edifices, which he reared within the Walls, of cut and polisht marbles, the Theater and Amphitheater, from whence he might looke over the Seas farre away, with the high and stately Towers & Gates: he forced a Harborow of great capacitie, being informer times but an open Bay: and the winde blowing from the Sea, the Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their Cables and Anchors. This worke he performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that hath not bin found in any King. dome, nor in any age: which, because the Materials were fetcht from far, and the waight of the stones was fuch as it exceedeth beliefe, I have added Julephus owne words of this Josephis. c. 13. worke, which are these: Hanc locorum incommoditatem correcturus, circulum portus circumduxit,quantum putaret magua classi recipienda sufficere: & in viginti ulnarum profun. dum, pragrandia saxa demisit : quorum pleraq; pedum quinquaginta longitudinis slatitudinis verò octodesim, altitudine novem-pedali: fuerunt quadam etiam majora, minora alia; 70 mendthis inconvenience of place (faith Josephus) he compast in a Bay wherein a great steel might well ride : and let downe great stones twentie fadome deepe: whereof some were fifty foote long, eighteen foot broad, and nine foote thicke: some bigger, and some lesser. To this he added an arme or cawfie of two hundred footlong, to breake the waves: the rest he streng. thened with a stone wall, with divers stately Towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent he called Drusus, after thename of Drusus the sonne in law of Cusar. in whose honour he intituled the Citie it selfe, Cafaria of Palastine: all which he perfor. med in twelve yeares time. It was the first of the Easterne Cities that received a Bishop:

> Tyrius. S. Hierome nameth Theophilus, Ensebius, Acatius, Euzorus, and Galasius to have beene Bishops thereof. In this Citie was Cornelius the Centurion baptized by Saint Peter: and herein dwelt Philip the Apostle: S. Paul was herein two yeares prisoner, under the Prifident Fælix, unto the time and government of Porcius Festus: by whom making his ap peale, he was fent to Cafar. Here, when Herod Agrippa was passing on to celebrate the Quinquennalia, taking delight to be called a god by his flatterers, he was stricken with

> afterward erected into an Archbishopricke, commanding twentie others under it, sinh

an Angell unto death, faith Josephus. To the North of Cafaria standeth Dera, or Naphoth Dor, as some reade, Jos. 1.2. soal led (faith Adrichomius) because it joyneth to the Sea, whose King was slaine by John But Junius for in Naphoth Dor, reades in tractibus Dor : and fo the Vulgar, in regionism Dor, although 1 Reg. 4.11. for the like speech in the Hebrew it readeth omnis Nephali Dor: The Septuagint in the place of Josus call it Nephith-Dor, and in the other of the Kings, Nepha-Dor: but the true name by other places (as fof. 12.23. Jug. 1.27.) may feeme to be Dor. It was a strong and powerfull Citic, and the fourth in account of thole twelve Principalities or Sitarchies, which Salomon erected. Junius upon Macchab. 15.11. placeth this betweene the Hill Carmel, and the mouth of the River Cherfeus: for fo fome name the River Chorfeus, of which we have spoken already.

Into this Citie, for the firength thereof, Tryphon fled from Antiochus the fonof Demi-Macc.1.13.15. trius, where he was by the same Antiochus besieged with 12000 foot-men, and 8000. Horse: the same perfidious villaine that received 200 talents for the ransome of Fundham Macchabaus (whom he had taken by treacherie) and then flew him : and after him flew his owne Master, usurping for a while the kingdome of Syria. It had also a Bishops search of the Diocesse of Casaria.

From Cafaria towards the South, they place the Cities of Capharnaum, Gabe, and Gal-Gul.Tyr.deBell. gal: for besides that Capharnaum famous in the Evangelists, they finde in these parts need the West Sea, another of the same name. Of Gabe Hierome inlocis Hebraicis. The famous Galgal or Gilgal, was in Benjamin : but this Gilgal, they fay, it was whose King was shim

Then Antipatris, so called of Herod, in honour of his Father : but in the time of the Mac.17. ver.31. Macchabees it was called Caphar falama: in the fields whereof fudas Macchabaus over threw a part of the Armie of Nicanor, Lievtenant to Demetrius : an armie drawn into f deaby a traiterous Jew, called Alcimus: who contended for the Priest-hood, first under Bacchides, and then under Nicanor. To this was S. Paul carried prisoner from Hierufalm conduda

conducted by 470. Souldiers, to defend him from the furie of the Jewes. In after-times the Armie of Godfrey of Bulion attempted it in vaine: yet was it taken by Baldwine. It was honoured in those dayes with a Bishops seare, but it is now a poore Village called Astur. faith Brochard. Neere unto this Citie the Prophet Jonas was three daies preserved in the body of a Whale.

Into the Land, from Antipatris and Cafaria, standeth Narbata, whereof the Territory taketh name: which Ceftius the Romane wasted with fire and sword, because the Jewes which dwelt at Cafaria fled thence, and carried with them the Bookes of Moles, Neere unto it is the Mountaine of Abdia, the Steward of King Achab: wherein he hid an hundred To Prophets, and fed them; after which he himselfe is faid to have obtained from God the Spirit of Propheficalfo.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdome of Phænicia.

The bounds and chiefe Civies, and Founders, and Name of this Kingdome: and of the invention of Letters ascribed to them.

Ecause these five Tribes, of Asser, Nephtalim, Zabulon, Islachar, and the halfe of Manasse, possessing the South part of Anti-libanus I have therefore gathered a briefe of those Kings which have governed therein: at least so many of them as time (which devoureth all things) bath left to posteritie: and that

the rest have perished, it is not strange; seeing so many volumes of excellent learning in so long a race and revolution, and in so many changes of Estates and Conquest of Heathen Princes, have bin torne, cast away, or otherwise confumed.

The limits of this Kingdome, as touching the South parts, are very uncertaine: but all Cosmocraphers doe in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part

of syria, which is called Caffotis, ends: most of them bounding it by orthosia, to the North of Tripolis. Prolomie makes it a little larger, as reaching from the River Eleu-Prolatab. Age. therus, that falls into the Sea at the Hand of Aradus, somewhat to the North of Orthofia, and firetching from thence along it the coast of the Mediterran sea, as farre as the River of Chorfens; which feemes to be that which the Jewes call the Torrent or River of Mageddo. Plinie extends it farther, and comprehends Joppe within it: Corvinus and Budans, Plintibs, c. 161 Joppe and Gaza. Phanicia apud priscos appellata (faith Budaus) que nunc Palestina Syria dicitur; It was called Phanicia of old (faith he) which now is called Palastina of Syria.

Strabo comprehends in this Countrey of Phænicia, all the Sea fide of Judaa, and Palefina, even unto Pelusium, the first Port of Egypt. On the contrary Diodorus Siculus Bude de Aslas. foldeth it up in Calofyria, which he boundethnot. But for my felfe I take amiddle course, and like best of Ptolomies description, who was seldome deceived in his own Art. It had in it these famous Maritimate Cities (besides all those of the Ilands) to wit, Aradus, Orthofia, Tripolis, Botrys, Byblus, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, Ptolomais (Or Acon) Dora, and Cafaria Paleftina: and by reason of the many Ports and goodly Sea-townes, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Eafterne world: and they were absolute Kings of the Mediterran Sea.

The ancient Regall Seate of those Princes was Zidon, built by Zidon the first sonne of Canaan: and the people then fubject to that people were called Zidonians: the fame state continuing even unto Josua's time. For till then it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region; afterward called Phanicia: which Procopius also confirmeth in his lecond Booke of Vandall Warres. But in processe of time the Citie of Tyre adjoyning became the more magnificent: yet according to the Prophet, it was but a daughter of Zidon, E/ay233 and by them first built and peopled.

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But after the death of Moses, and while Josua yet governed Israel, Agenor an Egyptian of Thebes, or a Phoenician bred in Egypt, came thence with his sonnes Cadmus, Phanix, Cyrus, and Cilix, (say Cedrems and Curtius) and built and possess the Cities of Tyre and Cyrus, and Cilix, (say Cedrems and Curtius) and built and possess the Cities of Tyre and Cilix, (say Cedrems and Curtius) and built and possess the Cities of Tyre and Cyrus, and cilix, (so called after the name of his Zidon: to wit, the new Tyrus, and brought into Phanicia (so called after the name of his second sonne) the use of letters: which also Cadmus in his pursuite after his sister Europa, taught the Gracians. For Taurus King of Crete, when he surprised Tyre, had stollen her thence: of which the Poets devised the fable of Jupiters transformation into a Bull, by whom that stealth was also supposed to be made. Pomponius Sabinus makes Belus the fift King of Phanicia, and findes Cadmus his successor, whom he calleth his grand-childe: King of Phanicia, and findes Cadmus his fuccessor, and not Neptune: because the successor Dido held that name alwayes in reverence, making it a part of their own, as Aldrubal, Hannibal: whose memorie Virgil also toucheth in these Verses.

Hic Regina gravem gemmis auroq, poposcit Implevity; mero pateram: quam Belus & omnes A Belo soliti.

The Queene anon commands the waighty bowle (Waightie with precious stones and massie gold) To slow with wine. This Belus us'd of old, And all of Belus Line.

Whether this Belus, were Father or Grand-father to Agenor, the matter is not great. But it feemes to me by comparing of times, that Belus was Ancestor to these Phoenicians, and preceded Agenor. For were Belus, or Jupiter Belus, the sonne of Neptune by Lybia the daughter of Epaphus, or were he the Sonne of Thelegonus, according to Eusebius; yet it is agreed that Gecrops then ruled in Attica: and in the end of Gerops time, saith S. Augustine, Moses lest Egypt: Agenors successor living at once with Josus. Now that Agenor returned about the same time into the Territory of Zidon, I cannot doubt: neither Best I denie, but that he gave that Region the name of Phanicia, in honour of his Sonne. But in stead of the building of Tyre and Zidon, it is probable that he repaired and sortified both: and therefore was called a founder, as Semiramis and Nebuchodonos or were of Babuson.

For beit true that Agenor was of the same Nation, and brought up in Egypt: where learnt the use of letters (Egypt flourishing in all kinde of learning in Moses time) or wet he by Nation an Egyptian, yet it is very likely that either he came to save his owne. Territory; or otherwise to defend the coast of Canaan, from the Israelites: who were by Moses led out of Egypt, to the great loss and dishonour of that Nation: and by some Canadam, by reason of the loss which they received by the hand of God, in the Red Sca, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the flaughter of so many of the Male children at the same time, could not hinder the Hebrews from invading Canaan by Land: which also they knew had so many powerfull Nations to defend it: the Desarts inter-jacent, and the strong Edomites, Moabites, Amorites & Ammonites their borderers: yet Egypt having such Vessels, or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in use: didnotinall probability neglect to Garrison the Sea coast, or a shift Agenor with such forces, as they had to spare; and which they might performe with the greater facilitie, in that the Philistims which held the shores of Canaan, next adjoyning unto them, were their Friends and Consederates.

Now as it appeareth by the course of the storie, those Cities of Phanicia, which Ignor was said to have built (that is, to have fortisted and defended against Josua, and against the Tribes after him, as Zidon, Sor, or Tyre, by Josua called the strong Citie, Accho, after ward Ptolomais, Aczib and Dor) were all that Phanicia had in those dayes.

That the Kings of Phanicia were mighty, especially by Sea, it appeares, first by their defence against Israel: secondly by this, that David & Salomon could not master them, but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but Regult, defended it selfe 13. yeeres against a King of Kings, Nabuchodonosor: and that Alexander the great (who being made victorious by the providence of God, seemed unresistable) spent more time in the recovery of Tyre, than in the conquest of all the Cities in Assault.

Other opinions there are, as that of Berofus out of Josephus, who conceives that Tyre was founded by Tyrus the fon of Japhet. And for the Region it felfe, though Calisthenes derive it ab arbore dattylorum; and the Greekes from the word Phonos, of slaughter, because the Phonoicians slew all that came on their coasts; yet for my selfe I take it that Phanix the son of Agenor gave it that name. But that either Agenor in Phanicia, or Cadmus his son in Greece, were the Inventors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute unnecessary.

The Ethiopians affirme that Allas, Orion, Orpheus, Linus, Hercules, Prometheus, Cadmus, and others, had from them the first light of all those Arts, Sciences and civill Policies, which they afterward profest, and taught others: and that Pythagorus himselse was instructed by the Lybians: to wit, from the South and superiour Egyptians: from whom those which inhabited neerer the out-let of Nilus, as they say, borrowed their Divinitie & Philosophie: and from them the Greekes, then barbarous, received Civilitie. Again, the Phoenicians challenge this invention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the Egyptians at all; neither do they allow that Agenor and his sonnes were Affirms; whence Lucan,

Phænices primi (famæ fi creditur) aufi Mansuram rudibus vocem signare siguris.

Lucan.l. 5 3.

Phanicians first (if fame may credit have)
In rude Characters dar'd our words to grave.

And that Cadmus was the fon of Agenor, and was a Phoenician, and not an Egyptian it appeareth by that aufwer made by Zeno; when he in a kinde of reproach was called a stranger and not a Phoenician:

Si patria est Phanix, quid tum? nam Cadmus & ipse Phanix; cui debet Gracia docta libros:

Athen. 1. Dir

If a *Phanician* borne I am, what then? *Cadmus* was fo: to whom *Greece* owes The Bookes of learned men.

Out of doubt the Phoenicians were very ancient: and from the Records and Chroni- Josephanical cles of Tyre, Josephan the Historian confirmes a great part of his Antiquities. The Thra- Appearm, cians againe subscribe to none of these reports: but affirme constantly, that the great Zamolus shourished among them: when Atlas lived in Mauritania: Nilus and Vulcan in Egypi: and Ochus in Phamicia. Yea, some of the French do not blush to maintaine, that the ancient Gaules taught the Greekes the use of Letters, and other Sciences. And do not weknow that our Bardes and Druides are as ancient as those Gaules, and that they sent their somes hither to be by them instructed in all kinde of learning?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this invention on Moses, the same hath no probabilitie at all, for he lived at such time as Learning and Arts flourished most, both in Egypt, and Asserting and he himselse was brought up in all the learning of the Egyptians, from his infancie.

Buttrue it is, that letters were invented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and before the generall floud: either by Seth or Enos, or by whom else God knowes; from whom all wisedome and understanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath he given the same invention to divers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other; as well in this as in many other knowledges: for even in Mexico, when it was first discovered, there was found written Bookes after the manner of those Hieroglyphieles, anciently used by the Egyptians, and other Nations: and so had those Americans a kinde of Heraldrie; and their Princes differing in Armes and Scutchions, like unto those used by the Kings and Nobilitie of other Nations, Jura naturalia communia & generalia, &c. Natural Lawes are common and suiscons Stretall.

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Chap.27.2.3.

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Hieron.l.I.

cont. Fourn.

§. I I.

of the Kings of Tyre.

Ut what soever remaineth of the story and Kings of Phænicia (the bookes of Zeno, Sachoniatho, Mnaseas, and others of that Nation, being no where found) The fame is to be gathered out of the Scriptures, Josephus, and Theophilus Antio-

Agenor lived at once with Josua, to whom succeeded Phanix, of whom that part of Canaan, and so farre towards the North as Aradus, tooke the name of Phoenicia: what King succeeded Phanix it doth not appeare: but at such time as the Gracians befreged to Troy, Phasis governed Phoenicia.

In Hieremies time, and while Jehojakim ruled in Juda, the Tyrians had a King apart: for Hieremie speaketh of the Kings of Zidon, of Tyre, of Edom, &c. as of severall Kings.

In Xerxes time, and when he prepared that incredible Armie wherewith he invaded Greece, Tetramness us ruled that part of Phoenicia, about Tyre, and Zidon: who commanded, as some writers affirme, Xerxes fleete, or rather, as I suppose, those 300. Gallies, which himfelfe brought to his aide: for at this time it feemeth, that the Phoenicians were Tilbutaries to the Persian: for being broken into Reguli, and pettie Kings in Hieremies time, they were subjected by NabuchodonoZor; of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, Hieremie prophecied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded Tetramnestus, remembred by D. Siculus

in his 14. Booke.

Strato, his successor, and King of Zidon, Alexander Macedon threw out, because of his dependancie upon Darius, & that his Predecessors had served the East Empire against the Grecians. But divers Kings, of whom there is no memorie, came betweene Tennes and Strato. For there were confumed 130. yeares and somewhat more betweene Xerxes and Alexander Macedon. And this man was by Alexander esteemed the more unworthy of restitution, because (faith Curtius) he rather submitted himselfe by the instigntion of his, Subjects (who forefaw their utter ruine by refiftance) than that he had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the Macedonians.

Athen. 1.12.6.13.

Of this Strate, Athenaus out of Theopempus reporteth, that he was a man of ill living and most voluptuous; also that he appointed certaine games and prizes for Women-dan cers, and fingers, whom he to this end chiefly invited, and affembled : that having behelf the most beautifull and lively among them, he might recover them for his owne use and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one Strate King of these coasts, & Hierome and others make mention: who having heard that the Persians were neere him with an Armie too waighty for his strength, and finding that he was to hope for line grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the Egyptians, in determining to kill himselfe, but fainting in the execution, his wife being present, wrested the fword out of his hand and flew him which done, shee also therewith pierced har p owne body, and died.

After Alexander was possest of Zidon, and the other Strate driven thence, He gave the Kingdome to Hephastion, to dispose of: who having received great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompense him therewith; and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this Citizen no lesse vertuous than rich, desired Hephastion that this Honour might be conferred on some one of the bloud and race of their ancient Kings: and presented unto him Balonymus, whom Curtius calls Abdolominus, Justine, Abdolomius, and Plutarch, Alynomus : who at the very houre that he was called to this regall Estate, was with his own hands working in his Garden, setting hearbs and rootes, for his reliefe and sustenance: though otherwise a wise man and excee-s

ding just.

These were the ancient Kings of Zidon: whose estate being afterward changed into Popular or Aristocraticall: and by times and turnes fubjected to the Emperours of the East: there remaineth no farther memorie of them, than that which is formerly delivered

in the Tribe of Affer. The Kings of Tyre, who they were before Samuels time, it doth not appeare: 3060phs the Hiftorian, as is faid, had many things wherewith he garnished his Antiquitie from the Tyrian Chronicles: and out of Tosephus, and Theophilus Antiochenus, there may be gathered a descent of some twenty Kings of the Tyrians; but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of Menander Ephesius, do in no fort agree in the times of their raignes, nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the first King of the Tyrians, that Josephus & Theophilus remember, whom Theophilus calls Abemalus: the fame perchance that the fonne of Sirach mentioneth in Capado

his fourtie and fixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the Tyrians.

To this Abibalus, Suron succeeded, if he be not one and the same with Abibalus. David

To this Abibalus, Suron succeeded, if he be not one and the same with Abibalus. David

Prop. Evang. I. (faith Eusebius out of Eupolemus) constrained this Suron to pay him Tribute, of whom Prep.

allo David complaineth, Pfal. 8 2. Hiram succeeded Suron, whom Josephus calls Irom, and Theophilus sometime Hieronimus, sometimes Hieromus, but Tatian and Zonaras, Chiram. He entred into a league with David, and fent him Cedars, with Masons and Carpenters, to performe his buildings in Hierusalem, after he had beaten thence the Jebusites. The same was he that so greatly asfifted Salomon: whom he not only furnished with Cedars, and other Materials towards the raifing of the Temple, and with great fummes of money, but also he joyned with him in his enterprize of the East India, and of Ophir: and furnished Salomon with Mariners and Pilots: the Tyrians being of all Nations the most excellent Navigators: and lent

him 120. talents of gold. Of this Hiram, there is not only mention in divers places of 2 Sam 5.8c. Scripture, but in Tofephies in his Antiquities the 7. & 8. chap. 2. & 3. in Theophilus his third 2 Sames. to booke, in Tatianus his Oration against the Greekes : and in Zonaras, Tome the first. This i Chron.14. Prince seemed to be very mighty and magnificent, he despised the 20. Townes which \$4.2 Chron. 2.89. lumon offered him: he defended himselfe against that victorious King David: and gave

his daughter in marriage to Salomon, called the Zidonian: for whose fake he was contentedto worship Astaroth, the Idoll of the Phoenicians. Hiram lived 53. yeares.

Baleastartus whom Theoph. Antiochemus calleth Bazorus, succeeded Hiram, King of Theoph. T. Tyre and Zidon, and reigned 7. yeares, according to fofephus.

Abdastartus the eldest fon of Baleastartus, governed 9. yeares, and lived but 20. yeares. according to Fosephus: but after Theophilus he reigned 12. yeares, and lived 54. who being flaincby the foure sonnes of his owne Nurse, the eldest of them held the kingdome 12.

Aftartus brother to Abdastartus recovered the Kingdome from this Usurper, and reig-

after Theophilus, a third brother, followed Aftarius, and ruled Josephises. 9. yeares, and lived in all 54.

Phelles the fourth fon of Baleastartus, and brother to the three former Kings, slew Asta-Thomps.

rimus, and reigned 8 moneths, and lived 50 yeares.

Ithobalus (or Juthobalus, in Theophilus) fon to the third brother Aftari mus, who was the chiefe Priest of the Goddesse Astarta, which was a dignity next unto the King, revenged the death of his father, and flaughtered his Unckle Phelles: and reigned 32. yeares; the Foliables. o fame which in the first of Kings, chap. 16. is called Ethbaal, whose daughter Jezabel, Achab married.

Bade for or Bazer the fon of Ithobalus or Ethbaal, brother to Jezahel, succeeded his a King 16.31. Father, and reigned 6. yeares, and lived in all 45.

Mettimus succeeded Bade Zor, and reigned but 9. yeares (faith Fosephus) he had two fosephos

fons, Pygmalion and Barca, and two daughters, Elifa and Anna.

Pygmalion reigned after Mettimus his Father 40-yeares, and lived 56. In the seventh yeare of whose reigne, Elisa sailed into Africa, and built Carthage, 143. yeares and 8. moneths after the Temple of Salomon: which by our accompt was 289. yeares after Troy was taken, and 143. before Rome: and therefore that fiction by Virgil of Eneas and Dido must be farre out of square. For Pygmalion covetous of Sicheus his riches, who had married his fifter Elifa, flew him trayteroufly as he accompanied him in hunting : or if we beleeve Justine and Virgil, at the Altar: whereupon Elifa fearing to be despoiled of her Justila. husbands treasure, fled by Sea into Africa, as aforesaid: whom when Pygmalion prepared to purfue, he was by his mothers teares, and by threats from the oracle arrested. Barca accompanied his fifter, and affifted her, in the crection of Carthage: and from him fprane that noble Family of the Barca in Africa, of which race descended many famous Captaines, and the great Hanniball. Servius interprets this name of Dido by Virago, because of erman-like acts: others from Pedidia, a furname of Salomon.

Eluleus

Eluleus succeeded Pygmalion, and reigned 36. yeares: the same that overthrew the fleet of Salmana flar, in the Port of Tyre: notwith standing which he continued his siege before it on the Land fide five yeares, but in vaine.

After Eluleus, Ethobales governed the Tyrians, who vaunted himselfe to be as wise as Daniel : and that he knew all fecrets (faith Ezekiel) of whom the Prophet writethat large in his 28. Chapter : out of whom it was gathered, that this Prince dyed, or was flaine in that long siege of Nabuchodonosor: who surrounded and attempted Tyre 13.

veares together, ere he prevailed.

Baal followed Ethobales, and reigned 10. yeares a tributary, perchance, to Nabuchodonofor . for after his death, it was governed by divers Judges, succeeding each other: First. 10 by Ecnibalus, then by Chelbis, Abarus the Priest, Mittonus, and Gerastus, who heldit among them some 7. yeares, and odde months: after whom Balatorus commanded therein as a King for one yeare : after him Merbalus fent from Babylon,4. yeares : after him Iron fent thence also, 20. yeares. In the 17. of whose raigne Cyrus began to governe Persia.

Of Bozius his conceit, that the Edumaans inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phanisis the knowledge of the true God.

F the great mutations of this Kingdome and State of the Tyrians, mixed with discourse of divers other Nations, there is one Bozius that hath written a Trick at large, intituled de ruinis Gentium. And although the great and many alteratons found in this and other Cities, yea, in all things under heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance who onely is unchangeable, and the fame for ever; yet whereas the fam Bozius, inforcing heere-hence, that the prosperity and ruine of the Tyrians were fruits of their embracing or forfaking the true Religion; to prove this his affertion, supposed the Tyrians to have bin Edumæans, descended from Elau, Jacobs brother: first, it can hardly be believed that Tyre, when it flourished most in her ancient glory, was in any forttruly devout and religious. But to this end (befides the proofe which the Scripturs give of Hirams good affection when Salomon built the Temple) he brings many conjectu rall arguments; whereof the strongest is their petigree and descent: it being likely in his opinion, that the posterity of Esan received from him by Tradition the Religion of Abraham and Isaac. That the Tyrians were Edumæans, he endevours to shew, partly by weake reasons, painefully strained from some affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than waight : partly by authority. For Strabo, Herodotus, Pliny, and others witnesse, that the Tyrians came from the red Sea, in which there were three Ilands, called Tyrus, Aradus, and Sidon: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards given w the Cities of Phanicia. Confidering therefore that all the coast of the Red Sea, was (in his opinion) under the Edumæans: as Elab and Efiongaber; or under the Amalekites, who descended of Amales the Nephew of Esau, whose chiefe City was Madian, so called of Madian the son of Abraham by Cethura, whose posterity did people it: the conse quence appeares good (as he takes it) that the Tyrians originally were Edomites diffe ring little or nothing in Religion from the children of Ifrael. Hereunto he addes, that Cadmus and his Companions brought not into Greece the worship of Astartis, the Idoll of the Sidonians. That the Parents of Thales and Pherecydes being Phænicians, themfelves differed much in their Philosophy from the Idolatrous customes of the Greekes, That in Teman, a Towne of the Edumæans, was an University, wherein as may appeare by Eliphas the Temanite, who disputed with Job, Religion was fincerely taught.

Such is the discourse of Bezins, who labouring to proove one Paradoxe by another, deserves in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the Tyrians were Edumæans, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were Edumæans at all. In what Religion Esas brought up h children, it is no where found written; but that himselfe was a prophane man, and different that himselfe was a prophane man with the prophane man was a prophane was a propha vowed by God, the Scriptures in plaine termes expresse. That his posterity were Idola ters, is directly proved in the 25. Chapter of the second booke of Chronicles. That the Edornites were perpetuallenemies to the house of Ifrael, save only when David & some of his race, Kings of Inda, held them in Subjection, who knowes not : or who is igno-

rant of Davids unfriendly behaviour amongst them, when first they were subdued : Surely it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance betweene Tyrus and Mount Seir. that Hiram held fuch good correspondence with David; even then when Joah slew all the males of Edom: neither was it for their devotion to God, and good affection to Is rael, that the Edomites were fo ill intreated. It feemeth that the piety and ancient wifedome of Elipha? the Themanite was then forgotten, and the Edumeans punished, for being fuch as David in his owne dayes found them. Although indeed the Citie of Teman whence Elipha Z came to reason with Job, is not that in Edumas, but another of the same name, lying East from the Sea of Galilee, and adjoyning to Hus, the country of 30b: and to Such the Citie of Bildad the Suhite; as both such Chorographers who best knew those parts, do plainly shew, and the holy Text maketh manifest. For 706 is faid to have exceeded in riches, and Salomon in wisedome, all the people of the East; not the inhabitants of Mount Seir, which lay due South from Palestina. True it is that Elipha the sonne of Elau had a fon called Teman: but that Fathers were wont in those dayes to take name of their fonnes, I no where finde. And Ifmael also had a fon called Thema: of whom it is not unlike, that Theman in the East had the name: for as much as in the 7. Chap. of the booke of Judges, the Midianites, Amalekites, & all they of the East are called Ismaelites. And he that well confiders how great and strong a Nation Amalec was, which durst give battaile to the Host of Ifrael, wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly beleeve that fuch apeople were descended from one of Esau his grand-children. For how powerfull and number lefte must the forces of all Edom have bin: if one Tribe of them, yea, one Family of a Tribe had bin fo great : furely Mount Seir and all the Regions adjoyning could not have held them. But we no where finde that Edom had to do with Amalec, or assisted the Amalekites, when Saul went to roote them out. For Amalec is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of Edom: but a Nation of it selfe, if distinct from the Isinaelites. The like may be faid of Midian, that the Founder thereof being fon to Abraham by Cethura, doubtleffe was no Edomite. And thus much in generall for all the Seigniory of the Red-sea coast, which Bozius imagines the Edumeans to have held: if the Edomites in after-times held fome places, as Elan and Esiongaber on the Red Sea shore, vet in Moles time, which was long after the building of Tyre, they held them not. For Moles himselfe faith that I frael did compasse all the borders of Edom: within which limits had Midian flood, Moles must needs have known it : because he had so journed long in that Country : and there had left his wife and children, when he went into Egypt.

But conjectural! Arguments, how probable foever, are needleffe in fo manifest a case. For in the 83. P(al. Edom, Amalec, and Tyre, are named as diffinet Nations: yea the Tyrians and Sidonians being one people, as all good Authours shew, and Bozius himselfe confesseth, were Canaanites, as appeares, Gen.c.10.v.15.6 19. appointed by Cod to have bin destroyed, and their Lands given to the children of Affer, 70f. 29. because they were Idolaters, and of the curfed feed of Canaan, not Coufins to Ifrael, nor professors of the same Religion. For though Hiram said, Bleffed bee God that hath fent King David a wifesome: we cannot inferre that he was of Davids Religion. The Turke hath faid as muchof Christian Princes, his confederates. Certaine it is, that the Sidonians then wor-

shipped Astaroth; and drew Salomon also to the same Idolatry.

Whereas Hiram ayded Salomon in building the Temple, he did it for his owne ends, receiving therefore of Salemon great provision of Corne, and Oyle, and the offer of 20. Townes and Villages in Galilee. And if we rightly confider things, it will appeare that Hiramin all points, dealt Merchant-like with Salomon. He allowed him Timber, with which Libanus was, and yet is over-peftered, being otherwise apt to yeeld filkes: as the Undarine filkes which come from thence, and other good commodities. For Corne & Oyle, which he wanted, he gave that which he could well spare to Salomon. Also Gold for Land: wherein Salomon was the wifer; who having got the gold first, gave to Hirane the worst Villages that he had: with which the Tyrian was ill pleased. But it was a neceslary policy which inforced Tyrus to hold league with Ifrael. For David had subdued Moab, Ammon, Edom, the Aramites, and a great part of Arabia, even to Euphrates : thotough which Countries the Tyrians were wont to carry and re-carrie their Wares on Camels, to their fleets on the Red Sea, and backe againe to Tyrus: fothat Salomon being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to passe, could have cut off their

Boz de ruin. Gent l.5.6.7 :

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CHAP.9.5.1.

But the Ifraelites were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to share with the Tyrians in their adventures. Yet Salomon, as Lord of the Sea-townes which his Father had taken from the Philistims, might have greatly distressed the Tyrians, & perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which Hiramknowing, was glad (and no marvaile) that Salomon rather meant as a man of peace to employ his Fathers treasure in magnificent works, than inpurfuing the conquest of all Syria. Therefore he willingly ay ded him, and sent him cunning workmen, to encrease his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and infirm ments of pleafure.

As these passages betweene Salomen and Hiram, are no strong Arguments of pieticin the Tyrians: fo those other proofes which Bozins frames negatively upon particular examples are very weake. For what the Religion of Cadmus was, Ithinke, no man knowes. It feemes to me, that having more cunning than the Greekes, and being very ambitious, he would faine have purchased divine honours: which his Daughters, Nephwes, and others of his house obtained, but his owne many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. Thales and Pherecydes are but fingle examples : Every falvage Nation hath some wisedome excelleth the Vulgar, even of civill people. Neither didthe morall wisedome of these men expresse any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the gods of Greece: whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to fay, that Cadmus and Thales being Tyrians, are not knowne to have taught Idolatry, therefore the Tyrians were not Idolaters. But this is 10 of force, That Carthage, urica, Leptis, Cadil, and all Colonies of the Tyrians (of which Ithinke, the Ilands before mentioned in the Red Sea to have beene, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, even from their first beginnings: therforethe Tyrians who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatry from Salomons time on-wards is acknowledged by Bolius, who would have us thinke them to have beene formerly a strange kind of devout Edomites. In which fancie he is so peremptory, that he styleth men of contrary opinion, Impios politicos, as if it were impiety to thinke that God (who even among the Heathen, which have not knowne his name, doth favour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded morall honesty, with temporall happinesse. Doubtlesse, this doctrine of Bozius would better have agreed with Julian the Apollata, than with Cyril. For if the Allyrians, Greeks, Remanes, and all those Nations of the Gentiles, did then prosper most, when they drew neerest unto the true Religion: what may be said of the soule Idolatry which grewin Rome as fast as Rome it felfe grew: and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost upon every new victory : How few great battailes did the Romanes win, in which they vowed not either a Temple to some new god, or some new honour to one of their old gods ? yea, what one Nation, fave onely that of the Jewes, was subdued by them, whole gods they did not afterward entertaine in their City ? Only the true God, which was the God of the Jewes, they rejected, upbraiding the Jewes with him, as if he were unworthy of the Romane Majesty : shall we hereupon enforce the lewd & foolish conclusion which to Heathen writers used against the Christians in the Primitive Church: That such Idolary had caused the Citie of Rome to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations did also bring with it the decay of the Empire ? It might well be thought fo, if prosperitiewere a figne or effect of true Religion. Such is the blinde zeale of Bozins, who writing against those whom he falfely termes impious, gives strength to such as are impious indeed. But fuch indifcretion is usually found among men of his humour; who having once either foolishly embraced the dreames of others, or vainely fashioned in their owne braines any strange Chimera's of Divinity, condemne all fuch in the pride of their zeale, as Atheists & Infidels, that are not transported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pitie it is, that fuch mad dogges are oftentimes incouraged by those, who having the command of many i tongues, when they themselves cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him fecretly by the malicious vertue of an Hypocrite.

CHAP. IX

Of the Tribe of Ephraim, and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whose head was Ephraim.

§. I.
Of the memorable places in the Tribe of Ephraim.

Aving now past over Phanicia, we come to the next Territotic adjoyning: which is that of Ephraim: sometimes taken per excellentiam for the whole Pfal 59.78. Kingdome of the ten Tribes. Ephraim was the fecond sonne of Toseph, 108. Paras, whose issues when they left Egypt were in number 45000 all which dying in the Defarts, (Josus excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their chil-

drengrowne to be able men, 32500. who fate downe on the West side of Jordan, beo tweene Manasse, and Benjamin: who bounded Ephraim by the North and South; as

Fordan, and the Mediterran Sea, did by the East and West.

The first and chiefe Citie which Ephraim had, was Samaria, the Metropolis of the Kingdome of Ifrael, built by Amris or Homri King thereof, and feated on the toppe of the Mountaine Somron, which overlooketh all the bottome, & as farre as the Sea-coast. It wasafterward called Sebaste, or Augusta, in honour of August. Cafar. This Citie is often remembred in the Scriptures: & magnificent it was in the first building; for as Brochard. observeth, the ruines which yet remaine, and which Breehard found greater than those of Hierusalem, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood upright : for to this day there are found great store of goodly Marble pillars, with other hewne and carved oftone in great aboundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the fonnes of Hireanus the high Priest: restored and built by the first Herod the sonne of Anipater: who to flatter Casar called it Sebaste. Herein were the Prophets Helisans and Abdias buried: and so was John Baptist. It now hath nothingbut a few Cottages filled with Grecian Monkes.

Neere Samaria towards the South, is the Hill of Bethel, & a towne of that name : on the top of which Mountaine, Jeroboam erected one of his golden Calves, to be worshipped: with which he feduced the Ifraelites.

In fight of this Mountaine of Bethel, was that ancient Citie of Sichem; after the restau-sichar. Joh. 4.5. ration called Neapolis, now Pelofa, and Napolafa: It was destroyed by Simeon and Levi, Maborthan inrevenge of the ravishment of their fifter Dina: and after that by Abimelec evened with Josepharaman, the foyle. Jeroboam raised it up againe : and the Damascens a third time cast it downe.

Under Sichem toward the Sea standeth Pharaton or Pirhathon, on the Mountaine Ama- Judgarias leathe Citie of Abdon Judge of Ifrael. And under it Bethoron of the Levites, built as it is 2 King. 13. faid by Sara, the daughter of Ephraim. Neere to this Citie Judas Macchabaus overthrew Sermand Lyfias, Lievtenants to Antiochus. This Citic had Salomon formerly repaired and

Betweene Bethoron and the Sea, standeth Samir, of which Jos. 10. and Saron, whose King was flaine by Josua: it is also mentioned Acts 9.35. and of this Saron the Valley ta- Josean 18. kethname, which beginning at Cafarea Palastina, extendeth it selfe alongst the coast as farre as Joppe, faith Adrichome: though indeed the name Sarona is not particularly given to this Valley, but to every fruitfull plaine Region; for not only this Valley is fo called, to wit, betweene Cafarea and Joppe, but that also betweene the Mountaine Tabor and the Sea of Galilee: for fo S. Hierome upon the five and thirtieth Chapter of Efay, interprets the word Saron: and so doth the same Father in his Commentaries upon Abdia, read Saron for Assaron: understanding thereby a Plaine neere Lidda: which Lidda inhistime was called Diospolis, or the City of Jupiter, one of the Loparcones or Juana, the Ad. 6.

fift in dignitic (or the third after Pling) where S. Peter (non sua, sed Christi virtute) cullucas;

ted Anews. Niger calls all that Region from Anti-libanus to Joppe, Sarona. This Joppe Niger com. 4.

Was also solved after solved after solved and solved after solved after solved and solved after solved after solved after solved after solved and solved after solved after solved after solved after solved after solved and solved after s inhistime was called Diospolis, or the City of Jupiter, one of the Toparchies of Judaa, the Ac. 6.

CHAP

was burnt to the ground by the Romanes, those Ravens and spoylers of all Estates, disturbers of Common-weales, usurpers of other Princes Kingdomes; who with no other respect led than to amplifie their owne glory, troubled the whole world: and themseves, after murthering one another, became a prey to the most salvage and barbarous Nati-

Of this Saint George fee moreabove in this 2 booke. C.7.5.3.1.5.

Z.22.6.11.

In Diospolis (faith Wil. of Tyre) was S. George beheaded, and buried : in whose honour and memory Justinian the Emperour caused a faire Church to be built over his Tombe, these be Tyrius his words : Relieta à dextris lecis maritimis Antipatride, & foppe, per laie patentem planitiem Elu:heriam pertranseuntes, Liddam quæ est Diospolis, ubi & egregii Martyris Georgii nique hodie Sepulchrum oftenditur, pervenerum, ejus Ecclesiam quum ad 10 honorem ejuschem Martyris, pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum, Augustus Justinianus multo studio & devotione prompta adificari praceperat, &c. They having left (faithhe) on the right hand, the Sea Townes Antipatris, and Joppe, passing over the great open plaine of Elutheria, came to Lidda, which is Diospolis: where the sumptuous Tombe of the famous Martyr S. George is at this day [hewed; whose Church, when the Godly and Orthodox Prince of the Romanes, High and Mighty Justinian, had commanded to be built, with great earnestnesse and present devotion, Ge. Thus farre Tyrius: by whose testimonie, we may conjecture that this S. George was not that Arrian Bishop of Alexandria; but rather some better Christian: for this of Alexandria was flaine there in an uprore of the people, and his ashes cast into the Sea, as Ammianus Marcellinus reports. And yet also it may be, that to this Georgius was a better Christian, than he is commonly thought: for his words of the Temple of Genius, How long shall this Sepulchre stand? occasioned the uprore of the people against him: as fearing lest he would give attempt to overthrow that beautifull Temple. This also Marcellinus reports; who though he fay that this Georgius was also deadly hated of the Christians, who else might have rescued him : yet he addeth, that his alles, with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, lest if their Reliques had bin gathered up, Churches should be built for them, as for others. But for my part, Inther thinke that it was not Georgius, whose name lives in the right honorable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom Tyrins above cited, witneffether have bin buried at Lidda or Diospolis. The same also is confirmed by Vitrias . S. Hierome affirmes that it was sometime called Tigrida, and while the Christians inhabited the Holy Land, it had a Bishop Suffragan.

Salig. Tom. 6.

Neere to Lidda or Diospolis standeth Ramatha of the Levites, or Aramathia: afterward Rama, and Ramula, the native Citic of fofeph, which buried the body of Christ. Therease Tribeof Ben : many places which beare this name of Rama; one they fet in the Tribe of Judaneer Jamin cap. 12. Thecus in the way of Hebron; another in Nephtalim, not farre from Sephet; a third in Zabulon, which they fay, adjoyneth to Sephoris; a fourth, which they make the fame with Silo; and a fift, which is this Rama, in the Hils of Ephraim, called Rama-Sophim, where x Sam 25.v.s. Samuel lived, and wherein he is buried.

From hence to the North alongst the coast are Helon, or Ajalon of the Levites, of the which I Chron. 6. Apollonia, of which Josephus in his Antiquities, and in the warres of the Jewes . Also Balfalifa (for which Junius, 2. Reg. 4.42 reades planities Shalista) they place hereabout in this Tribe of Ephraim; but Junius upon 1. Sam. 6. where we reade of the Land of Shalisha, findeth it in Benjamin.

On the other fide of the Mountaines of Ephraim standeth Gosna, one of the Topachies or Cities of government, the second in dignity, of which the Country about it

taketh name. Judg 2.9 It is called Thim-

Then Thamnath-farah, or according to the Hebrew, Thimnath-Serach: one also of the ten Toparchies or Prasidencies of Judaa, which they call Thamnitica; a goodly City and Itrong, seated on one of the high Hils of Ephraim; on the North of the hill called Gatis which City and Territoty, If act gave unto their Leader Tofaa; who also amplified with buildings, neere which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in S. Hieromes time, and over it the Sunne engraven, in memory of that greatest of wonders which God wrought in Fosua's time.

Hieron in locis Hebr.

nath Chores.

Jof 9.50.

In the places adjoying standeth Adarfa, or Adafa; where Judas Maccabæus with 3000 Jewes overthrew the Army of Nicanor, Lievtenant of Syria, neere to Gafer or Gege which fofur tooke, and hung their King; a Citie of the Levies. It was afterward taken by Pharaok of Egypt; the people all flaine, and the Citie razed; Salomon rebuilt it.

To the East of this place is the Frontier City of Jesleti, of which Jos 16.3. otherwise Pelethi, whence David had part of his Prætorian Souldiers, under the charge of Benaia. Then that high and famous Mountaine and City of Silo, whereon the Arke of God was kept fo many years, till the Philiftims got it.

To this they joyn the City of Machmas, or Michmas: in which Jonathan Macchaba-Seein Benjamin winhabited, a place often remembred in the Scriptures. It standeth in the common way 1 Mac 9.ult. Kinc.4.and from Samaria towards Hierufalem: and is now called Byra.

Then the Village of Naioth where Sand prophecied; and neere it Ephron, one of those Jamin. Ciries which Abijah recovered from Jeroboam; after the great overthrow given him. Then Kimbtfaim, of the Levites, of which Jof. 21.22 which Junius thinks to be the fame with Jokmeham, of which 1 Chro. 6.28. As for Absaloms Baalasor, which they find hereabout, Junius reads it in the Plaine of Chatzor; and findes it in the Tribe of Juda; as Jos. 15.we reade of two Chatzors in that Tribe 5 one neere Kedesh, v.23. and the other the

Inthis Tribe also they finde the City of Mello; whose Citizens, they say, joyned with the Sichemites in making the Baftard Abimelee King : adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, Salomon raised a Tribute upon the people. But it seemes that Judy 6.820, Mello or Millo is a common name of a strong Fort or Cittadell: and so Junius for domus 1 Reg. 11.27. Millo, reades incola munitionis, and for Salomo adificabit Millo, he reades adificabat muni- Vatablus exto tionem, and so the Septingint reade the whom in that place. And without doubt the Millo this place louin which Salomon built; cannot be that of Sichem, but another in Hierufalem.

which balomon built; cannot be that or sichem, but another in Hieruralem.

The other Cities of marke in Ephraim, are Taphuach, whose King was slain by Josua; rosolymiums arts and Janoach or Janoah, spoyled by Teglasphalasjar, Pekah then governing Israel; with di-1fraelitis. ver others; but of no great fame. The Mountaines of Ephraim fometime fignific the 2 Kin. 15.29. greatest part of the land of the sons of Joseph, on the West of Jordan: severall parts wher- Also the Hill of arethe Hill of Samiron or Samaria, 1 Reg. 16.24. * the Hill of Gahas, Jud. 2.9. the hill of Phinas, of Talmon or Salmon, Jud. 9.48. the Hils of the Region of Tauph or Thophim, Ju. 9.5. where Eleazar the high Priest where Rama-Tfophim stood, which was the City of Samuel.

The great plenty of fruitfull Vines upon the fides of the Mountaines, was the occasion was buried, John that Jacob in the spirit of Prophecy, Gen. 49.22 compared Josephs two branches, Ephra- and the two im and Manaffe; to the branches of a fruitfull Vine planted by the Wel fide, and spreading tops of tills, her a Daughter-branches along the Wall: which Allegory also Ezekiel, c. 22. in his La- the blessings, &c. mentation for Ephraim (that is, for the ten Tribes, whose head was Ephraim) prose-Holding where the quittes as also in his Lamentation for Juda, he followeth the other Allegory of Jacob, be read to the Gen. 49.9. comparing Juda to a Lyon. Upon the top of one of the highest of these Hills people: of of Ephraim, which over-looketh all the plains on both fides of Jordan, they finde the which Deut. Cafflecalled Dok: which they make to be the fame with Dagon, of which Joseph. I. Bell. a It seemeth. Jud.c.2 in which Caltle, as it is I Macc. 16. Ptolomie most traiterously, at a banquet, slew that Jacobin Simon Macchabaus his Father in Law.

Among the Rivers of this Tribe of Ephraim, they name Gaas, remembred in the fe- the word Daughcond of Samuel, c. 23. v. 30 where though Junius reade Hiddaiex una vallium Gahasi: yet therbythemore the Vulgar and Vatablus reade Giddai of the River of Gaas, Alfo in this Tribe they place plainly to figure the River of Carith, by which the Prophet Elies abode during the great drought: he colonia: where he would be the prophet which in the where he was b fed with the Ravens : and after that the River was dried up, he travailed hebrer phrate (by the Spirit of God guided) towards Sidon: where he was relieved by the poore Wi- are called Daughters of the dow of Zarepta, whose dead sonne hee revived, and increased her pittance of Meale and Metropolis: as in Oyle: whereby the fuftained her life.

6. II.

of the Kings of the ten Tribes from Jeroboam to Achab.

F the first Kings of Israel I omit in this place to speake, and reserve it to the Catologue of the Kings of Juda: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the division from Juda and Benjamin, now it followers to speake. The first of these Kings Jeroboam the sonne of Nebat, an Ephrathite of Zereda, who being a man offirength and courage, was by Salomon made overfeer of the buildings of the Munition in Hierufalem, for as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of Ephraim and Meresser so many of them as wrought in those works. During which time as he went from

where often. b 1 Reg. 17.60

Hierusalem.

Mac-1-7.40.

a Kimi4.

the Epistleto

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Hierusalem, he encountred the Prophet Ahijah: who made him know that he was by God destinied to bee King of Ifrael, and to command ten of the twelve Tribes. After this, fearing that those things might come to Salomons knowledge, he fled into Egypt to Shiflak, whom Eusebins calleth Osochores, whose Daughter hee married: the Predeceffor of which Shifbak (if not the same) did likewise entertain Adad the Edumaan, when he was carried young into Egypt from the fury of David, and his Captaine Joab; which Adad, the King of Egypt married to his Wives fifter Taphnes; using both him and Jero. boam as instruments to shake the Kingdome of Judaa; that himselfe might the easilier spoile it, as hee did : for in the fift yeere of Reboboam, Sbishak fackt the Citie of Hierusalem, and carried thence all the treasure of David and Salomon, and all the spoiles which to David tooke from AdadeZer of Soba, with the presents of Tohu, King of Hamath, which were of an inestimable value.

This Jeroboam after the death of Salomon became Lord of the ten Tribes : and though he were permitted by God to governe the Ifraelites, and from a meane man exalted to that state: yet preferring the policies of the world before the service and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribesunder his rule should repaire to Hierusalem to doe their usuall Sacrifices, they might bee drawne from him by degrees) hee erected two golden Calves, one in Dan, and another in Bethel, for the people to worship (an imitation of the Egyptian Apis, faith S. Ambrose, or rather of Aarons Calfe in Horeb:)further he made election of his Priests out of the basest and unlearned people. This King made his chiefe feate and Palace at Sichem: Hee despised the warning of the Judean Prophet, whom Josephus calleth Adon, and Glycas Joel: his hand thereafter withered, and was again restored: but continuing in his Idolatry; and hardened upon occasion that the Prophet returning was flaine by a Lyon, Ahijah makes him know that God purposed to root out his posterity.

Hee was afterward overthrowne by Abia King of Juda, and died after he had governed two and twenty yeeres; whom Nadab his fon fucceeded: who in the fecond yeere # Kin. 11.12. &c. of his raigne, together with all the race of Jerobeam, was flaine, and rooted out by Basha, who raigned in his stead: so Nadab lived King but two yeeres.

Baasha the sonne of Ahijah, the third King after the partition, made war with Asa King ? of Juda: he seated himselfe in Thersa: and fortified Rama against Juda, to restrainether excursions. Hereupon Asa entertained Benhadad of Damascus against him, who invaded Nepthalim, and destroyed many places therein: the mean while Asa carried away thems terials, with which Baasha intended to fortifie Rama; but being an Idolater, he was threat-* Kinas & 16. ned by Jehu the Prophet, that it should befall his race, as it did to Jeroboum : which afterward came to passe: He ruled soure and twenty yeares, and died.

To Baasha succeeded Ela his sonne, who at a scast at his Palace of Thersa, was inhis cups slaine by Zambris, after he had raigned two yeeres: and in him the prophecie of Je

hu was fulfilled.

Zambris succeeded Ela, and affurned the name of a King seven dayes; but Ambris inte venge of the Kings murther, fet upon Zambris, or Zimri, and inclosed him in Thus, and enforc't him to burne himselfe.

1 Kin-16. 1 Kin.16.

Ambris or Homri succeeded Ela, and transferred the Regall seat from Ther sa to Samiria: which he bought of Shemer, built, and fortified it. This Ambris was also an Idolater no lesse impious than the rest : and therefore subjected to Tabremmon, King of Syriathe Father of Benhadad according to Eusebins, Nicephorus, and Zonaras: but how this should stand, I doe not well conceive; seeing Benhadad the sonne of Tabremmon was invited by Asa King of Juda, to assaile Baasha King of Israel, the Father of Ela, who forewent Ambris. This Ambris raigned twelve yeeres, fixe in Therfa, and fixe in Samaria, and left, two children, Achab and Athalia.

1 Kin-15.

§. III.

Of Achab and bis Successors, with the captivity of the ten Tribes.

Chab or Ahab succeeded Omri, who not onely up-held the Idolatry of Jeroboam, borrowed of the Egyptians : but hee married Jesabel the Zidonian : and as 30 robeam followed the Religion of his Egyptian Wife: so did Achab of his Irds

nian: and erected an Altar and a Grove to Baal in Samaria. He suffered Jezabel to kill the Prophets of the most high God. God sent famine on the land of Israel. Achab met Elias: Flias prevailed in the triall of the facrifice, and killeth the false Prophets; and afterward flyeth for feare of Jezabel.

Benhadad not long after befreged Samaria: and taken by Achab, was by him fet at liberty : for which the Prophet (whom Glycas calleth Michaus) reproveth him:afterward he caused Naboth by a false accusation to be stoned. Then joyning with Josaphat in the warre for the recovery of Ramoth, he was flaine, as Michaes had foretold him.

He had three fons, named in the Scripture, Ocho Zias, Joram, and Joas: besides seventie

to other fons by fundry wives and concubines.

OchoZias succeeded his father Achab. The Moabites fell from his obedience: hebrui- Bedgebub was fedhimselfe by a fall: and sent for counsell to Beelzebub the god of Acharon. Eliab the the same with Prophet meeteth the messenger on the way: and missiking that OchoZias sought helpe faith Viginere from that dead Idoll, asked the meffenger, If there were nota God in Ifrael? Ocho Lias upon Levi. fendeth two Captains, and with each fifty fouldiers to bring Eliah unto him, both which *King. with their Attendants were confumed with fire. The third Captaine befought mercy at Eliahs hands, and he spared him, and went with him to the King, avowing it to the King that he must then die; which came to passe in the second yeare of his raigne.

Joram, the brother of OchoZias by Jezabel, succeeded: He allured Josaphat King of Ju-20 de, and the King of Edom to a flift him against the Moabites, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000. sheepe. The three Kings wanted water, for themselves and their Horfes, in the Defarts. The Prophet Elisha causeth the dirches to flow. The Moabites are Kin to overthrown: their King flyeth to Kirharaseth, and being besieged, according to some Expolitors, burnt his fon on the walls as a Sacrifice, whereat the three Kings, moved with compassion, returned and left Moab, wasting and spoyling that Region. Others, as it seems with better reason, un derstand the Text to speake of the sonne of the King of Edom, whom they suppose in this irruption to have been taken prisoner, by the Moabites, and that the King of Moab shewed him over the walls, threatning, unlesse the fiege were dissolved that he would offer him in facrifice to his gods. Whereupon the King of Edom befought those of Juda and I frael to break off the fiege for the safety of his son: which when the other kings refused to yeeld unto, & that Mosh, according to his former threatning, had burnt the King of Edoms sonne upon the rampire, that all the assailants might discernit, the King of Edom being by this sad spectacle inraged, for sook the partie of the other Kings, for want of whose affistance the siege was broken up.

After this the King of Aram fent to Joram, to heale Naaman the Captaine of his Armie of the Leprofie. The answer of Joran was, Am I God to kill, and to give life, that he doth fend to heale a man from his Leprofie: adding, that the Aramite fought but matter of quarrell against him. Elisha hearing thereof, willed the King to fend Naaman to him; promising that he should know that there was a Prophet in 1/3 o rael: and so Naaman was healed by washing himselfe seven times in Jordan. Elisha refused the gifts of Naaman; but his servant GehaZi accepted a part thereof: from whence the fellers of spirituall gifts are called Gehalites, as the buyers are Simonians of Simon & Kings

Afterward Benhadad King of Aram, or Damastus, having heard that this Prophet did discover to the King of Ifrael whatsoever the Aramite consulted in his secretest counfell, fent a troope of horse to take Elisha: all whom Elisha strooke blinde, and brought them captives into Samaria: Foram then asked leave of the Prophet to flay them, Elisba forbad him to harm them: but caused them to be fed and sent back to their own Prince

The King of Aram notwithstanding these benefits, did againe attempt Samaria, and brought the Citizens to extreme famine. Joram imputeth the cause thereof to the Prophet Elisha. Elisha by prayer caused a noise of Chariots and armour to sound in the ayre, whereby the Aramites affrighted, fled away, and left the fiege. An act of great admiration, as the same is written in the second of Kings. After this, when AZeel = King. obtained the kingdom of Sgria by the death of his Master, Joram entring upon his fronther, took Ramoth Gilead: in which war he received divers wounds, and returned to Jezreel to be cured. But whilest he lay there, Jehu (who commanding the Armie of Joram in Gilead, was anointed king by one of the children of the Prophets fent by Elisha) surprised Hh 2

Pag.86.

2 Kin.13.

2 Kin.14.

2 Kin.16.19.

2 Kin 15.29.

and flew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole posteritie of

. Jehu, who raigned after Jehoram, destroyed not onely the race of his fore-goers, but also their religion; for which he received a promise from God, That his seed should occupie the Throne unto the fourth generation. Yet he upheld the Idolatry of Jeroboam, for which he was plagued with grievous warre, wherein he was beaten by Hazael the Aramite, who spoiled all the Countries to the East of Jordan: in which warre he was flaine, faith Cedrenus: whereof the Scriptures are filent. Jehu raigned 28. years.

Joachaz or Jeboahaz the sonne of Jehu succeeded his father, whom Azael and his son Benhadad often invaded, and in the end subjected, leaving him onely 50 horse, 20 chariots, and 10000. foot; and, as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like dust bearen

into powder. Joachaz raigned 17.years.

After Joachaz Joss his sonne governed Ifrael, who when he repaired to Elisha the Prophet as he lay on his death-bed, the Prophet promised him three victories over the Aramites: and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bow, and Elisha covered the Kings hands with his, and bad him open the window westward (which was toward Da. masons) and then shoot an arrow thence out. Hee againe willed him to beat the ground with his arrowes, who smote it thrice and ceased: The Propher then told him, thathe should have smitten five or six times, and then he should have had so many victoriesover the Aramites as he gave frokes. And foit fucceeded with Joss, who overthrew the 10 Aramites in three battels, and recovered the Cities & Territory from Benhadad the fon of AZael, which his Father Joachaz had loft. He also overthrew Amazia King of Juda, who provoked him to make the warre, whereupon he entred Hierufalem, and fackedit. with the Temple. This Joss reigned fixteene yeeres, and died; inwhose time also the Prophet Elisha exchanged this life for a better.

Jeroboam the third from Jehu, followed Joss his father, an Idolater as his predecelfors; but he recovered all the rest of the lands belonging to I frael, from Hamath which

is negre Libanus, to the dead Sea, and reigned one and forty yeeres.

Zacharias the fift and last of the house of Jehn, flainby Shallum his vassall, who raigned in his flead, governed fixe months. Shallam held the Kingdome but one moneth, be- 10

ing flaughtered by Menahem of the Gadites.

Menabem who tooke revenge of Shallum, used great cruelty to those that did not acknowledge him : ripping the bellies of those that were with childe. This Menahembeing invaded by Phul, bought his peace with ten thousand talents of filver, which he exacted by a Tribute of fifty shekels from every man of wealth in Ifrael. Menahem governed twenty veeres.

Pekahiah or Phaceia, or after Zonaras, Phacefia succeeded, and after hee had rulid two yeeres, he was flain by Phaca or Pekah the Commander of his army, who raigned in his place. In this Pekahs time, Phulasfar, or Tiglat-Phylasfar invaded the kingdome of Ifrael, and wan Jion, Abel-Bethmaacah, Janoach, Kedesh, Hazor, and Gilead, with all these Cities of Galiles, carrying them captives into Affyria: he was drawne in by Achaz King of Judaa, against Pekab and Rezin, the last of the Adades. For Achas being wastedby Pekah of Ifrael, and by Rezin of Damaseus, did a third time borrow the Churchriches, and therewith ingaged the Affrian, who first suppressed that Monarchy of Syria and Damascus, and then of Israel: and this inviting of the great Asyrian, was the utter runc

of both States, of Ifrael and of Judaa. Pekah raigned 20. years.

Then Holhea or Ofea, who flew Pekah, became the vaffall of Salmanaffar; but hoping to shake off the Affrian yoake, he sought and from So, or Sua, or Sebiene King of Benti which being knowne to the Affyrian, he cast him into prison, besieged Samaria, and mar firedit: carried the ten Idolatrous Tribes into Ninive in Affiria, and into Rages in Mi-16 dia, and into other Easterne Regions, and there dispersed them: and replanted Samaria with divers Nations, and chiefly with the Cutha (inhabiting about Cutha a river in Perfia, or rather in Arabia Deferta) and with the people Catanei bounding upon Syria, and with those of Sepharvajim (a people of Sephar in Mesopotamia upon Euphrates, of whole conquest Senacherib vaunteth) also with those of Ava, which were of the ancient Avins, who inhabited the Land of the Philifims in Abrahams time, dwelling neere unto Gall whom the Caphtorims rooted out: and at this time they were of Arabia the Defart, cal led Havai, willing to returne to their ancient feats. To these he added those of Chamath

or Ituraa, the ancient enemies of the Israelites, and sometime the Vassals of the Adads of Damascus, which so often afflicted them. And thus did this Assyrian advise himselfe better than the Romanes did. For after Titus and Vespasian had wasted the Cities of Judæa and Hierusalem, they carried the people away captive: but lest no others in their places, but'a very few simple labourers, besides their owne thin Garrisons, which soone decayed: and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the Arabians and Saracens, who never could be driven thence againe to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, happened in the yeare of the world 3292. the fixth yeare of Ezekiah King of Juda: and the ninth of Hose the last

10 King of Ifrael.

CHAP. 10. S.1.

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

```
Jeroboam Raigned 22 Years.
    Nadab
                      2 Years.
3.
    Baalha
                      24 Years.
    Ela
                         Years.
5-
    Zambris
                         Daves.
    0 mri
                         Years.
7-
    Achab
                         Years.
    Ochozias
                         Years.
    Foram
                      12
                         Years.
10. Jehu
                      28
                         Years.
II. Foachaz
                      17
                         Years.
12. 70as
                     16
                         Years.
13. Feroboam
                         Years.
14. Zacharias
                         Moneths.
15. Shallum
                          Moneth.
16. Menahem
                         Years.
17. Pakabia.
                         Years.
18. Phaca.
                         Years.
19. Hofea.
                         Yeares, about whose time
                             Writers differ.
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CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Juda, Reuben, Gad, and the other halfe of Manasse.

Of Dan, whereof Joppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, andother Townes,

Ow following the coast of the Mediterran Sea, that portion of Land affigned to the Tribe of Dan, joyneth to Ephraim, whereof I spake last: of which Family there were numbered at Mount Sinai 62700. last: of which Family there were numbred at Mount Sinai 62700. fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the rest in the Desarts, there entred the Holy Land of their sons 66400. bearing v.46. arms. The first samous Citie in this tribe on the Sea-coast was Jopannia and the Lo. of Folia: one of the most ancientest of the

World, and the most famous of others on that coast, because it was he Port of Hierusalem. From hence Jonas imbarked himselfe when he fled from the truice of God, towards Tharsis in Cilicia. In the time of the Macchabees this City retived many changes: and while Judas Macchabaus governed the Jewes, the Syrians Maccata at were Garrison'd in Joppe, having their fleet in the Port, invited 200 principall Cizens aboord them, and cast them all into the Sea: which Judas revenged by firing their cet, and putting the companies which fought to escape to the sword.

It

I Mac.15.16.

L.3.1.15.de 'bel Jud. Solin. c. 47.1'li.1.5.0 9.

2.Mac.12. De Bell. facr.

F.244.

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It was twice taken by the Romanes, and by Cestius the Lievtenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the yeare of Christ, 1250. Lodowicke the French King gave it new Wals and Towers: It is now the Turkes, and called Jaffa. There are certaine Rockes in that Port, whereunto it is reported, that Andromeda was fastned with chains: and from thence delivered from the Sea-monster by Perseus. This Fable (for so I take it) is confirmed by Josephus, Solinus, and Plinie. Marcus Scaurus during his office of Ædileship, shewed the bones of this Monster to the people of Rome. S. Hierome upon Jonas speakes of it indifferently.

The next unto Joppe was Jamnia, where Judas Macchabaus burget the rest of the Synan fleet: the fire and flame whereof was seene at Hierusalem, 240 furlongs off. It hads fometime a Bishops seate, saith Will of Tyre; But there is no signe of it at this time, that

fuch a place there was.

After Jamnia is the Citie of Geth or Gath, sometime Anthedon, saith Volatteran. And fo Montanus seemes to understand it. For he sets it next to Egypt, of all the Philisim Cities, and in the place of Anthedon. But Volatteran gives neither reason nor authority for his opinion; for Ptolomie fets Anthedon farre to the South of Joppe: And Geth was the first and not the last (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the Philistims: and about fixteene miles from Joppe: where S. Hierome in his time found agreet Village of the same name. It was sometime the Habitation and Seminarie of the Antikims, strong and Gyant-like men, whom Josua could not expell, nor the Danites aftern him, nor any of the Israelites, till Davids time: who slew Goliath, as his Captaines did divers others not much inferiour in strength and stature unto Goliath.

Roboam the sonne of Salomon rebuilt Geth: Ozias the sonne of Amazia destroyed it againe. It was also laid waste by Azael King of Syria. Fulke the fourth King of Hienlilem, built a Castle in the same place out of the old ruines. Whether this Geth was the fame that Will. of Tyre in the Holy warre calls Ibiilin, I much doubt : the error growing

by taking Geth for Anthedon.

Not Farre from Geth or Gath standeth Bethsemes, or the house of the Sunne. In the fields adjoyning to this City (as is thought) was the Arke of God brought by avoked two Kine, turned loofe by the Philistims: and the Bethfemites presuming to lookether. in, there were flaine of the Elders 70 and of the people 50000 by the ordinance of God After which flaughter & the great lamentation of the people, it was called the great 'A * Or rather not bel, faith S. Hierome. Benedictus Theologus findes three other Cities of this name; one the Citie it felf . Nephtalim : another in Juda: and another in Isachar. Hierome finds a fifth in Benjamin.

Keeping the Sea-coast, the strong City of Accaron offereth it selfe, somtime one of the five Satrapies, or Governments of the Philiftims. S. Hierome makes it the same with Car faria Palæstinæ. Plinie confounds it with Apollonia: It was one of those that defendant Ark, the change selfe against the Danites and Idumæans. It worshipped Beel-7ebub the god of Homes of being easie fro Flies. To which Idoll it was that AhaZiah King of Israel, sent to enquire of his health which fignifieth whose messengers Eliah meeting by the way, caused them to returne, with a sorrowill assone, to Abel answer to their Master. This City is remembred in many places of Scripture.

Christianus Schrot placeth Azotus next to Geth, and then Accaron or Ekron. Azotus or Afdod was alfo an habitation of the Anakims, whom Josuab failed to destroy, though he once possest their Citie. Herein stood a sumptuous Temple, dedicated to the Idoll Dagon: the same Idoll which fell twice to the ground of it selfe, after the Arke of God was by the Philistims carried into their Temple: and in the second fall, it was Father of Pha- utterly broken and defaced. Neere it was that famous d Judas Macchabaus flain by Buvao Necofor 29. chides and Alcimus, the Lievtenants of Demetrius. Afterward it was taken by Jonathas yeers together, and the rest of the Citizens being put to the sword, all that sled into the Temple of De whence Ja.25, and the rest of the Citizens being put to the sword, all that sled into the Temple of De whence Ja.25. gon, were with their Idoll therein confumed with fire: neere which also hee overther

Gabinius the Romane re-built it. It had a Bishops seat while Christianity flourished part having pe- those parts. But in S. Hieromes time it was yet a faire Village. And this was the last of the Sea-Townes within the Tribe of Dan.

The Cities which are within the Land Eastward from Azotus, and beyond Fountaine of Athiopia, wherein Philip the Apostle baptized the Eunuch, are Tort or Sarxa, and Eithaol, and between them Castra Danis neere Hebron: though this pla Judi 3 25.80. I where Sampson was borne, may seeme by the words, Judi 18:12. to bein the Tribe Judah, as the other also were bordering Townes betweene Dan and Juda.

After these within the bounds of Juda, but belonging to the Danites, they finde Gedor, or as it is 1 Mac. 15. Cedron, which Cendebaus the Lievtenant of Antiochus fortified against the Jewes, and neere which himselfe was by the Macchabees overthrowne.

Then Modin the Native Citie of the Macchabees : and wherein they were buried, on whose Sepulchre the seaven Marble Pillars, which were erected of that heighth, as they ferved for a mark to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeares after their first setting up, as Brochard and Breidenbach witnesse.

There are besides these the Citie of Cartathiarim, that is, the Citie of the woods: sea- Alias Cartathiato ted in the border of Juda, Benjamin, and Dan, wherein the Arke of God remained twenty also Badbaroffen. veeres in the house of Aminadab: till such time as David carried it thence to Hierusalem. 1.5am.7.1. Of this place (as they fay) was Zacharias the fon of Barachias, or Jehoida, who was slain & 2 Sam. 2. Chron. 24 22. between the Temple & the Altar: also wrise, whom Josehim King of Hierusalem flaugh- Mat23:33. tered as we finde in Jeremy. Many other places which they place in this Tribe, rather as Jer. 26.20. Itake it upon presumption than warrant, I omit:as that of Caspin taken with great slaugh- Joi 12.11. ter by Judas Macchabaus: and Lechis, whose King was slaine by Josus, in which also A- 2 Reg 14-19. maziah was flaine: The same which Senacherib tooke, Ezekias raigning in Juda.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, fee in Jofuac. 19. from the Ver. 41. where alfoitis added that the Danites portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they invaded Leshem, and inhabited it: which City, after amplified by Philipthe brother of Herod Antipus, was called Cafarea Philippi, as before, & made the Metropolis of Ituraa, and Trachonitis: of which coasts this Philip was Tatrach: but of this

Citie see more in Nephralim. In this Tribe there are no Mountaines of same.

Ithath two Rivers or Torrents: the Norther-most riseth out of the Mountaines of Juda: and passing by Modin, salleth into the Sea by Sachrona. The other hath the name of Hieronin Esai.er Sorek or Sored, whose bankes are plentifull of Vines which have no seeds or stones: The Micheam I. Broth wine they yeeld is red, of excellent colour, tafte, and favour, &c. In this Valley of Sorek, Breid. focalled from the River, inhabited Dalila whom Samplon loved.

6. II. THE TRIBEOF SIMEON.

He Tribe of Simeon takes up the rest of the Sea-coast of Canaan, to the border of Egypt: who being the fecond fon of Jacob by Lea, there were increased of that Family while they abode in Egypt, as they were numbred at Mount Sinai, 5 9300. able men, all which ending their lives in the Defarts, there entred the Land of Promite of their ifflies 22200. bearing armes, who were * in part mixed with Juda, and in part fevered inhabitions from the state of red, inhabiting a small Territory on the Sea-coast, belonging to Eduman, of which the divers places first Citie adjoyning to Dan, was Ascalon.

The Regult or pettic Kings thereof were called Afcalonita: of which Volatteran out of tion of fulls, be Xanthus, in the History of the Lydians, reports, that Tantalus and Ascalus were the sons reckned in this of Hymeneus: and that Ascalus being imployed by Aciamus King of the Lydians, with an 19,0169. Army in syria, falling in love with a young Woman of that Countrie, built this Citie, wherethus and called it after his ownename: The same hath Nicolans in his Historie, saith Volat- much is expres-

Geog L. 1. f. 244.

Diodorus Siculus in his third booke remembreth a Lake neere Ascalon, wherein there hath beene a Temple dedicated to Derceto, the Goddesse of the Sgrians; having the face of a Woman, and the body of a Fish: who, as I have said before in the story of Ninus, was the Mother of Semiramis, fained to be cast into this Lake, and sed and relieved by Doves. And therefore was the Dove worshipped both in Babylonia and Syria, of which Tibulus the Poet:

Alba Palastino santta Columba Syro.

The white Dove is for holy held in Syria Palastine.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest Cities of the Philistims. It bred many learned

Hieron in Mi-

L.21.C.18.

but the great Ronein the field upon which flone the Phili-

2.King T. but was befieged by Plamv.20.speakes of the relidue

rished in this c 1 Sam 5.4. di Mac c.c.9. CHAP. 10. S.2.

220 Vol. set Supra.

men (faith Volatteran) as Antiochus, Sojus, Cognus, Dorotheus the Historian, and Artemidorus, who wrote the story of Bithynia.

In Affalon, as some say, was that wicked Herod borne, that seeking after our Saviour. caused all the Male-children of two years old and under to be flain. In the Christian times it had a Bishop, and after that, when it was by the Saladine defaced, Richard King of England, while he made Warre in the Holy Land, gave it a new Wall and many buildings. Ejus muros cum Saladinus diruisset, Richardus Anglorum Rex instauravit, faith Adricho-

Simeon.

2.Sam. 1.

Val.1.11.

In Davids time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the Philistims: for henameth Gath and Ascalon onely, when he lamenteth the death of Saul and Jonathan: not speaking of the other three. Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it not in the streets of Ascalon: It is now called Scalone. Gabinius restored it as he did Azotus and Gaza.

Next to Ascalon food Gaza or Gazera, which the Hebrewes call Hazza, the Syrians AZan, of AZonus (as they fay) the sonne of Hercules. Other prophane writers affirme, that it was built by Jupiter. Pomp. Mela gives the building thereof to Cambyfes the Per. fian; because belike he re-builtit, and Gaza in the Persian tongue is as much to sayas Treasure. This Gaza was the first of the five Satrapies of the Philistims, and the South bound of the land of Canaan towards Egypt. But this Citie was farre more ancient than Cambyfes, as it is proved by many Scriptures. It was once taken by Caleb: but the ftrength of the Anakims put him from it. At fuch time as Alexander Macedon invaded the Empire 10 of Persia, it received a Garrison for Darius: in despight whereof it was by the Maceda.

Sush. de Urb.

fud. 16.16. of Persia, it received a Garrion for Datus. In the Defart. 1 King. 6.8calib. nians after a long stege demolished, and was called Gaza of the Defart. Alexander Janneus King of the Jewes surprized it, and slew five hundred Senatorsin the Temple of Apollo, which fled thither for Sanctuary: but this Gaza was not fet up in the same place againe, to wit, on the foundations which Alexander Macedon had overturned, but somewhat nearer the Sea side: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Towne of great account in the time of the Macchabees, and gave many wounds to the Jewes till it was forst by Simon: of which he made so great account, as that hee purpofed to refide therein himfelfe, and in his absence left John his sonne and Successour to be Governor. In Brochard his time it was still a goodly Citie, and knowne by the name to

Mac-1.15. Broch.Itin.7.

At the very out-let of the River of Befor, standeth Majona the Port of Gaza: to which the priviledge of a Citie was given by the great Constantine, and the place called Conflance after the name of the Emperours Sonne. But Julian the Apostata soone aftersavouring the Gazeans, made it subject unto them, and commanded it to bee called Gaza maritima.

Hift.trip.l.6.c. hist cap.4.

Fos 13.4219.21. On the other side of Befor standeth Anthedon, defaced by Alexander Janneus, restord by Herod, and called Agrippias, after the name of Agrippa, the favourite of Augustus.

Then Raphia, where Philopater overthrew the great Antiochus: and beyondit Rhino-Fof. 13. ant. 19. cura, whose Torrent is knowne in the Scriptures by the name of * the Torrent of Egypt, 40 21.14.6.6. * Tomins calls it till the Septuagint converted it Rinocura to difference it, Es. 27.12. giving the name of vallis Egypi, the Citie to the Torrent that watereth it. Plinie calls it Rhinocolura: and Josephus Rhino-the name of the Corura: Epiphanius reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the world was divided freems to. be Sichor. See in by lot, betweene the three Sonnes of Noah.

g Sam.30.

Within the Land and upon the River of Befor they place Gerar: which the Scripture in the margent. a placeth between Kadesh & Shur, Gen. 20. 1. That it was neer to the Wildernesse of Burreful. Manich of Thebah, it appeares Gen. 20.31. and therefore no marvell that as elsewhere Beer-sheba, o in Ancorato, Gen. formetime Gerar, be made the South bound of Canaan. It was of old a diffinct Kingdome from the Philistim Satrapies: the Kings by one common name were called Abimeleth; S. Hierome faith that afterward it was called Regio falutaris, the healthy Country: fo that it was no marvel that Abraham and Isaac lived much in those parts. Of King Asa's conquest

of the Cities about Gerar, see 2 Chron. 14.14.

More within the Land was Siceleg or Tsiglak, which was burnt by the Amalekitts, when David in his flying from Saul to the Philiftims had left his carriages there, but Da. widfollowed them over the River of Befor, and put them to the flaughter, and recovered the prey.

Next Dabir sometime Cariath-Sepher, the Citie of Letters, the Universitie, as they fay, or Academie of old Palastine. In Saint Hieromes time it seemes it had the name of Daema: Jos. 15.49. it is called urbs Sanna: from the name, as it seemes, of some of the Anakims, as Hebron was called urbs Arbahi. For even hence also were these Giants expelled. It was taken this fly by Othomel, incouraged by Calebs promife of his Daughter John Assessment of his Daughter of his in marriage: but that Josus and the Hoast of Israel were at the surprise, it appears Jos. 10. 39. This Citie Jos. 21.15. is named among those which out of simeon and Juda were given to the Levites. And hence it feemes they attribute it to this Tribe.

Besides these, there are many others in the Tribe of Simeon, but oflesse same, as Hajin, of which fof. 19.7. which also Je. 21. 16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the Levites. given out of the portion of Juda and Simeon, (for which Junius thinks Hafham is named 1 Chron. 6.59. though * in the place of Josus these two are distinguished) also Tholad, so * Andalso named i Chron.4.29. for which Jof. 19.4. we have Elibelad. Chaizar-Sufa, fo named, 1 Chron.4.34 Jos. 19.5: for which Jos. 15. we have Char Zar-Gadda, both names agreeing in fignification: for Gadda is Turma, and Sufa Equitatus.

Inthefame places of Josus, and of the Chronieles Chorma is named, which they thinke to be the lame with that of which Num. 14.45 . to which the Amalekises and Camaanites pursued the Ifraelites: But that Chorma cannot be in Simeon, nor within the Mountaines of Edumea. For Ifrael fled not that way : but backe againe to the Campe, which lay to the South of Edumea, in the Defart.

The same places also name Beersheba in this Tribe: so called of the Oath betweene Abraham and Abimeles: neer unto which Hagar wandered with her sonne Ismael. It was Gen. 21.316 allo called the Citie of Ifaac, because he dwelt long there. While the Christians held the Holy Land, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the Arabian Defart, and in the South bound of Canaan. It hath now the name of Gibelin. Theother Cities of Simeon which are named in the places of Josus, and of the Chronicles above noted, because they helpe us nothing in storie, I omit them. In the time of Ezekia King of Juda, certaine of this Tribe being strengthened in their owne Territories, passed . Asit seemes to * Gedor, as it is 1 Chron. 4.39. (the fame place which Jof. 15.36. is called Gedera and inthe Land of Gederothaima) which at that time was inhabited by the iffue of Cham: where they feated Juda Secinthe themselves : as also five hundred others of this Tribe, destroyed the Reliques of Amales of this Chapter in the Mountaines of Edom, and dwelt in their places.

The mountaines within this Tribe are few, and that of Samples the chiefest: unto Jud. 16.30 which hecarried the Gate-post of Gaza. The Rivers are Befor, and the Torrent of Egypt

called Shichar, as is noted in Affer.

THE TRIBEOF FUDA.

F Juda the fourth fon of Jacob by Lea, there were multiplied in Egypt 74600. all which (Caleb excepted) perished in the Defarts. And of their sons there entredthe Land of Canaan 76500. bearing armes. Agreeable to the greatnesse of this number was the greatest Territorie given, called afterward Judaa: within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to Dan and Simeon included. And many Cities named in those Tribes, did first, as they say, belong unto the Children of Juda: who ada kind of Soveraigntie over them: as Succoth, Cariathiarim, Lachis, Bethsemes, Tiglag, Beersbeba, and others. The multitude of people within this small Province (if it be meated by that ground given to this Tribe only were incredible, if the witnesse of the Scripfures had not warranted the report. For when David numbred the people, they were ound five hundred thou fand fighting men.

The Cities of Juda were many. But I will remember the chiefest of them : beginning with Arad, or Horma, which standeth in the entrance of Judea from Idumea. whose King first furprized the Israelizes as they passed by the border of Canaan towards Moab, and Numaria. ookefrom them some spoyles, and many prisoners: who being afterward overthrowne Joseph ythe specifies, the some sof Keni, the Kinsinen of Moses, obtained a possession in Judicate. Territorie: who before the comming of the Ifraelites, dwelt betweene Madian and

Following this Frontier towards Idumaa and the South, Aftenfus Scorpionis or Acrab-Num. 14.4. in is placed: the next to Arad: so called because of Scorpions, which are said to bee in Deuts. 17.

Jud. 15.8.

Frun.out of the

I Chron.4.31.

notes that this

the bounds of

Fuda, belonged

to Simeon

Jof. 15.48.

Hebr.

Hieron in loc.

Gen.38.1.

I Sam.23.1.

Broch.Itin.6.

* Alfo I Chron.

the Tribe of Si-

that place: from which name of Acrabbim, Hierome thinkes that the name of the Toparchie called Acrabathena was denominated: of which we have spoken in Manasses. On the South fide also of Judaa they place the Cities of Jagur, Dimona, Adada, Cedes, Ashna Jethnam, and Afor or Chatfor, most of them Frontier Townes.

The second Booke of the first part

And then Ziph: of which there are two places so called: one besides this in the body of Juda, of which the Defart and Forrest adjoyning tooke name: where David hid himselfe from Saul. After these are the Cities of Efron, Adar, Karkah, and Ascemona, or Hast.

mon, of no great fame.

Turning now from Idumaa towards the North, we finde the Cities of Danna, Sh. mah, Amam, the other Afor, or Chatfor, Behaloth, and the two Sochoes : of all which fee to Jos. 15 . also Carioth, by Josua 15. 25. called Kerioth: whence Judas the Traitor was called If-carioth, as it were a man of Carioth. Then Hetham the abode of Sampson which Rehoboam re-edified. Beyond these towards the North border, and towards Elutheropo. lis, is the Citie of Jethar, or Jathir, belonging to the Levites. In Saint Hieromestimeir was called Jethira: and inhabited altogether with Christians: neere unto this Citie was Hetham, though it were within that remarkable battell fought betweene Afa King of Juda and Zara King of the Arabians, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithstanding beaten and put to flight: Afa following the victorie as farre as Gerar, which at the fame time he recovered.

Notfar from Jether standeth Jarmuth, whose King was slain by Josus, and the Cities overturned. Next unto it is Marefa the native City of the Prophet Michea : betweenin 2 Macca2-35. and Odolla Judas Macchabaus overthrew Gorgias, and fent thence ten thousand Dragmas

of filver to be offered for Sacrifice.

O dolla or Hadullam it selfe was an ancient and magnificent Citie, taken by Fosus, and the King thereof flaine. Jonathan Macchabam beautified it greatly. Then Cesta or Kula afterward Echela, where David sometime hid himselfe: and which afterward he delivered from the affaults of the Philiftims: neere which the Prophet Abacue was buried: whose monument remained, and was seene by S. Hierome.

Neere it is Hebron, sometime called the Citie of Arbah, for which the Vulgar hath Ciriatharbe: the reason of this name they give, as if it fignified the Citie of foure: because w the foure Patriarchs, Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were therein buried, but of Adam it is but supposed: and it is plain by the places 30s.14.14. and 15.13. and 20.11. that itbab here doth not fignifie four, but that it was the name of the Father of the Gianiscalled Anakim, whose fon asit seemes Anak was : and Achiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, (whom Caleb expelled, Fof. 15.) were the fons of Anak, Num. 13.23. The name of Anak fignifich Torquem, a chaine worne for ornament; and it feems that this Anak inriched by the fpoiles which himselfe and his father got, wore a chain of gold, and so got this name and leaving the custome to his posteritie, left also the name: so that in Lasine the name of Anakim may not amisse be expounded by Torquati.

The Citie Hebron was one of the ancientest Cities of Canaan, built seven years before Thom or Tank in Egypt: and it was the head and chiefe Citie of the Anakims, whom Caleb expelled: to whom it was in part given, to wit, the Villages adjoyning, and the reft to the Levites. It had a Bishop in the Christian times, and a magnificent Temple builtby

Helen the Mother of Constantine.

Not farre hence they find Eleutheropolis, or the free Citie, remembred often by Saint Hierome. Then Eglon, whose King Dabir affociated with the other foure Kings of the A. morites, to wit, of Hierusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, & Lachis, besieging the Gibeonites, were by Josua utterly overthrown. From hence the next Citie of same was Emaw afterward Nicopolis, one of the Cities of Government or Prasidencies of Judaa. In sight of this Ci tie Judas Macchabaus (after he had formerly beaten both Apollonius and Seron) gaves 4.39. as is above third overthrow to Gorgias Lievtenant to Antiochus.

Inthe yeare 1301. it was overturned by an earth-quake, faith Eusebius. Inthe Chri-

stian times it had a Bishops seate of the Diocesse of Casarea of Palestine.

From Emaus toward the West Sea there are the Cities of Nahama, Bethdagen, and Valle Terebinibis, Gader or Gedera, or Gederothaima, of which and of Gederoth, * 36.15.36. and 41. quereti-Valablus AZecha, to which Josua followed the flaughter of the five Kings before named, a City of keepsthe He-brem reading in great strength in the Valley of a Terebinth, or Turpentine, as the Vulgar readeth, 1 Sam. 17.2. whence (as it feemes) they feate it neere unto Soco, and unto Lebna of the

Levites. It revolted from the subjection of the Jewes, while For am the son of Fosaphat ruled in Hierusalem: And next unto this standeth Maceda, which Fosus utterly dispeopled.

On the other fide of Emaus towards the East standeth Bethsur, otherwise Bethsura, and Bethler: one of the strongest and most sought for places in all Juda. It is seated on a high Hill; and therefore called Bethfur (the house on the Rocke, or of strength.) It was fortified for antiby Roboam, and afterward by Judas Maschabaus. Ly fins fore tit, and Antiochus Eutaper Maccie. by famine, Jonathas regained it; and it was by Simon exceedingly fortified against the

Syrian Kings.

CHAP. 10. 5.3.

Beshlem is the next unto it within fixe miles of Hierufalem, otherwise Lebem: some-Gen. 3.48. time Ephrata; which name, they fay, it had of Galebs wife, when as it is so called by Moles before Caleb was famous in those parts, Gen. 38. 16. Of this Citie was Abellan, or Ib-Zan, Judge of I frael after Jephtah, famous for the thirty fonnes and thirty daughters begotten by him. Elimelec was also a Bethlemite, who with his wife Naomi fojourned in Moab during the famine of Juda in the time of the Judges, with whom Ruib the daughter in law of Naomi returned to Beshleem : and married Boo Z. of whom Obed, of whom I/has, Ruthi. of whom David. It had also the honor to be the native City of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and therefore shall the memorie thereof never end.

In Zabulon of Galileethere was also a City of the same name: and therefore was this Hieron in comfe

of our Saviour called Bethleem Inda.

From Bethleem some soure or five mile standeth Theque, the City of Amos the Pro-Amos Lit. ohet: and to this place adjoyning is the City of Beth Zacaria, in the way betweene Beth. i Macc. 6.32. pilet and the property on whose Hils adjoyning, the glorious guilt shields of Antiochus shi- 1 Macc. 6.36. nedlike lamps of fire in the eyes of the Jewes. The City of * Bezek was also neere unto *See in Manage; Bublum, which Adoni-Bezes commanded, who had during his raigne tortur'd 70 Kings C7.5.7.1.1. by cutting off the joynts of their Fingers and Toes; and made them gather bread under his Table: but at length the same end befell himselfe by the somes of Juda; after they Jud 1.6.7. hadtaken him prisoner.

Therest of the Cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) we may passe by untill we come to the magnificent Castle of Herodium, which Herod erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200. Marble steps, exceeding beautifull and strong. And Fortame. 22. towards the Dead Sea, & adjoyning to the Defart of Jaruel; between it and Tekoa, is that Clivaus floridus, where, in the time of Jehofaphas, the Jewes flood and lookt on the Moa- 2 Chr. 20. 16. bitti, Ammonites, and Edomites, massacring one another, when they had purposed to joyn &26. against Juda:neere which place is the Valley of bleffing, where the Jewes the fourth day

after, folemnly came and bleffed God for fo ftrange a deliverance.

Now the Cities of Juda which border the Dead Sea, are these; Aduran beautified by 2 Chiron, 12. Roboam : and Tobar, which the Vulgar calleth * Segon: fo called; because Lot in his prayer * Some call in for it, urged that it was but a little one: whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifieth a little one; whence it was called Tfohar, which fignifies the little one; whence it was called Tfohar which it was called Tfohar wh tleone: when as the old name was Belah, as it is Gen. 14.2. In the Romans time it had a See in Gade. 10. Garrison, and was called (as they fay) Pannier: in Hieromes time Balenona. Then En- 5.5. post principigaddi or Hen gaddi, first Asasoni hamar: neere unto which are the Gardens of Balsamum, Gen. 19.20. the best that the world had called Opobalsamum: the most part of all which Trees Cleopa. Hieroninose: tra Queene of Eggpt fent for out of Judea, and Herod, who either feared or loved Anthony Hebr. Chaifat. her Husband, caused them to be rooted up and presented unto her: which she re-planted 2 Chro. 2016. neere Heliopolis in Egypt. This City was first taken by Chedorlaomer, and the Amorites thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable Cities of Judea; and one of the Pre-Gen. 14-7. fidencies thereof.

The rest of the Cities are many in the In-land, and among them Jefrael:not that which I Regat. was the City of Naboth, of which already ; but another of the same name, the City of Achinoan, the wife of David, the mother of that Ammon whom Abfalom flew: alfo, as somethinke, the City of Amasa Absaloms Lievtenant, and the commander of his Army. But this feemeth to be an error grounded upon the neernesse of the words is received and Jef-2 rael: and because the 2 Sam. 17.25. Amasaes father is called an israelize, who first of the Chro. 2-17-is called an Ismaelite: indeed the Hebrew Orthographie sheweth that Amasa's Father is not faid to be of the City Jefrael, but an Ifraelite in Religion, though otherwise an Ismaelite.

In this Tribe there were many high Hils and Mountaines; as those of Engaddi upon

Hieron, in loc. Heb.& quæst.

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the Dead Sea: and the Mountaines of Juda, which begin to rife by Emaus, and end neere Taphna, and these part Juda from Dan and Simeon. Of others which stand single, there is that of Hebron, at the foot whereof was that Oake of Mamre, where the three Angels appeared to Abraham; which S. Hierome calleth a Fir-tree, and faith, that it ftood till the time of Constantine the younger. There is also that Mountaine called Collie Achilla, on the South of Ziph: on the top whereof the great Herod, inclofing the old Castle, erected by Jonathan Macchabaus, and called Massada, garnished it with 27 high and strong Towers : and therein left Armour and furniture for an hundred thou fand men; being as it fee meth a place unacceffible, and of incomparable strength.

In the Valley afterward called the Dead Seasor the lake Asphaltitis, this Countrie had a foure Cities, Adama, Sodom, Seboim, and Gomorra, destroyed with fire from Heaven

for their unnaturall finnes.

6. ITH. distribution and the THE TRIBE OF REUBEN, and his Borderers.

The feats and bounds of Midian, Moab, and Ammon, part whereof the Reubenites wanfin Schon King of Hesbon.

N the other fide of the Dead Sea, Reuben the eldeft of Jacobs formes inhabital of whose children there were numbred at Mount Sinai 46000. who dying with the rest in the Desarts, there remained to possesse the Land promised 43700 bearing armes. But before we speake of these or the rest than inhabited the East side Jordan, something of their borderers : to wit, Midian, Moab, and Ammon, whose land in our writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first weenen remember, that out of Abrahams kindred came mighty Families: as by Isaac and July 10 the Nation called Israel, and afterward Jewes; by Esau or Edom the Idumæans: by Ismil, the eldest sonne of Abraham, the Ismaelites : and by Ketura his last wife, the Midianes And againe by Lot, Abrahams brothers fon, those two valiant Nations of the Mounts and Ammonites: all which being but strangers in the Land of Canaan (formerly policy by the Canaanites; and by the Families of them descended) these issues and alliance of Abraham, all but Jacob, whose children were bred in Egypt, inhabited the frontierplass

Efau and his fonnes held Idumæa, which bounded Canaan on the South, I small took from the South-east part of the Dead Sea; stretching his possession over all Arabia Pe træa, and a part of Arabia the Defart, as far as the River of Tigris, from Sur to Havidin

Moab tooketherest of the coast of the dead Sea, leaving a part to Midian, and passing over Arnon, inhabited the plaines betweene Jordan and the Hills of Abarim, or Arnon,

as farre North as Effebon, or Chesbon.

Ammon fatedown on the North-east side of Arnon, and possess the Tract from Rabba, afterward Philadelphia, both within the Mountains of Gilhead, and without themas far forth as Aroer, though in Moles time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the Amorites had thrust him over the River of Jaboc, as they had done Moab over Arnon. As these Nations compassed fundry parts of Canaan, so the border betweene the River of Jaboc and Damascus was held by the Amorites themselves, with other mixt Nations all which Territoric on the East fide of Jordan, and on the East fide of the Dead Sea, was granted by Moses to the Tribes of Reuben, Gad, and halfe Manasse; whereof that part which Moab had, was first possest by the Emins, a Nation of Giants weakned and broken by Chedorlahomer, after repulsed by the Moabites, as before remembred. That which the Ammonites held, was the Territorie and ancient possession of the Zamzummins Zuwi, who were also beaten at the same time by Chedorlahomer, Amraphel, and the relt and by them an easie way of conquest was prepared for the Ammonites.

Now where it is written that Arnon was the border of Moab, the same is to be under stood according to the time when Moses wrote. For then had Sehon or his Ancesto

heaten the Moabites out of the plaine Countryes, between Abarim and Jordan, and driven them from Hesbon over Arnon; and this happened not long before Moses arrivallupon that border, when Vaheb governed the Moabites. For hethat ruled Moab when Moles past Arnon, was not the son of Vaheb, but his name was Balac the son of Zipper. And it may be that those Kings were elective, as the Edum wans anciently were.

Now, all that part of Moab between Arnon and Jordan, as far North as Ellebon, was inhabited by Reuben. And when Ifrael arrived there out of Egypt, it was in the possession of Schon, of the race of Canaan by Amoreus: and therefore did Jephtab the Judge of Ilrael infly defend the regaining of those Countryes against the claime of the Ammonites: because (as he alledged) Moses found them in the possession of the Amorites, and not in the hands of Moab or Ammon: who (faith Jephtah) had 300. years time to recover them, Judg. 11. and did not: whence he inferreth that they ought not to claime them now.

And left any should marvell why the Ammonites in Jephtahs time should make claim nothese Countries: whereas Moses in the place Num. 21. v. 26. rather accounts them to have been the ancient possession of the Moabites, than of the Ammonites: it is to be noted that Deut. 3.11. when it is faid that the Iron bed of Og was to be seen at Rabbath, the chiefe Citie of the Ammonites, it is also signified, that much of the Land of 0g, which the Israelites possessed, was by him or his Ancestors got from the Ammonites, as much of Schons was from the Meabites.

And as the Canaanire Nations were feated so confusedly together, that it was hard to Joseg veras. diffinguish them : fo also were the sons of Moab and Ammon, Midian, Amaleck & Ismael. Finishnotes Yetthereason seemeth plaine enough why Ammon commanded in chiefe, in Jephtahs half of the land time: for sometime the one Nation, sometime the other of all those borderers acquired of Hammon the Soveraignty: and againe, that one part of the Land which Gad held, namely, within which in this the mountaines of Galaad, or Gilbead, and as farre South as dream helogoday. themountaines of Galaad, or Gilhead, and as farre South as Arroer, belonged to the Am-faid to have bin monites. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then fought to recover it a- given to the Gagain. Yet at fuch time as Moses overthrew Sebon at Jaha? the Ammonites had lost to the first from the Amorites all that part of their possession which lay about Arreer, and between it and 3a-Amorites by bee: Schon and Og. two Kings of the Amorites, having displanted both Moab and Ammon placeDeut. 1.11. of all within the Mountaines. For it is written in the one and twentieth of Num. v. 24. provesthat afthat Ifrael conquered the Land of Sehon from Arnon unto Jaboc, even unto the children of had gotten Ammon : fo as at this time the River of Jabor was the South bound of Ammon, within lands out of the the Mountaines, when as anciently they had also possessions over Jaboc, which at length hands of the the Gadites possess, as in the 13. chapter of Jos. 25. it appeares.

t. II.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

He chief cities belonging to Reuben were thefe, Kedemoth, for which the Vulgar, without any shew of warrant, readeth Jethson. The Vulgar or Hieromefollowed Joseph 370 the Septuagint, those two verses, 36. and 37. in Fes. 22. being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the Septuagint reade Kedson for Kedmoth, which Kedson by writing flipt into fethfon.

This City which they gave to the Levites, imparts her name to the Defart adjoining: Deut. 2.6. from whence Mofes fent his Embassage to Schon. In the same place of Josua where this lt was amargi-Redemoth is mentioned, the Vulgar for Betfer & villa ejus, reads Bofor in folitudine Mifor, Deut, 3 wherewithout any ground from the Hebrew: whence Adrichomius makes a Town called Mi-the 70 kept the fr, in the border betweene Reuben and Gad. Farther from Kedemoth neare the Dead nifying a plain, for the Countrey between being Mountainous, hath few Cities) they place two which after Townes of note, Lafa or Lesbalb, of which Genesis 10. verse 19. The Greekes call it Cal. Text. linbee: neare which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and for Trantagethere in early in our told, bitter and sweet water; all which soone after their rising, being joyned in one Hierom. in quest, trame, doe make a very wholesome Bath, especially for all contraction of sinewes: Acesta. Acesta. 3. to which Hered the elder, when hee was desperate of all other helpe, repaired, but Jesus 3024. nvaine. Others fay that these Springs arise out of the hils of Machaeus, in this Tribe. of alici. The like fountaines are found in the Pyrenges , and in Peru, called the Baths of the Inga's Japon both. Jud. Trings. The other rowne is Macharus, the next betweene Lasa and Jordan: of all that 176.25. an of the world the strongest In-land Citie and Castle, standing upon a Mountaine

Jof.13. Num.21.24.

Gen.14.

CHAP. 10. S. 4. +2

med fometime

Bajith, as Ef. 15.

2. and fometime

Efa.48.23.

Deut.4-43. Jol.20.8. Eufeb.in Chron.

Hier.inloc.heb. Num.25.2.

Jof.3.1.

Deut-34-1.

Medeba, Jos.

fore 6.5.5.7.

Joh. F. 28. Jud.7.24. Fosephane.4.1.

Num.25.1. Exod.25.10.

> Num.31.2 37. Gen. 14.0.5. amouche nemina

arcejus.

every way unaccessible. It was first fortified by Alexander Januaus, who made it a frontier against the Arabians: but it was demolished by Gabinius in the war with Aristobulus. faith Josephus. It was thither (faith Josephus) that Herod fent John Baptist, and whereinhe was slaine: his armie soone after being utterly overthrowne by Aretas King of Arabia, and himselfe after this murther never prospering. Not farre from Machærus was Bosor or Bozra, atowne of refuge, and belonging to the Levites, and neare it Livias upon Jordan, which Herod built in honour of Livia the mother of Tiberius Cafar.

The second Booke of the first part

To the North of Livias is Setim or Sittim: where the children of Israel imbraced the daughters of Midian or Moab: and where Phineas pearced the body of Zimri and Coshi, with his speare, bringing due vengeance upon them when they were in the midst of their, finne; and from hence Josus sent the discoverers to view Jerico, staying here until he went over Jordan. As for the Torrent Setim, which in this place Adrichomius dreams of, reading Joel.3.18. irrigabit torrentem Setim: The vulgar hath torrentem spinarum; and Junius, vallem Cedrorum: expounding it not for any particular place in Canaan: butfor the Church, in which the just being placed, grow as the Cedars, Pfal. 92.13.

The plaine Country hereabout, by Moses called The plains of Mosh, where he expounded the book of Deuteronomy to the people a little before his death, is in the beginning of the same book precisely bounded by Moses. On the South it had the great Desart of Paran, where they had long wandred. On the East it had Chatseroth, & Dizahab (of which two, the former is that Gazorus, of which Ptolomy in Palestina : the later was a Tracthen *Thesameasit longing to the Nabathæi in Arabia Petræa, where was *Mezahab, of which, Gen. 36.39.) Rems which by the Geographers called Medava and Medaba. On the West it had Jordan, and onthe North it had Laban (in Junius edition, by the fault of the Print, Lamban, Deuteron. 11.) whencewe read the fame which the Geographers call Libias: & fome confound it with Livias, of which of the plains of even now we spake.

Also on the same North side towards the confines of Colosyria, it had Theophel which allowe whereabout sometime Pella of Colosyria stood: which was in the region of Decapolis, readin the wars and, as Stephanus faith, was sometime called Butis. It is also noted in Meses to be over of David against and, as Stephanus faith, was sometime called Butis. It is also noted in Meses to be over Haner the Am- gainst or necreunto Suph, for which the Vulgar hath the Red Sea, as also Num.2.14: monite. Chro translateth the word Suphah in like manner: whereas in this place of Deuteronomy than 1 is no addition of any word in the Hebrew to fignifie the Sea: and yet the Scripture, what If 16.2. See be this word is foro be taken, useth the addition of Mara, thereby to distinguish it from the region of Suph or Suphah: which doubtlesse was about these plaines of Moab toward the dead Sea: where the Countrey being full of reedes, was therefore thus called: 83 all the red Sea was called Mare Suph, for like reason.

The place in these large plaines of Moab, where Moses made those divine exhaust ons, some fay was Bethabara where John baptized, which in the Storie of Gideon Bod. led Beth-bara. Josephus fayes it was where after the City Abila stood, neere Jordan, 12 place set with Palme trees: which sure was the same as Abel-sittim in the Plainesof Moab, Num. 33. 49. (that fome call Abel-fathaim, and Bel-fathim) which is reckoned by Moses in that place of Numbers for the 42 and last place of the Israelites incamping in the time of Moses: This place is also called Sittim; which word if we should interpret, we should rather bring it from Cedars than from Thornes, with Adrichemius and others It was the wood of which the Arke of the Tabernacle was made.

Toward the East of these plaines of Moab, they place the Cities, Nebo, Baal-Meon, Sibma, and Hesbon the chiefe Citie of Sehon, and Elhahel, & Kiriathaima the featofths Giants Emim. Of the two first of these Moses seemes to give a note that the names were to be changed, because they tasted of the Moabites * Idolatry. For Nebe (instead of Nomen degrum a Which, Junius, Ef. 46.1. reades Deus vaticinus) was the name of their Idoll-Oracle, and Genorum nercor- Baal-meon, is the habitation of Baal. Of the same Idoll was the Hill Nebo in these parts turis me tao, Pl. denominated: from whose top, which the common Translators call Phasgah, 16.4 non assume fes before his death saw all the land of Canaan beyond Jordan. In which story summer transform nomina dothnot take Phasgah or Pisgah for any proper name: but for an appellative, signifying muis.Hof.2.17. a Hill: and so also Vatablus in some places; as Num.21.20. where henoreth that some call Pifgah that top which looketh to Jericho, & Hair as it looketh to Moab, which op nion may be somwhat strengthened by the name of a City of Reuben, mentioned 30/13 20. called Ashdoth-Pisga, which is as much as decursus Fisca: to wit, where the water did runne downfrom Pifga. In the same place of Josus there is also named Beth-Peor

belonging to Reaben . To called from the Hill Pear : from whence also Baalthe Idol was What name called Baal-Peor, which they fay was the same as Priapus: the chiefe place of whose wor- they used for called bank to have beene Banoth-Bahal, of which also Jose 3. in the Cities of Reuben: appeare but for which, Num. 22.41. they reade, the high places of Baal (for so the word fignifieth) to nath monit which place Balaak first brought Balaam to curse the Israelites.

†. III.

. Of divers places bordering Reuben belonging to Midian, Moab or Edom.

Here were besides these, divers places of note over Arnon, which adjoying to Reuben: amongst which they place Gallem, the City of Phalis to whom Saul gave I Sam 25 ule his Daughter Michol from David: but Junius thinks this Towne to be in Benjamin: gathering so much out of Esa. 10.29. where it is named among the Cities of Benjanin. With better realon perhaps out of Num. 21.19. we may fay that Mathana and Nahaliel were in those confines of Reuben: through which places the Israelites past after they had left the Well called Beer: Then Deblat haim, which the Prophet Jeremy threatneth with the rest of the Cities of Moab.

Madian alfo is found in these parts, the chiefe City of the Madianites in Moab: but not Hierem 48. that Midian or Madian by the Red Sea, wherein Jethro inhabited. For of the Madianites there were two Nations, of which thefe of Moab became Idolaters, and received an exceeding overthrow by a Regiment of twelve thousand Ifractites, fent by Moles out of the plaines of Moab: at fuch time as Ifrael began to accompany their Daughters: their five Kings with Balaam the Soothsayer, were then slaine: and their regall Citie with the refidestroyed. The other Madianites, over whom Jethro was Prince or Priest, forgat nor the God of Abraham their Ancestor, but relieved & assisted the Istuelites in their painful travelsthrough the Deforts: and were in all that paffage their guides. In the South border of Moab adjoyning to Edom, and somtime reckoned as the chiefe City of Edom, there Elason. is that Petra which in the Scriptures is called Selah; which is as much as rupes or petra. It was also called Jottheel, as appears by the place, 2 Reg. 14. It was built (faith Josephus) by Lib 4 Ant. 7. Recem, one of those five Kings of the Madianites, flaine as before is faid after whom it was called Recom: Now they fay it is called Crac and Mozera. The Soldans of Egypt, for the exceeding strength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of Egypt and Arabia: of which it is the first and strongest City: the same perhaps which Pliny and Strabo call Nabather, whence also the Province adjoining tooke name: which name seemes to have bin takenat first from Nabajoth the son of Abraham by Kethura. For Nabathea is no where understood for all Arabia Petraa (at least where it is not mis-understood) but it is that Province which neighboureth Judea. For Pharan inhabited by Ismael, whose people Ptolomy calleth Pharanites, in flead of Ismaelites, and all those Territories of the Cusites, Madianites, Amalekites, Ifmaclites, Edomites, or Idumæans, the Lands of Moab, Ammon, b Hu, Sin, and of Og King of Basan, were parts of Arabia Petraa: though it be also true, that some part of Arabia the Defart belonged to the Amalekites, and Ismaelites: all I Chron. 5.19. which Nations the Scriptures in the first of Chronicles the fift, calls Hagarens, of Hagar.

Thiscitie Petra Scaurus befieged with the Roman Army, & finding the place in shew impregnable, hee was content by the perswasion of Antipater, to take a composition of mony, and to quit it. Yet Amasias king of Juda (after he had slaughtered 10000. of the Arabians in the valley called Salinarum) wan also this City . S. Hierome finds Ruth the Modbite to be naturall of this city. In the meane time when the Christians held the kingdome of Hierusalem, it had a Latine Bishop, having before binunder the Greek Church. It is seared Guil Tyrao bell. not far from Hor where Aaron died, & on the other fide towards the North is the river of face. Zareder Zered, by which Moses encamped in the 38. station. Adrichomius describeth the Numb.21.
Waters of Memrim Or eather Nemerim in his Man of Frences and house and waters of Memrim, or rather Nemrim, in his Map of Reuben, not far hence, and betweene Zared and Arnon: and so hee doth the Valley of Save: but the waters of Nimra, or Beth-Nimra (for which it seemes Adrichemius writ Nemrim) refresh the plaines of Moab: and Num.32.3. the confluence of those waters of Nimra are in the tribe of Gad. Save also cannot be found Jos 13.27. inthis place, that is, to the South of Arnon, and under Midian. For after Abraham returned from the pursuit of the Assyrian and Persian Princes, the King of Sodom met him in the Valley of Save or Saveh, which is the Kings Dale, where Abjetom fet up his Monument, as it feemes, not far from Hierusalem. And at the same time Melchizedeck King of Salem

Ii 2 alfo 328

* So Junius reads for the

Num.21.22.

23.24-]01.24.

also encountred him. But Abraham comming from the North, and MelchiZeace inhabiting, either neare Bethsan, otherwise Sogthopolu, in the halfe Tribe of Manasse, or in Hieru. falen (both places lying to the west of Fordan) could not incounter each other in Arabia; and therefore Save, which was also called the Kings Dale, could not be in these parts.

t. IV.

of the Dead Sea.

Tow because the Sea of Sodom or the dead Sea, called also the Lake of Ashaliting and the falt fea(in diffinction from the Sea of Tyberias which was fresh water)alfo the Sea of the wildernesse, or rather the Sea of the plaines, is often remembred Hebrew Haraboth in the Scriptures, and in this story also, therefore I thinke it not impertinent to speake every where, & formewhat thereof. For it is like unto the Caspian Sea, which hath no out-let, or disburon of Vatablus, thening. The length of this Lake Josephus makes 180 furlongs (which make 22. miles and Deur 3-17. though Deur 4. a halfe of ours) and about 150. in breadth, which make 18. of our miles and somewhat though Deut 4. a same of cuts, and the control of t 2 Reg. 14.25.the length: and two and a halfe of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lakeor reason of this length: name seemes to Sea, Tacitus maketh this report: Lacus est inimmenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corrupti. or, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer : neq; vento impellitur, neq; pisces aut suitas aquis volune; 10 plaines of Moab patitur, incertum unde super jecta ut solido feruntur periti, imperitiq; nandi perinde attolum which are called Homboth Motur, &c. That it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt safte : of smell infectious, and led Homboth Mot 16a Harboun 20.

ab. Deut. 34 I. pestilent to the borderers: it is neither moved nor raised by the wind, nor indureth fish to live in it, or fowle to swimme in it. Those things that are cast into it, and the unskilfull of swim. cepuloth in Har-bab, that is in ming, as well as the skilfull, are borne up by this water. At one time of the yeare it called the plaines, to up Bitumen: the art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hathall taught. It is used in the trimming of ships, and the like businesses. wit, of Zabulon

whence Adriche And then of the Land, he speaketh in this fort: "The fields not farre from this Lat. miss ineagines a Cowhich were sometime fruitfull, and adorned with great Cities, were burnt with light-"ning; of which the ruines remaine, the ground looking with a fad face, as having loft a Deforter Sand. Cher fruitfulnesse; for what soever doth either grow, or is set thereon, be it fruits or sow "ers, when they come to ripeneffe, have nothing within them, but moulder into after Thus farre Tacitus. And it is found by experience, that those Pomegranates and other Apples or Oranges, which doe still grow on the bankes of this curfed Lake, doelook faire, and are of good colour on the outfide, but being cut, have nothing but dust within Of the Bitumen which this Lake casteth up, it was by the Greeks called Aphalitis. 14 pasian desirous to be satisfied of these reports, went of purpose to see this Lake, and a fed certaine Captives to be cast into it, who were not onely un-skilfull in swimming, but had their hands also bound behinde them, yet notwithstanding they were catried on the face of the waters, and could not finke.

†. V.

Of the Kings of Moah, much of whose Country within Arnon Reuben possess.

F the Kings of Moab, whose Countrie (within Arnon) Reuben possess thoughnot taken from Moab, but from Sehon the Amorite) few are known. Junius inthe 21. of Num. v. 14. nameth Vaheb, which feems to be the Ancestor or Predecessor of Balac, the fon of Zippor: which Balac fent for Balaam to curse I frael. For fearing to contend with Moses by arms, by the examples of Sehon and Og, he hoped by the help of Balaams curfings or inchantments, to take from them all ftrength and courage, and tocalt on them some pestilent diseases. And though Balaam at the first, moved by the spirit of God, blest Ifrael, contrary to the hope and defire of Moab: yet being defirous in some forttofatisfie him, & to doe him fervice, he advised Moab to fend Madianitish women among the Israelites : hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischiese, to draw them to the Ido latrie of the Heathen: but in the end he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his evill counfaile, and was flaine among the rest of the Princes of Midian.

After these times the Kings of the Moabites are not named: saving that we finden the first of Chronicles the fourth, that Jokim, and the men of Chozeba, and Josh, and Sareph, all being of the iffue of Juda, sometime had the Dominion in Moab: but as it is written in the same Verse, These also are ancient things: to wit, as some expound it, the V. 228 particulars of these mens Governments are no where extant or remaining: or as others, hac prius fuere, these Families of Juda were once thus famous: but now their posterity choose rather to abide in Babylon, and be Clay-workers to the King there.

Then we finde Eglon King of Moab, who with the helpe of Ammon and Amalee ma-Judg 3. Apred Israel, and commanded them eighteene yeares: which Eglon, Ehud slew in his owne house, and afterward 1000. of his Nation. What name the King of Moab had unto whom David fled fearing Saul, it doth not appear: or whether it were the same against # Sam. 220 whom Saul made warre, it is not manifest, for neither are named. But in respect that this Moabite was an enemy to Saul, he received David, and relieved him; knowing that Saul 1 Sam. 14. , fought his life.

After this, David himselfe entred the Region of Moab, but not likely in the same Kings 2 Sam 8. rime: for hee flaughtered two parts of the people, and made the third part tributarie: whereupon it was faid of David, Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom will I cast my shooe: mea-1 Chron. 18. ning that he would reduce them to fuch an abjection, and appoint them for base ser vices: Plal.60.v.10. and that he would tread downe the Idumæans.

The next King after Davids time, of the Moabites, whose name liveth, was Mesha: who falling from Juda, (perhaps in remembrance of the severity of David) fastened himselfe to to the Kings of Ifrael, and paid tribute to Abab, 100000. Lambes, and 200000. Rams, 2 Reg 3. with the wooll: who revolting againe from Ifrael after the death of Abab, was invaded by Jekoram, with whom joyned the Kings of Juda and Idumæa: and being by these three Kines prest and broken, hee sled to Kir-hareseth, as is else-where shewed. There is also mention made of the Moabites without the Kings name; when that Nation, affifted by the Ammonites and Idumæans, invaded Jeholhaphat: and by reason of some private onarrels among themselves, the Moabites and Ammonites set upon the Idumæans, and flaushtered them: and then one against another, so as Jehoshaphat had a notorious victo- 2 Chron 20, rie over them all, without either blood or wound. Also in the time of Hieremy the Propher, there was a King of Moab which is not named, which was after Melha of Moab Hierem 27. many descents: for Mesha lived with Jehoram, and this Moabite in Zedechias time, fourteene Kings of Judah comming betweene, who wasted three hundred and odde

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.

He Territory adjoyning to Reuben, is that of Gad: whereof all that part which joyned to the Mountaines, was fometime in the possession of the Ammonites, as farre to the South as Arver. Of the children of Gad, the seventh sonne of Jacob Gengo. o by Zipha, the hand-maid of Lea, there parted out of Egypt, and died in the Defart, Num. 132, 45550 and of their sonnes there entred the Land promised, 45000 bearing armes: from the halfe Tribe of Managle the River of Jabor divided them: from Reuben the Cities of Hesbon, Elbele, and Aphec.

The chiefe Citie of Gad was Aroer, which they make to be the fame with Ar, or Rab-Ellis bath Moab, the great or commanding Moab. But the learned Junius attending diligently Deut. to those words of Moses, Deut. 2.36. Ab harabero que est in ripa fluminis Arnon of Civitate ipfa que est in flumine : Where the Citicin the River is distinguished from the city upon the banke of the River, as also in like manner Jof. (c. 12.v.2. and c. 13.v.9.) thinketh that Hareher which doubtlesse belonged to the Gadites (as Numb. 32. 34. it is said that they built it) was indeed feated neere Har of the Moabites, but divers from it. For that Har was never possest by Moles, it is plaine Deuteronomy 2.9. where God forbidding Moses to rouch it, saith hee hath given Har for an inheritance to the sonnes of Lot. Now that this Citie, which in divers places is faid to be within and in the middle of the River of Arnon (and so diftinguished from Haroher, which is said in the same places to bee on the banke of Arnon) is Har of the Moabires, the fame Junius provethour of Numb. 21. 15. where Arnon is faid to bee divided into divers streames, where or among which Har is feated: And the same is confirmed by the place of Jos. 13. 25. where Ha-Toher is faid to bee seated before Rabbah : which Rabbah, as it seemes, cannot beethe

Hier 48. Efa.15.21. Judg.8 11.

Num. 32-35.

a Charz Scot.1 of Gad.

Rabbah of the Ammonites (for they feat not Harehar neere it, nor in fight of it) and there. fore by Rabbab here wee must understand Rabbab of Moab, which they make to be Aror Har: and so we must needs distinguish it from Haroher. And as for * Har (which also Out of which placethe words gave the name to the coast adjoyning) it seemes it continued in the possession of the Mog. Placethe words Base the matter of the people called Emims, first weakened by Num 21-28. are bites after they had once expelled the Giant-like people called Emims, first weakened by to be expounded not have and his Affociates: but Haroher by the interchange of times fuffred many dednot that the Chedor laomer and his Affociates: but Haroher by the interchange of times fuffred many dednot that the Chedor laomer and his Affociates is the Machines by Sehan and from him by the LC ded not that the citie of Hor, but ancient changes, as being wonne from the Moabites by Sehon, and from him by the Ifrathe coast adjob elites, and from them, as it feems in the story of Jephta, by the Ammonites and from the ning was wasted A Ammonites againe by the Israelites under the conduct of Jephta. In S. Hieromes time the greatest part of this City perished by an earth-quake, as also Zoar, in which Lor saved Judg. 1:35. himselfe in the destruction of sodome, seated not farre hence; which they say was there. himselfe in the destruction of sodome, seated not farre hence; which they say was thrice over. To grade win question the was thrice over. To grade the was the seates as a wanton tumbling heifer, she was thrice over. & toc. Hebr. fee throwne with earth-quakes: for which cause also Hierome seemes to think that this Zour funius his anno-throwne with earth-quakes: was called Salissa, or Bal-salissa, as if Baal had bin a remainder of the old name Balah, or 1 Same 2. Belah, (of which Gen. 14.2. and Salisha, which hath a fignification of the ternary number, where he makes where nemakes Shalisha a plaine had alluded to the three earth-quakes. Brochard takes Haroher to be Petra, but erroniously, as before it is noted; seeing that

Jamin, and the lame with Bal- Petra was in the South border of Moab adjoyning to Edom, whereas Harober is in the full fin, 2. Reg 4. North-East border Betweene Harober and fordan they seate Dibon, which is attributed 42. wherehe ex-pounds Bal or to the Gadites, because they are said to have built it, Numbers, 32. 34. though Jossain 19 pouras Bal or Bibal to becas verse 17. it is said that Moses gave it to the Reubenites. Of this Citie among the restos much as planties. Moab, both Esay and Hieremy prophecied, that it should perish, and the Lakes about runne with the blood of the Inhabitants. It was a great village neere Arnon in S. Hieroms

Keeping the bankes of Arnon, one of the next Cities of fame to Aroer, was Beimin. rah, of which Esay prophecieth, That the watersthereof should be dryed up: and all thewal of Moab withered. Not farre from Bethnimrah in this tribe Adrichomius placeth Jogbin, and Nobach or Nobe: of both which we read in the story of Gideon: and that Jogbin was in Gad, built by the Gadites, it appeares, Numb. 32. 35. and therefore Nobachallo must needs bee in these parts; but whether in Gad or Manasse it is not certaine: onely that it was anciently called Kenath, Moles witnesseth. Nobach also (faith hee) went and took Kenathwith her Towns, and called it Nobach of his owne name, where because the vers precedent speake of the Manassites, and because it is not likely that Moses would have vered this feat of the Gadites from the rest, of which he spake before, 2.34.35.36 there fore it may seeme that this * Nobach was in that part of Manasse which was in the Est of Fordan, though Adrichomius place it in Gad. For whereas he supposeth it to bethe that, and plane or Juraun, thought saul destroyed, of this we shall speak a in the Tribe of Benjamin. cedin the bor fame with Nob, which Saul destroyed, of this we shall speak a in the Tribe of Benjamin. der of the king-And as for that Karkor where Zebah & Zalmunnah rested themselves in their slightsom Gideon, to which place Gideon marched through this Nobach and Jogbeha, though some towards Banka, and make it the same with Kir-chares, of which Esay 15 and 2 Reg. 3.25. p it is notalioge yet there can be no certainty that it was in Gad: and if it be the fame with Kir-chares, it is the runprobable yet there can be no certainty that it was in Gad: and if it be the fame with Kir-chares, it is the runprobable yet there can be no certainty that it was in Gad: and if it be the fame with Kir-chares, it is that it was in certaine that it was still a principall Citie held by the Moabites, and not in the Tribe

In the body of this Tribe of Gad they place Hataroth: of which name the Scripture Num-32-34-35. witnesseth that two Cities were builded by the Gadites; the former simply called Hataroth, the later Hatroth-Sophan: for which later the vulgar makes two Cities, Koth and Shophan : the name Hataroth, is as much as Corona.

In the Valley of the Kingdome of Sehon, together with Bethnimrah, of which we have fpoken, Josua cap. 13. v. 27. nameth Beth-haram and Succoth: the former, Numb. 32.36. (where it is called Beth-haram) together with Bethnimra, is faid to have bin built by the Gadites, which (perhaps the rather, because in Josbua it is called Beth-H aram) some take b Jost ant. 18. to be Betaramptha, (of which Josephus) after by Herod called Julias. But whether this Bttaramptha were corrupted from Beth-Haram, or from Beth-Aramatha (of which Arama cL.T.Ant.c.T. that here is mention in Josephus) or from Beth-Remphan (of which Remphan, an Idellof This Greenseader those Countries, wee reade, Ad. 7. 43. and to which Junius referres the name of the least seasons. Lating Rabatha Citie Rephan, I Macchab. 37.) of this question it were hard to resolve. But touching M. tropolis Ham- Julias (according to Josephus sometime Bataramptha) the same Josephus placeth in the Region of Peras beyond Jordan, which Regio peras, as the Greeke word fignifieth, is

no more than Regio ulterior, the Countrie beyond the River; and therefore they which labour to fet downe the bounds of this Perea, take more paines than needs. Foureteen Villages this Julias had belonging unto it, according to Josephus. Hee makes it to have been Ant.20.XX built by Herod Antipas, and named Julias, in honour of the adoption of Livia Augustus his wife, into the Julian Family: by which adoption she was called Julia. Another Julian Family: 83. as, he faith was built by Philip the brother of Herod, in the lower Gaulanitis, which hee Bel. Judg. 2.8. faith, is the fame as Bethfaida.

Upon the Sea of Galilee neere to Julias in Peras, (that is, in the Region over Fordan) they finde Vete Inbra, as it is called in Josephus, for Beth-eZob, which is as much as domus Josephule Bel. hillopi. Of a noble woman of this Citie, which for fafegard in the time of Warre with Judg 1.7.5. the Romanes, came with many others into Hierufalem, and was there belieged. Josephus in the place noted, reports a lamentable History; how for hunger she ate her own childe,

with other tragical accidents hereupon enfuing.

Of Succost b (which we faid Jof. 13. is placed with Ben-baran, in the Valley of the Kingdome of Schon) it is plaine by the story of Gideon that it is neere unto Jordan: where it is Judg. 8.54 hid that as he was past Jordan with his three hundred, wearie in the pursuite of Zebah and Zalmunnak, he requested reliefe of the men of Succoth: who denying him, and that withcomempt, in Gideons returns were by him tortured, as it feemes under a threshing Carre or Tribulum, betweene which and their flesh he put Thornes to teare their flesh as 2 Sam 12.31; o they were prest and trod under the Tribulum, and after which fort also David used some of the Ammonites, though not with Thornes, but with Iron teeth of the Tribulum. As for the name of Succost, which fignifieth fuch Tabernacles as were made in hafte, either for Men or Cattell, Moses, Gen. 33.17. witnesseth that the original of the name was from suchharbours, which Jacob in his returne from Mesopotamia built in that place: as also Exod.12.37 the place beyond the Red Sea, where the children of Ifrael, as they came from Ramefes in Egypt, had their first Station, was upon like reasoncalled Succoth: because there they fetup their first Tabernacles or Tents: which they used after for forty yeares in the Levit-23-433 Wildernesse. In remembrance whereof the Feast of Succeth, or Tabernacles was in-Stituted.

Other foure Cities of Gad are named Jof. 21.38. Ramoth in Gilead, Machanaim, Chefbon, and Jahzer, all of them by the Gadites given to the Levites, of which Jahzer, as Chefbon or Hesbon was a chiefe City of Sehon, whence Num. 32.1. his Countrie is called the Land of Tahaer. It was taken by Moses, having first fent spies to view it. In the first of Num. 22.32. the Chanicles it is made part of Gilead. In later times (as it may be gathered by the Pro- i Chron. 27-314 phecie of Esay touching Moab)it was possessed by the Moabites: to which place of Esay, Esay 6.8. allo Hieremy in a like prophecie alludes. It was at length regained (but as it seemes from Hierem 48,923 the Ammonites) by Judas Macchabaus: as it is I Macc. 5.8. where Junius out of Tolephu, reades Jahler, though the Greeke hath Galer. For Galer or Geler (as he gathereth out of Jos. 16. 3. 6 8. and Jud. 1.29.) was far from these Countries of Sehon, seated in the West border of Ephraim, not possessed by the Israelites, untill Salomons time, for whom the King of Egypt wanneit from the Canaanite, and gave it him as a Dowrie with his Daughter.

Of Cheshon it may be marvelled that in the place of Josua, and 1 Chron. 6.81. it should be faid to have beene given to the Levites by the Gadites, seeing fof. 13.0.17. it is reckoned for a principall Citie of the Reubenites: Adrichomius and fuch as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding Casbon, 1 Macc. 5.36. among the Cities of Gilead, taken by Judas Macchabaus, makes two Cities of one: as if this Casbon had beenethe Cheshon of Gad, and that of Reuben distinct from it : but the better reconciliation is; that it being a bordering Citie, betweene Gad and Reuben, was common to both, and Pthat the Gadites gave their part to the Levites, for so also it seemes that in like reason Dibon is faid in one place built by the Gadites, and in another given to Reuben, as before is noted. Of Machanatim, which word fignifieth a double Armie, we reade Gen. 32.2. that it was therefore so called, because the Angels of God in that place met Jacob in manner of another Host or company, to joine with his for his defence: as also Luke 2. 13. wee reade of a multitude of the Host of Heaven, which appeared to the sheepeheards, at the time of our Saviours birth : and fo unto the godly King Ofwald of Northumberland, when hee was soone after to joyne battaile with the Pagan Penda of middle-England, Beda reports, that the like comfort appeared: whence the field where the Battaile was fought in the North-parts of England, is called Heaven-field. In this Gitie of Machanatim, David abode during the rebellion of Abfalom: and the same for the Arength thereof Abner chose for the feat of Isboseth, during the warre between David and the house of Saul.

Of the fourth Towne, which was Ramoth in Gilead, wee reade often in the Scripture for the recovering of which King Achab loft his life. Junius thinkes that Ramatha Min. spa, of which Josua 13. 26. was this Ramoth in Gilead. Concerning the place where La. ban and Jacob sware one to the other, as it was called Gilead, which is as much as a wit. nessing heape, because of the heape of Stones which Laban and his sonnes left for a mo. nument; fo also that it was called Mitspah, which fignifieth over-looking (because there they called God to over-fee and be witnesse to their covenant) it is plaine by the place, Gen. 31. 49. That in these parts there was not onely a Towne, but likewise a Region cal. led Mitspa, it appeares Jos. 11. 3. where wee reade of the Chivites under Hermon, in the Countrey of Mitspa, * the Towns of Mitspa, as it seems both by this place, and in the townes of this name, see in the eighth ver. following, being not in the Hill Countrey, but in the Valley. But seeing that Jephta the Judge of Ifrael, who after he came home from Tob, (whither his brethrenhad driven him) dwelt in this Towne of Mitspa, who doubtlesse was of the Tribeof Ma. Tribe of Benjanasse, and thence at first expelled by his brethren, it may seeme that they doe not well, which place this towne of Mitspa rather in Gad than in Manasse. By Judas Macchaben this Towne of Minspa, (whether in Gad or in Manasse) was utterly spoiled and burns, and w

the males of it flaine: for it was then possess of the Ammonites.

Gen. 32.36.

Judg.8.17. .

Jud.11.36.

Mac.5.35.

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Deut-3-14for Rodanim 1 Chr.7. we have Dodanim the chiefe Cities of Og, of which in that

which remai-

Spoken of Ma-

nasse Adrichomi-

neth to be

Betweene Succoth (of which wee have spoken) and the River Fabor was that Paniel or Penuel, which name fignifieth Locum faciei Dei ; Aplace where the face of God was fun. fo called for memory of the Angels appearing to Jacob, and wreftling with himthen the churlishnesse of which Citie, in refusing to relieve Gideon, was the cause that inhis returne he overthrew their Tower, and flew the chiefe Aldermen thereof. To thefeph ces of the Gadites, they adde Rogelim, the City of that great and faithfull fubject Barga lai, as it feemes, not farre from Mahanaima, where hee fuftained King David, during Absaloms rebellion. To thesethey adde the Town of Gaddi, Arnon, and Alimis, of which Gaddi, being in Hebrew no more than Gaddita, is ignorantly made the name of a place Arnon also no where appeares to be the name of a Towne, but still of a River. Alimid. drichomius frames of er Anequois, I Mac. 5.26. fo that the name should rather bee Alm, but Junius out of Josephus reades Malla, for this in Alimis : and understanding Mallen DandR in the bee put for Millo, and to bee as much as Munitio, (as wee have shewed rouching the Hebrers are ve Millo of the Sechemites) hee takes this Malla, to bee Mitspa Moabitarum, of which one is oft milta- I Sam. 22.3. As for that Mageth which Adrichomius findes in this Tribe of Gal, is ken for another, that Mahacath, which Moses notes to bee as farre as the furthest of Manasses, out of the and iometime without milta- bounds of this Tribe. So also Dathema, of which I Mac. 5.10. (which Junius takes tobe king one is put b Rithma, of which Num. 33. 18. a place of ftrength in the Territory of the Ammonites) for another, as and in like manner Minnith, and Abel vincarum, though by fome they bee attributed to a reason of the state the Gadites, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two last wee reade in Jephra's pursuit of the Ammonites: feated, as it feemes by that place of the book Gen. 10-4. Other names of Judges, the former of them in the South border, and the other of them in the East Other names of this City ac-forthis City ac-forthi cording to Sie.

phanus were Am neerer, and not farre from the borders of Gad. It is called in the Scriptures fometimes mana and Aftar-Rabbath, as Deut. 3. 11. but more often Rabba. It is supposed to bee that * Philadelphia repuring this late. teburin this late which Ptolomie findes in Caloffria. Hierome and Califtus in Arabia. It was conquered by mittooke, which Qg from the Ammonites: but as it feemes never possess by the Israelites, after the overmight feeme to throw of og, but left to the Ammonites: whereupon at length it became the Regall feat of the Ammonites, but of old it was the possession of the Zamzummims: which is as much to fay, as men for all manner of craft and wickednesse infamous. The same werealfo called Raphaim, of whom was 03, which recovered much of that which the Ammo nites had got from his Ancestors: who having beene first beaten by the Assyrians, and their assistants (as the Emims in Moab, and the Horims in Seir had been) were afterward the easier conquered by the Ammonites, as the Emirns were by Moab, and the Horims by the Idunarians. Yet did the races of Emoreus, of whom these Giants were descended, contend with the Conquerers for their ancient inheritance : and as Sehon of Hesbon hadding also called Urbs possest Moab, so had og of Basan the Ammonites, and betweene them recovered the bell

part of all the Valley, betweene the Mountaines and Jordan. For this og was also master river Fabre's of Rabba or Philadelphia: And in the possession of the one or of the other of these two winding about of Rappa OI Land all those Cities and Countries which were given to Reuben, Gad, it, but in the place 2 Sam. 27, and the halfe Tribe of Manasse. So that though it were 450. yeares fince that these Zam- whencehegaand the name I not one supplied, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: these this opinion, Junius reads but having these two Kings of one kinred, and both valiant and undertaking men to wit, intercept ab urbe Og and Schon, both Amorites, they recovered again much of their loft possession, and aguam, if we og and sever, of Lot over the Mountaines, and into the Defarts. And as the Kings others, coin we or Captaines of Persia and Assiria, (remembred in the 14. of Genesis) made way for ben aquarum, yet or Captaines of the juntantial spirits, tentential that the table of the spirits Amorites, Og and Sehon, did the Moabites and Ammonites take opportunitie to look back self, but of some againe into those plaines; and when the Reubenites, Gadites and Manassites for sook the Gen. 14. worship of the living God, and became floathfull and licentious; they taking the advantage invaded them, and cast them out of their possessions and were somtime their maflers, somtime their tributaries, as they pleased or displeased God: and according to the wisedom and vertue of their Commanders.

In this Citie of Rabba, was the Iron bed of Og found, nine cubits of length, and foure of breadth. The Citie was taken in Davids time, and the Inhabitants slaine with Deuts. great feverity, and by divers torments. At the first assault therof urias was shor to death, having beene by direction from David appointed to be imployed in the leading of an affault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Army perished: and wherein David fo displeased God, as his affaires had ill successe afterward, evento his dying day. From hence had David the waighty and rich Crowne of Gold, which the Kings of Ammon ware: or which, as some expoundit, was used to be put on the head of 2 Santia. their Idoll, waighing a talent, which is 60. pound waight after the common talent. In the will Typ. Belface. time of Christians it had a Metropolitane Bishop, and under him twelve others.

The mountaines which are described within this Tribe, and that of Manasse, with a Strab.l.c. pan of Reuben, are those that Peolomy calleth the hills of Hippus, a City of Caelosyria: and * ready is locus, Strabo* Trachones: the same which continue from neare Damascus, unto the defarts of aper & salerofus Month: and receive divers names, as commonly Mountaines doe, which neighbour and peares that Trabound divers Countries: for from the South part, as farre Northwards as Aftaroth, the chomistresia, in chiefe City of Og, they are called Galaad or Gilead; from thence North-ward they are these parts was properly the hill knowne by the name of Hermon, for fo Moses calleth them : The Sidonians name them country, Shirim, but the Amorites Shenir, others Seir: of which name all thosehils also were called the server for Coche Perode. Hierem. 22. led, which part Judea and Idumea: and lastly, they are called Libanus, for so the Prophet Hiereny makes them all one, calling the high mountains of Galaad, the head of Libanus. These Mountaines are very fruitfull, and full of good pastures, and have many trees which yeeld Ballamum, and many other medicinable drugs. The Rivers of this Tribe Hier. 8.8.91 are the waters of Nimrah, and Dibon, and the River Jabor: others doe also fancy another River, which rifing out of the Rocks of Arnon, falleth into Fordan.

6. VI.

Of the Ammonites, part of whose Territories the Gadites wanne from Og the King of Bafan.

His Tribe of Gad possess halfe the Countrie of the Ammonites, who together with the Moabites, held that part of Arabia petras called Nabathes, as well within as without the Mountains of Gilead; though at this time when the Gadites wanit, it was in the possession of Sehon and Og, Amorites: and therfore Moses did not expell the Ammonites, but the Amorites, who had thrust the issues of Lot over the mountaines Trachones or Gilead, as before. After the death of Othoniel the first Judge of Israel, he Ammonites joyned with the Moabites against the Hebrewes, and so continued long. Johna Judg of Ifrael had a great conquest over one of the Kings of Ammen, but his name Judge. somitted. In the time of Samuel they were at peace with them againe.

Afterward we finde that cruell King of the Ammonites, called Nahas: who befiering Jabes Gilead, gave them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right eyes. I Samit. the reason why he tendred so hard a composition, was (besides this desire to bring

CHAP.10.5.7.

Foreph.1.6.Ant.

2 Sam.10.4.18.

Affer. Hier.40 & 41.

2 Chron.20.

2 Chron.36. 2 Chron.26,

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shame upon Ifrael) because those Gileadites using to carry a Target on their lest armes, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should by losing their right, be utterly diffe bled to defend themselves: but Saul came to their rescue, and delivered them from that danger. This Nahas, as it may feem, became the confederate of David, having friended him in Sauls time, though Josephus thinks that this Nahas was flain in the battaile, when Saul raised the siege of Jabes, who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the Moa.

Hanun facceeded Nahas: to whom when David sent to congratulate his establish. bites of that name. ment, & to confirme the former friendship which he had with his father, he most contemptuously and proudly cut off the Ambassadours garments to the knees, and shaved the halfe of their beards. But afterward notwithstanding the aids received from the A ramites subject to Adadezer, and from the Reguli of Rebob, and Maacah, and from Ilib, 1900, that is, the yet all those Arabians, together with the Ammonites, were overturned: their chicke City of Rabba, after Philadelphia, was taken; the Crowne which waighed a talentof Thob is a small gold was set on Davids head; all such as were prisoners, David executed with strange for verity: for with fawes and harrowes he tare them in pieces, and cast the rest intolime. Rebubis another kils. Josaphat governing Juda, they assisted the Moabites their neighbors against him, betweene Hazor Kills. Jujapriat governing Jackson and Tributaries, & they were again by Jothamin. and Sidon, in the and perished together. Offices made them Tributaries, & they were again by Jothamin. North bound of forc't to continue that tribute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of filver, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of filver, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of filver, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of filver, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of filver, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of filver, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of filver, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of filver, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of filver, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of filver, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of filver, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of filver, and to increase it, to wit, a hundred talents of filver, and to increase it, and the increase it, and the increase it, and the increase it, and the increase it is an increase it.

Canaan, Num. 3. thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barly: which the Ammonites com. 122. of which see thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barly: The fift King of the Ammonites, of whose name we read, was Baalis the confedence in the tribe of nued two yeares. of Zedekia: after whose taking by Nabuchodonoser, Baalis sent Ismael of the blood of the

Kings of Juda, to flay Gedaliah, who ferved Nabuchodonofor.

§. VII. Of the other halfe of Manasse.

Herest of the land of Gilead, and of the kingdome of Og in Basan, with the land of Hus and Argob, or Trachonitis (wherein also were part of the small Temo ries of *Basanta, Gaulonitis, Gessuri, Machati, and Auranitis) was given with *Another terri- halfe Tribe of Manaffe over Jordan; of which those three latter Provinces defended tory adjoyning themselves against them for many ages. But Batania Ptolomy setteth farther off, and the North-East, as a skirt of Arabia the defart: and all those other Provinces before were confounded with Petraa, and Ituraa, he nameth but as part of Calofyria; as far Southas lab ded with some of these, was that Or Philadelphia: likewise all the rest which belonged to Gad, and Reuben, saving the land neere the dead Sea, hee makes a part of Arabia petræa: for many of these small King domes take not much more ground than the County of Kent. Countrey of E-

Basan, or after the Septuagint, Basanitis, tretcheth it selfe from the river of Jabot tolk lias, as it is,t Kin. bias, Tob.1.2. Machati and Gessuri : and from the mountaines to Jordan, a Region exceeding fertiles It lay on the East to the tribe by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of Cattell. It had also the goodlicst woods of Noph, on the of all that part of the world: especially of Oaks, which bare mast (of which the Pronighthand of it, phet Zacharias; Howle, O jee Oakes of Bashan) and by reason hereof they bred somy was possest by fwine, as \$2000. in one herd were carried headlong into the Sea, by the uncleand from the Sea, by the Unclean from Colonies of the which Christ had caft out of one of the Gadarens. It had in it three score cities walked a life direction the time of Said af defenced: all which, after og and his fons were flaine, Jair, descended of Manalle, conter his victory of quered, and called the country after his owne name, Avoih Jair, or the cities of Jair. The principall cities of this halfe Tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these; Pella, some ver the Amale-

times Butis, otherwise Berenice; by Seleucus King of Syria, it is said to have been called kites and Ismae-Pella, after the name of that Pella in Macedon: in which both Philip the Father and his sonne Alexander the great were borne. It was taken and in part demolished by Alexander parts,asit is gaander Jannaus King of the Jewes, because it refused to obey the Jewes lawes: but it was I Chron. 5.10. repaired by Pompey, and annexed to the Government of Syria. It is now but a Vi lage, faith Niger. Carnaim by the river of Jaboc, taken by & Judas Maccabaus: where the was part of Itie-

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a Sothey call them of Mahatath, of which Mahatath formenhat hath beene spoken toward the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the fit Paragraph of this Chapatan and the end of the Moab in this Chapter, §.4.7.2. d z Mac.s.

fer on fire the " Temple of their Idols: together with all those that fled thereunto for e Folizantia. Sanctuary; and neare it they place the Castle of Carnion, of which 2 Masc. 12.22. Then the strong Citie of Ephron neare Jordan: which refusing to yeeld passage fr Macs. 10 & Judas Maccab aus, was forced by him by affault, and taken and burnt with great 8 2 Mac. 12.07

labes Gilead, or Jabesus, was another of the Cities of this halfe Tribe, which being belieged by Nahas h King of the Ammonites, was delivered by Saul, as is elsewhere h samite mentioned. In memory whereof these Citizens k recovered, embalmed and buried the i following. bodies of Saul and his sonnes: which hung despightfully over the walls of Bethsan or k 1 Sam. 31. Scythopolis. Gaddara or Gadara, is next to be named, feated by Pliny on a Hill near the 1 is Chronzol River Hieromiace, which River Ortelius seemes to thinke to be Jaboc. At the foote of the Hill there spring forthalfo hot baths, as at Machærus. Alexander Jannaus after ten moneths fiege, wan it, and subverted it. Pompey restored it: and Gabinius m made it one m for same is of the five Courts of Justice in Palestine. Hierusalem being the first, Gadara the second. Emathor Amathus the third, Hierico and Sephora in Galile, the fourth and fift. The Cirizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of Herod, surnamed Ascalonita, accused him to 74lius Cafar of many crimes: but perceiving that they could not prevaile, and that Herad was highly favoured of Cafar, fearing the terrible revenge of Herod, they flew them- n Folissant, 120 felves: fome by strangling others by leaping over high Towers, others by drowning themselves.

Tothe East of Gadara they place Sebei, oin which, 3of. ant. 5.13. faith, Jephtha was o Of Michain buried: whence others reading with the Valgar, Jud. 12.7. Sepultus oft in Civitate fua Gi. Gilchadsthe buried: whence others reading with the Valgar, Jud. 12.7. Sepultus of in Civitate fua Gi. Gilchadsthe Citic of Juhlag. bhad, (for in una Civitatum Gilehad) imagine Gilehad to bee the name of a City, and to fee in the Tribe bethe same with Sebei. In like manner following the Vulgar, 1 Macc. 5.26. whereir of Gad. readeth Casphor for Chesbon; the same Adrichemius imagineth it to be ampla & firma Gilehadit arum Civitas: so of one City Hesbon or Chesbon, which they call Effebon, the chiefe City of Sehon, in the Tribe of Reuben, hee imagineth two more: This Cafphor in Manufes, and a Citie in Gad which he calleth Casbon, of which we have admonished the Readerheretofore. Of Gamala (fo called, because the Hill on which it stood, was in fashionlike the back of a Cammell) which Josephus placeth not farre from Gadara, in the lower Gaulanitis over against Tarichea, which is on the West side of the Sea or Lake of Tiberias, see this Fosephus in the fourth booke of the Jewish warre: where he describes cap. 1.03 the place by nature to be almost invincible: and in the storie of the siege, shewes how Vehillan with much danger of his owne person, entring it, was at first repulsed, with or thervery memorable accidents : and how at length, after the comming of Titus when it was taken, many leaping down the rocks with their wives and children, to the number of five thousand, thus perished: besides foure thousand slain by the Romanes: so that none escaped save onely two women that hid themselves.

About four miles West from Gadara, and as much East from Tiberias (which is on the other fide of the Lake) Josephus placeth Hippus, or Hippene, whence Ptolomie gives Invitafua, the names to the hils that compaffe the plaines in which it standeth: so that it may seem to have been of no small note. It is seated farre from the hill Countrey: on the East of the Lake, as also Plinie noteth lib. 5. cap. 15. It was restored by Pompey: after by Augustus added to Herod's Tetrarchie: it was wasted by the Jewes, in the beginning of Total Jud. 12. their rebellion; when by many maffacres of their Nation, they were inraged against their e. 19. borderers.

The next Citie of note, but of more ancient fame, is Edrehi or Edrai, wherein Og Ofanother E. King of Basan chiefly abode, when Moses and Israel invaded him: and neare unto this see Jos 19.37. his Regall Citie, it was that he loft the battell and his life. It stood in S. Hieromes time : Deut 3.1. & 10. and had the name of Adar or Adara. Not farre from these townes neare Jordan, in this tem. Jos. 32. valley, stood Geraffa or Gergessa, inhabited by the Gergesites, descended of the fift son of Canaan. Of these Gergesites we read Mar. 8.28. that Christ comming from the other Mar. 8.28. fide of the Lake of Tiberias, landed in their coasts: where casting the Divels out of the possessed, he permitted them to enter into the heard of Hogges: in which story, for Marke to Gergefites or Gergefins, S. Luke and S. Marke have Gaderens: not as if these were all one Lukes. for Gergessa, or Gerassa is a distinct Towne in these parts from Gadara) but the bounds Peing confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this story. his Citie received many changes and calamities: of which Josephus hath often menCHAP.10.5.7.

Marke 15.

Marke 8.

Brochitin.z. Ofthis Phiale fee in Nepth. C-7-5-4-7-3. Matth. 14-Marke 6. Luke 9. John 6.

Gen. 14-5.

Seechap.7. 5.3.1.2.

the Vulgar, Exo. 34.19.reading

to paint Mofes

Fudith 1.8.

E Cant.5.

S. Amb. Sisp. E.p. ad Rom. Aug.de

tion. Forbesides other adventures, it was taken by L. Annius Lievtenant to Vespasian. and 1000 of the ablest young men put to the sword, and the Citie burnt. In the years 1120.it was rebuilt by Baldwine King of Damascus: and in the same year recovered by Baldwine de Burgo King of Jerusalem: and by him utterly razed. Neare unto Gerasais the village of Magedan, or after the Syriake Magedu, or after the Greek Magdala, where the Pharifees and Sadducees defired of our Saviour a figne from heaven: the fame place or some adjoyning to it, which S. Marke calleth Dalmanutha. By the circumstances of which storie it appeares, that this coast lay between the Lake of Tiberias, and the Countrey of Decapolis. Brochard makes both these places to be one; and findes it to be Phiale. the fountaine of Jordan according to Josephus: but this Phiale is too far from the Scaof Galilee, and from Bethlaida, to be either Magdala or Dalmanutha. For as it appeares by the flory, not farre hence towards the North was the Defart of Beth faida, where Chris filled 5000 people with the five barley loaves and two fishes. On the North of this Bethfaida, they place Julias, not that which was built by Hered

but the other by Philip, which boundeth the Region Trachonitis towards the South. It was sometime a Village, and not long after the birth of Christ it was compassed with wall by Philip the Tetrach of Ituraa and Trachonitis: and after the name of Inlia, the wife of Tiberias, called Julias, as hath been further spoken in the Tribe of Gad . whereit was noted that Fosephus makes this Julias to be the fame as Beth Saida. Upon the East file of the same Lake of Tiberras stands Coroz aim, or Corazim, of which Christ in Masshen : Woe be unto thee Corazim.

But the principall Citie of all these in ancient time was Afteroth: sometime people with the Giants Raphaim: and therefore the Countrey adjoyning called the Land of Gi. ants, of whose race was Og King of Basan. In Genesis this Citie is called Asteroth of Conaim, whence I Mac. 5.26. it it called fimply Carnaim, as Jof. 1 3.21. it is called Afternit. without the addition of Carnaim. The word Carnaim fignifieth a paire of Horns, which agree well with the name of their Idoll Astereth, which was the image of a sheepe, asis elsewhere noted, that Astaroth in Deuteronomie signifieth sheepe. Others from the ambiguity of the Hebrew take Karnaim, to have been the name of the people which inhair *Because Horn ted this Cirie: and expound it heroes * radiantes. For of old the Raphai which inhabited when it is polithis Citie (Gen. 14.5.) were Giant-like men, as appeares by comparing the words Dist. 3.11. Og ex residuo gigantum, with the words, Jos. 13. 12. Og ex reliquis Raphacount the Verb of this but if the Karnaim (or Carnajim) were these Raphai, the word would not have been in Noune is some the dual number : neither would Moses in the place of Genesis have said the Raphei in A. steroth of the Karnaim, but either the Raphai in Asteroth of the Raphai, or some other est whereupon way fittest for perspicuity: for this naming of both thus in the same clause, distinguished one from the other.

Not farre from Asteroth, Adrichomius out of Brochard and Breidenbachius placettici dar in the way out of Syria into Galilee, four miles from Corazin. This Citie (faithh) Jacem, gave of gallet, is remembred in the Canticles, and in the book of Judith, and there are that of this Citt bulous painters understand David in his 120. Psalme: and here the Sepulchre of 306 is yet to be seen lain Breidenbach.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is so that the Greeke hath Galadia stead of the word Cedar, which the Vulgar doth use in that place of Judith, and joynah Carmel and Galilee. The Canticles and the 120. Pfalme doe rather prove that Cedar wis not hereabout, than any way helpe Adrichomius. For that they speake of Scenita Cedareni, it is apparent, and as evident by the place in the Canticles, that they were decilors, much more than any under the Climates of the Land of Canaan: whence Junius out of Lampridius and Plinie placeth them in Arabia Petras, farre from these parts. Touching the Sepulchre of Job, it is certaine that the Arabians and Saracens (holding those places) faine many things to abuse the Christians, and to get money. Further, it may wellbeas-Rup Lyan Oleaf. firmed, that many (if not all) the historicall circumstances of Job are so obscure, that we Rup. Lynan. Uleaps. Should rather by finding his Countrey seeke to get some knowledge of him, than by any Elb.1. de ver. Dei. presumptions sounded upon him, inferre what his Countrey was, and build unto him!

Citie by conjecture. Of Job himself, whether he was the same Jobab remembred in the 36. of Genesis, de-Chry. Hom. De Conded from E fau, and King also of Idumea, though Repertus, Lyranus, Oleafter, and Blandenia 70b. patientia 100.

Greg coming feb. lar mine are of another opinion, yet Saint Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostome, and Gregorit

with Atbanasius, Hippolitus, Irenaus, Eusebius Emissenus, Apollinaris, Eustachius, and other cired by S. Hierome in his 126. Epist to Evagrius, take him for the same.

The Land of Hus or Hus wherein Job dwelt is from the Greck Ourswhich the Septua- For owand an gint use for the word Huts, translated by the Vulgar sometime Hus, as Job 1. 1. sometime ged one into Austin, as Hierem. 25.20. This Land is placed by Junius between Palastine and Calosyria, the other: belides Chamatha (or Hamath) under Palmyrene, in the Countrey called by Ptolomy Tra whence they chonitis or Bathanaa, the bounds of which Countries are confounded with Basan in this Outside. halfe Tribe of Manafes. And that this Land of Hus was thus feated, it may in part bee Hence also by gathered out of the place of fer. 25.20. where he reckons the Hushites among the pro-thers it is calmiscuous borderers of the Israelites, whom he therefore calleth promissions or miscel-led Ausanitis, laneam turbam, because their bounds were not onely joyned but confounded, and their fermes shey Seigniories mingled one with the other: but of this place the words of Hieremie, Lam. 4. readitin the 21 speaking of the same Prophecie, of which he speaketh in the 25. Chapter, must needs in Gento.23. he expounded, as Junius reades them, distinguishing the Land of Hus from Edom: Offla Edomi, O que habitas interra Hutzi O Daughter of Edom O thou which dwellest in the Land of Hus. Now because the Vulgar doth not so diftinguish, but readeth, Filia Edom and habitas in terra Hus; Daughter of Edom which dwelleft in the Land of Hus: Hence, as in feemes, fome of the learned have thought that Job was an Edomite, as we have faid, and King of Edom, which if they understand by it Idumaa or Edom, so called in Moses time, they are greatly mistaken, making this Land of Hus to be in Idumea. For it is very pro- Deut 3.92 bable that Esau when he first parted from Jacob, did not leate himselfe in Edom or Seir, which lyeth on the South border of Judaa, but inhabited Seir far to the East of Jordan, andhelda part of those Mountaines, otherwise called Galaad, and Hermon, which by comprison the Sidonians call Shirion, and the Amorites Shenir, for Seir; and from this hishabitation did Esau incounter Jacob when he returned out of Mesopotamia, who pasfedby the very border of Efay his abiding. It is true that at fuch time as Mofes wandered in the Defarts, that the posterity of Esan inhabited Sear to the South of Judea: for it is like that the Amorites who had beaten both Ammon and Moub, did also drive the Edominesout of those parts, who thence-forward seated themselves to the South of Judea, bordering the Defart Paran, and stretched their habitations over the Defarts as far as Hor where Auron died.

Now for this Hus which gave the name to a part of the Land of Trachonitis, whether it were Hus the fon of Aram, as Junius thinkes in his noteupon Gen. 10.23. or rather Hus the fonof Nachor, Abrahams brother, the question is doubtfull. For my part I rather endine to thinke, that is was Hus the fon of Nachor: partly because these Families of Aram femelong before to have been loft: and partly because in 196 32.2. Elibrathe fourth of whence the July friends, which seemes to be of Jobs own Countrey, is called a Buzite, of Buz the bro-sepungint call ther of Hus, the sonne of Nachor: as also fer. 25 in the same continuation (though some him exequine arbox Marie though some Austride, other Nations named between) where Hus is spoken of there Bu? is also named Neither doth it hinder our conjecture, that in the place of 70b 32. Elibuthe Bullite is faid to bee of the Family of Ram: (which Junius expounds to be as much as of the Familie of Aram) for that by this Aram we are not to understand Aram the sonne of Sem, Junius himselfe makethit plaine, both in his annotation upon the beginning of his book, where he faith that one of Jobs friends (which must needs be this Elibu) was of the posterity of Nachor (salfointhis place he confesseth so much expressly,) and in as much as hee readeth not d simila Aram, or Ram, but & familia Syria; like as elsewhere Laban who forung of Nachor

As for the other three of Jobs friends (of whom by this note of Elihu his being of the See Sixtus Se. Frian Family, or of the Family of Nachor) it is implyed that they were of other kin-nenfit dreds; as also by the Septuagints addition, that this Elihu was of the Land of Hus, or Ausi-

taitis implyed that they thought onely Elibu to have beene of Jobs own Countrie. Franciscus Brochard the Monke, in his description of the holy Land in the journy from Moon Eastward, findeth Sweeha, and Theman on the East of the Sea of Galilee: both ve-Yheere to the Land of Hus: whereof the one may seeme to have denominated Bildad the Shachite; the other EliphaTthe Themanite: two of the three friends of Job, of the which Job 2.11. But Junius thinks that the Shuchites were inhabitants of Arabia the Deri, descended of Shuach the son of Abraham and Ketura : of whom Gen, 25.2. perhaps, with he, the fame whom Plinie calls Saccai. So also he thinketh the Themanices of whom

CHAP.II.S.

De Bell.Sacr.l.

Jof. 21.27.

Deut.4.43.

Eliphaz was, to have beene of Arabia the Defart: and Eliphaz himselfe to have been of the posteritie of Theman the son of Eliphaz, which was the sonne of Esau. And so also Nahamah, whence T fopher the third of Jobs friends (which in this place of Job. 2. 11. are mentioned) is by the same learned Expositor, thought either to be named of Thinnahby transposition of letters (which Thimnah Gen. 36.40. is named among the sons of E_{fau} that gave denomination to the places where they were feated) or elfe to be the fame N_4 . hamab, which Jos. 15.41. is reckoned for a Citie of Juda in the border, as hee thinkes, of Edom. And yet I deny not but that neere the Land of Hus, in Basan, as it seemes, in the Tribe of Manases, there is a Region which (at least) in later times was called Suite, or of some like name. For this is evident by the Historic of Willielmus Tyrius, which reports of a Fort in this Region of Suita or Suites (as he calls it diversly) of exceeding great Arength and use for the retaining of the whole Countrie: which, in the time of Baldming the second King of Jerusalem, was with great digging through rockes recovered by the Christians; having not long before been lost, to the great disadvantage of the Countrie. while it was in the hands of the Saracens. The fituation of this Fort is by Tyrius defenbed to be fixteen miles from the Citie Tiberias, on the East of Jordan: by Adricheming four miles North-ward from the place where Jordan enters the lake Tiberias at Corain, Other Cities of this part of Manaffes named in the Scripture are these: Golan, Gehill.

Other Cities of this part of Manages named in the Scriptus of the Ifraelites was called thera, Mitsa of Gilead, and Kenath, which after the comming of the Ifraelites was called Nobach. Of Nobach or Kenath, and Mitsa of Gilead, we have spoken by occasion among the Cities of Gad: The other two were given to the Levites, and Golam made one of the Cities of refuge: from which Golam we have both Gaulanitis superior and inserior, of the Cities of refuge: from which Golam we have both Gaulanitis superior and inserior, of the cities of Basan by some, but the writersor Josephus. Behesshithera is accounted the chiefe Citie of Basan by some, but the writersor rupting the name into Bozra, it is consounded with Betser or Bozra of Reuben, and hence Hierom has Bozra of Edom. Argob is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence Hierom has Bozra of Edom. Argob is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence Hierom has Bozra of Edom. Argob is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence Hierom has Bozra of a Citie placed by some about the waters of Merom (as they are called by Josus which make the Lake Samachouitis, as Joseph. cals it. This lake, being as it were in the midst between Casarea Philippi and Tiberias, through which, as through the Lake of Tiberias, Jordan runneth, boundeth part of this halfe Tribe on the West. Whenty of the marish ground on both sides, for Lyons and other wilde beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plemisully grow there.

Adjoyning to this Lake in this Countrey of Manasses, Josephus names two places of strength, fortified by himself in the beginning of the Jews rebellion: Seleucia the one, and so so are the other. In the North side of this halfe Tribe of Manasse, and in the North east, the Scripture nameth divers bordering places toward Danasses, as Tedad, Chanan, and Chaisser-Henan, lying in a line drawne from the West; of which three Cities were exel. 47.15. with which also agrees the place Num. 34.8. where for Chauram, between Exel. 47.15. with which also agrees the place Num. 34.8. where for Chauram, between Tsedad, and Chaisser-Henan, Ziphron is named. From this Chauram is the name of Annitis Regio, in Josephus and Tyrius, whose bounds (as also the bounds or Gessur and Mahis cath or Macasi, which were likewise borderers to Manasses toward the North-east) at unknowne: onely that Gessur was of might, it appeares in that David married Mahis the Daughter of Thalmas King of Gessur: by whom he had the most beautifull, but wich the Daughter of Thalmas King of Gessur: by whom he had the most beautifull, but wich the Daughter of Thalmas King of Gessur: by whom he had the most beautifull, but wich the Daughter of Thalmas King of Gessur: by whom he had the most beautifull, but wich the Daughter of Thalmas King of Gessur: by whom he had the most beautifull.

I Chron. 3.2.

The Historie of the Syrians the chiefe borderers of the Israelites

Of the Citie of Damascus, and the divers fortunes thereof.

Amascus of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in Beautie, Antiquirie, and Riches, and was therefore called the Citie of joy or gladnesse; and the House pleasure; and is not onely remembred in many places of Scripture, by the best Historians and Cosmographers. The Hebrewes, saith so by the best Historians and Cosmographers. The Hebrewes, saith so by the best Historians and Cosmographers.

Saint Hierome upon Esay seemeth to bee: though in his Hebrew questions he affirmeth In Eas. 17. that it was founded by Damaseus, the sonne of Eliezer Abrahams Steward; a thing Genas, 2. very unlikely, seeing the Citie was formerly knowne by that name, as appeares by Abrahams calling this his Steward Eliezer of Damaseo. David was the first that subjected it to the Kingdome of Juda, after the overthrow of Adadezer their King, but in Salomons time, Rezon recovered it againe, though he had no title at all or right to that principalitie: but David having overthrown Hadadezer King of Sophena (otherwise Syria Soba or Zoba) Razon or Rezon with the remainder of that broken Armie, invaded Damaseena, and possess Damaseus it selfe, and became an enemie to Salomon all his 1/Reg. 11.40.

Thenext King of Damascus was Adad the Edomite, who slying into Egypt from 1 Reg. 13. David and Josh, when they flew all the males in Edom, was there entertained, and marryed Taphnes the King of Egypts Wives fifter: of whom Taphnes in Egypt was fo called. This Adad returning againe, became an enemie to Salomon all his life, and (as some writers affirme) invaded Damascus, and thrust Rezon thence-out. In the line of Adad that Kingdome continued nine descents (as hereafter may be shewed in the Catologue of those Kings of Syria) to whom the Assyrians and then the Gracians succeeded. This Citie was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the rivers of Abanah, and Pharpar: whereof one of them, prophane writers call Chryforrhoas, the golden 2 Reg 5. river. Junius takes it for Adonis. The countrey adjoyning is very fruitfull of excellent Wines and Wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong Castle, built as it feems by the Florentines, after it became Christian: the Lillies being found cut Hoold 6.Bell. in many Marbles in that Cittadell. Against this Citie the Prophets Amos, Esay, Jeremie, Sacr. and Zucharias, prophecied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heape 1-3.8.10.8 17. offines. In the time of the last Rezon, and tenth King of the Damascens, Teglasphalaster, invited by AchaZ King of Juda, carried away the naturals of Damascus into the East: 2 Reg. 16. leaving of his owne Nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the Babylonians faith Hierome upon E fay: which thing was performed by Salmanaffer, according Efay 170 to Junius in his note upon that place, five yeares after the Prophecie. In time it was reflored by the Macedonians, and the Ptolomies; but long after, when Syriafel into the hands of the Romans, it was taken by Metellus and Lollius. In the time of the Christians it had Forance. an Archbishop: Saint Hierome living, as he affirmeth upon the Alls, it was the Metropolis of the Sarazens: being taken by Haomer their King from the Romans, in the yeare of our redemption 636. and in the yeare 1147. Conrad the third, Emperour of Rome, Lewis King of France, Baldwine the third King of Hierusalem, Henry Duke of Omphriusin Auffria, brother to Conrad, Predericke Barbaroffa afterward Emperor, Theoderick Earle Varie. 46.1811. of Flaunders, and other Princes affembled at Ptolomais Acon, on the sea-coast, deter-Tyr. Reil Sacr. 1. mined to recover Damascus: but being betrayed by the Syrians, they failed of the en-17.6.1.23.4.5.

Intheyeare 1262. Halon the Tartar incompass it, and having formerly taken the King, brought him under the walls, and treatned extreme torture unto him, except the Citi-Harold Bell. 2015 rendred the place: but they refusing it, the King was torne as under before them, & Sac. 46.14 in fine the Citie taken, Agab the sonne of Halon was by his father made King thereof.

Inthe yeare 14.00. Tamberlaine Emperour of the Parthians, invaded that region, and Herold 160.00 befieged the Citie with an Armie of 1200000. (if the number be not mistaken.) He entred it, and put all to the fword, filling the ditch with his prisoners; those that retired into the Castle, which seemed a place impregnable, hee overtopped with another Castle adjoyning: he forbare the demolishing of the Citie in respect of the beauty of the Church, garnished with 40. gates or sumptuous porches. It had within it 9000. Lanternes of gold and filver: but while he invaded Egypt, they againe surprized Damascus. Lastly, in his returne after three moneths siege, he forc't it: the Mahometans prostrating themselves with their Priests, defired mercie. But Tamberlaine commanding them to enter the Church, he burnt them and it, to the number of 30000. and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their houses, knew them not by the foundations. And as a Trophey of his victorie, hee raised three Towers with great Art, builded with the heads of those whom he had slaughtered. After this, it was restored and reposses by the Soldane of Egypt with a garrison of Mammalukes: And in the yeare 1517, Selimus Emperour of the Turkes wrested it out of the hands of the Egyptians: Kk 2

in whose possession it now remaineth inhabited with Mahometans and Christians of all neighbouring Nations.

6.11. Of the first Kings of Damascus, and of the growing up of their power.

Ow be it that Damascus were founded by Hus the son of Aram, or by Damascus the sonne of Eliezer Abrahams steward, we find no relation of their Kings, or Common-wealth till Davids time. For it stood without the bounds of Canage. and therefore neglected by Moses, Josua, and the Judges, as impertinent to that Storie, But were it for that it had some Reguli, or petty Kings over it, as all the Cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till fuch time as David overthrew Adadez er Prince of Sophena or Syria Zoba: the same Nation which Plinie calleth Nubai, inhabiting betweene Batania and Euphrates. Now the bettern understand the storie of those Syrian Princes, whom soone after the Kings of Damascus made their vassals, the Reader may informe himself, That on the North-east parts of the holy Land, there were three chiefe principalities, whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Common-wealth of Ifrael, namely, Damasius or Aram, Sophena or Syria Zoba, and Chamath or Chamath. Zoba; of which these were the Princes in Davids and Salumons times : Razon or Rezon of Damascus, Adadezer of Syris 10 Zeba, and Tohu of Chamath. But it feemeth that Damascus was one of the Cities subjet to AdadeZer when David invaded him, though when Saul made warre against Zoba], mascus was not named. And as Josephu affirmeth, the leader of those succours, which were levied and fent to Hadad-Heger from Damascus, had the name of Adad: who was in that battaile flaine with 22000. Aramites of Damascus: whereof, as of the overthow of AdadeZer, ReZen, the Commander of his Armie, taking advantage, made him like King of Damascus : AdadeZer and Adad of Damascus being both slaine. About the fame time Tohu King of Chamath or Iturea, hearing that his neighbour and enemy Ale deZer was utterly overthrowne, fendeth for peace to David, and presenteth him with rich gifts; but in dolo, faith S. Hierome; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the West of Damascus, the Tyrians and Zidonians inhabited: but they for the most part were in league and peace with the Judæans and Israelies. But to returne to the Kings of Syria, I meane of Syria as it is taken in the Scripture, containing Damascena, Soba or Zoba, and Chamath, or Ituraa; to which I may add Gelin, because it is so accounted in the second of Sam. 15. as joyning in the Territorie to Da mascus (for Syria at large is farre greater, of which Palastina it selfe is but a Province al have noted in the beginning of this Tract:) It is not agreed among the Historians offer mer times, nor of our later writers, who was the first of those Adads of Syria Zoba, and

Some account Rezon, others Adad of Idumae: of whom it is written in the fift of Kings, that David having invaded that Region, and left 30ab there to destroy all themak children thereof: Adad of the Kings feed, fled into Egypt; and was there married to Taphnesthe Queens fifter, as before; who hearing of Davids death, and of the death of his Captaine 70ab (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he turned against and as Bunting thinketh, this Adad did expell Rezon out of Damascus, and wasthful of the Syrian Kings. To me it seemeth otherwise. For, as I take it, Adadeg the fonne of Rebob, whom Saul invaded, was the Founder of that Principalitie: and the first of Adads, who for saking his Fathers name, as he grew powerfull, tooke upon him the stile of Adad, the great god of the Asyrians, faith Macrobius, which fignified Onenesse or Unitie. I also finde a Citie called Adada, in the same part of Syria: of which whether these Princes took the name, or gave it, I am ignorant. For Adad-ezer, Ben-adad El-adad were the same in name, with the differences of Ezer, Ben, and Eli, adjoyned And that Adadezer was of greatest power, it appeareth first, because it is against him, than David undertooke the warre: secondly, because he levied 22000. Aramites out of the Territory of Damascus: as out of his proper Dominions: for had the Damascus had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would have given us his name: thirdly, because Syria Zoba, of the most of which AdadeZer was King, was an exceeding lang Territorie, & contained of Arabia the Defart as far as to Emphrates, according to Plinie

and the greatest part of Arabia Petræa, according to Niger. Whosoever was the first, whether Adadezer, or Adad of Idumæa, Rezon was the second: Who was an enemie to tree-it. Is rate all the dayes of Salomon. Besides the evill that Adad did, the evill that Hadad did, yeares after he was carried to Hadad of Idumæa, lately returned out of Egypt: to wit, 23.

The third King of Damascus, and of Zobah both, was Hezion ito Hezion succeeded Ta- 1 King 13-18.

The third King of Damascus, and of Zobah both, was Hezion ito Hezion succeeded Ta- 1 King 13-18.

King of Juda the son of Abiam, the son of Roboam, the son of Salomon, being vexed and invaded by Baasha, the successour of Nadab, the son of Feroboam, sent to Benhadad the son of Continuous, the son of Hezion, King of Aram, that dwelt at Damascus, to invade strate so while Baasha sought to fortiste Rama against As: therby to block him up, that he should not enter into any of the Territories of Israel) who according to the defire of As, having received his presents, willingly invaded the Countrie of Nepthalim, and tooke divers Cites, and spoyles thence: As in the meane while carrying away all the Materials, which Baasha had brought to fortiste Rama withall, and converted them to his owne use.

This Benhadads Father Tabremmon was in league with Afa: and fo was his Father He- 1 Res 15.4-18. zion: for Asa requireth the continuance of that friendship from Benbadad, his sonne: thoughit seemeth that the gold and silver sent him out of the Templeswas the most forcible argument. And that this Tabremmon invaded Ifrael, before the enterprize of his some Benhadad, it is conjectured. For Benhadad when he was prisoner with Achab, spake as followeth: The Cities which my Father tooke from thy Father, I will restore: and thou received hall make streetes or keepers of the borders, for thee in Damascus: as my father did in Samaria. And herein there arifeth a great doubt (if the argument it felfe were of much interest. ponance) because Tabremmon was Father indeed to Benhadad which invaded Baasha, at tregate therequest of Asa; But this Benhadad that twice entred upon Achab, and was the second timetaken prisoner, was rather the sonne of Benhadad, the first of that name, the confederate of Afa and Abiam, as before, than the sonne of Tabremmon. For betweene the invalion of Benhadad the first, in Baasha's time, and the siege of Samaria, and the overthrow of Benhadad by Achab, there past 49-yeares, as may be gathered out of the raignes of the Kings of Israel. So that if we allow 30. years, of age to Benhadad, when he invaded Baalha, and after that 49. yeares ere he was taken by Achab, which make eighty lacking one, it is unlikely that Benhadad at fuch an age should make warre. Besides all this, the first Benhadad came with no such pompe; but the second Benhadad vaunteth, that hewas followed with 32. Kings : and therefore I refolve, that Benhadad the fonne of Tabremmon invaded Baasha and Omri; and Benhadad the second invaded Achab, at whose hands this Benhadad received two notorious overthrowes the first at Samaria, by a fally of 700. Ifraelites: the second at Aphec, where, with the like number in effect, a Region the Israelites flaughtered 200000 of the Aramites; besides 27000 which were crushe by the fall of the wall of Aphec. And this Benhadad, Achab againe setteth at liberty: to whom hee rendreth those townes that his father had taken from the Predecessour of Achab, but being returned, he refused to render Ramoth Gilead, a frontier Towne, and of great importance. Now three yeares after (for folong the league lasted) Ramoth not being trigges delivered, Achab invaded Gilead, and befieged the City, being affilted by Josaphas. The Aramites came to succour and fight: in which Achab is wounded, & dyeth that night. After this, Benhadad senderh the commander of his forces called Naaman, to Foram the son of Achab to be healed of the leprofie, and though EliZeus had healed him, yet he picketh quarrell against Foram: and when Foram by EliZeus his intelligence had escaped his plot, 2 Reg. 5. tesent men, and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is aforesaid. After Benbadad besieged Rese. Samaria again, and being terrified thence from heaven, he departeth home, and fickneth, and sendeth Azael with great gifts to Elizens, to know his estate if he might live. Azael . Regg. enuming, smothereth him. Zonaras and Cedrenus call this Benhadad Adar, and the sonne of Adar: Amos and Hieremie mention the towers of Benhadad. Josephus writeth that Amos. Hierage. denhadad and his fuccessour Azael were worshipped for gods by the Syrians to his time, And Sec. 8. orthe sumptuous Temples which they built in Damascus. The Syrians also boasted much of their antiquity, ignorant, faith he, that scarce yet 1100. yeares are compleate ince their warres with the Israelites. Hazaelor Azael, the first King of the race of the Adads of Damascus, was announted by Liba, or Elizeus, when he was fent by Benhadad to the Prophet, to know whether Ben-

2 Sam.8.

I Sam 1443

3082.

Plin.1.6.c.28.

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1 Reg.11.

± \$am.8.3. and 12. 1 Sam.14 47.

Plin. l.6. c. 18.

divers wounds at the encounter at Ramoth in Gilead: from whence returning to becured

at Jefreel, he and the King of Juda, Abaziah or Ochozias, are flaine by Jehu, as beforeis

faid. After the death of Joram, Azael continued warre against Jehu, and wasted Gile.

ad, and all those portions of Gad, Reuben, and Manasse, over Jordan. He then invaded Ju.

da, and took Gath; but by gifts from Jods he was averted from attempting Hierusalem.

for he presented him all the hallowed things which Jehosaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah his

fathers, Kings of Juda, had dedicated; and which hee himselfe had dedicated: and all the

gold which was found in the treasuries of the Lord, and in the Kings house. This was the

present Benhadad with those treasures, when he invited him to warre upon Baasha King

of I frael. And notwithstanding this composition betweene Joas and Azaal, yet a part of

fecond time that the Temple was spoyled to please the Adads of Damascus. For Asaddto

2 Rcg. 12.17.

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2 Rcg. 12.

I Reg-15.

2 Reg. 13.7.

his Army spoyled the other Provinces of Judes, and flaughtered many principallper. Jons. Lastly, Azael vexed Joahaz the sonne of Jehu, and brought him to that extremitie, as he left him but fifty Horse-men, ten Chariots, and tenthousand Foot-men of all his people. I Many Colony V- day

§. 111.

Of the later Kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.

2 Reg.13. Fof anticop.

Free Haxael, Benhadad the second, or rather the third of that name, the someof Hazael, raigned in Damaseus: who fought against Israel, with ill successe for Joss King of Ifrael, the fon of the unhappy Joachaz, as he was foretold by Elife the Prophet, beat Benhadad in three severalbattels: and he lost all those Cities to Ifrad, which his father Hazaethad taken violently from Josehaz.

Jof.ant.1.7 c.6.

2 Kin. 16.5.5.

Esay 7. Fof.ant.l.9.c.11.

r Reg.14.28

After this Benhadad the sonne of Hazael, there succeeded three others by the same name, of whom the Stories are loft, only Nicholaus Damascenus cited by Josephus, makes mention of them; and in one of these Kings times it was that Jeroboam the second, the sonne of Joss, recovered Damasens it selfe to Juda, saith the Geneva, but better in Junius, Uique recuperabat Damascum et Chamatham Jehuda pro Ifraele; that is, Andhin he recovered for Israel, Damascus and Chamatha of Judea; for these Cities somtimes conquered by David, did of right belong to the Tribe of Juda.

And it is likely that this conquest upon the Adads was performed: the first ofthese three Adads then living, of whom there is no Storie. For when as Jehous the King of the ten Tribes had thrice overcome the Syrians in the time of Benhadad the fon of Haqui, and had recovered the Cities which HaZael had won from Ifrael; and so left his Kingdome to his some Feroboam the second; it seemeth that this Feroboam without delay, and having nothing elfe left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his fathers good for tune, and invaded Dama fous.

Razin, or Rezin, after Josephus Rases, after Zonaras Raason the 10. Adad, making league with Pekah, or Phacas King of Ifrael, against Achaz King of Juda; both carry awaya great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege Acha? in Hierusalem: but in van Then Adad alone invadeth Elath, and beating out the Jewes, maketh it a Colonie of 9. rians. Wherefore Achab brought Teglatphalaffar against Razin, who took him, and beheaded him, and won Damascus: with whom ended the line of the Adads and the King dome of Danascus: the Asyrians becomming masters both of that and Israel. These Adads as they raigned in order are thus reckoned.

Adadezer the fonne of Rehob.

Rezin the sonne of Eliadad, or Razin.

HeZion.

Tabremmon.

Benhadad, who invaded Baasha. Benhadad the second, taken prisoner by Achab.

HaZael, whom Elisha foretold, with teares, of his advancement, the same who over threw Joran King of Ifrael at Ramoth Gilead. And that there was a second Hazael which preceded Benhadad the third, it is not improbable, because that Hazael which took Gul and compounded the war with Joss, made the Expedition thirty yeares, and perchand

more after the first Hazael which flifted his master Benhadad, and had slaine Foram the fonne of Achab King of Ifrael. For Joss began to raigne in the 7. yeare of Jehu King of Israeland after he had raigned 23 yeares, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long we know not) it is faid that Hazael took Geth, and turned his face towards Terusalem. It is also some proofe that HaZael that took Geth, was not the same with Ha-Zaelthat murthered Benhadad, because he could not at that time be of good yeares, being as it feemeth, the fecond person in the kingdom, and Commander of Benhadads men of warre. To this HaZael (be he the first or second) succeeded 8 Benhadad the third, whom Joash King of Ifrael thrice overthrew.

Relinor Rezin the last, who joyned with Pekah King of Ifrael, against Juda, at which rime Achaz King of Juda waged for his defence Teglarphalaffer.

Now between Benhadad the third, and Rezin the last, Nicolaus Damascenus finds three

other Kings of the Adads, which make twelve in all.

CHAP.II.S.4.

For the rest of the Princes of Syria, which were but Reguli, as those of Emath, and Gesfur, we find that Tohu was King of Emath or Camath in Davids time, to whom he lent & Sam 8 a. his some Foram with presents, after Davids victorie against Adadezer. Also Senacherib Elay 37. fpeaketh of a King of Emath, but names him not.

of other lesser Kingdomes of the Syrians, which being brought under the Assyrians, never recovered them selves againe.

FGeffur we findetwo Kingsnamed; to wit; Talmai, and his Father Ammibur: to Talmai, whose daughter David married, it was that Absalom fled, who was his maternall grandfather. Of the Kings of Sephena or Syria, Soba or Calofyria there are two named, Rehob or Rechob the Father of Adade Zer, and Adade Zer himselfe; anditis plaine that after his death the feat of the Kings of Seba was transferred to Damasum, a Citie better fitting their greatnesse. After Rezin became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of these Kings of Syria, (which became so potent, and joyned Soba, Damascus, Emath, and the Defart of Arabia, with other Provinces into one, under Rezin thesecond of the Adads) as it began with David, so it ended at once with the kingdom of Ifrael For Aha? King of Juda waged the Afgrian Teglasphalassar against Pekah King of If ael, and against Rezin the last King of Damaseus: which Teglath first invaded Damastena, and the Region of Soba, and tooke Damasteus it selfe, and did put to death Rezin the last, carrying the Inhabitants captive. This was the second time that the Assyrians attempted Ifrael. For first Phul Belochus entred the borders thereof (Menahem governing Ifrael) who stopt the enterprise of Phul with a thousand talents of silver: for this Phil Belochus, whose pedigree we will examine hereafter, being scarce warme as yetin his feat at Babylon, which he, with the helpe of his companion Arbaces, had wrested from Sardanapalus: having besides this King of Syria in his way, who seemed to be a great and strong Prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the King of Ifrael for that present time. But his sonne Teglath following the purpose of his father Belochus, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the warre begun betweene Ifraeland Judah, Pekah commanding in the one, and Achaz in the other, his neighbour Regin being also wrapt in that warre, and wasted in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of Achaz King of Juda, his imprest and entertainment. So, first attempting Damaseus, which lay in his path towards Israel, he carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great ease possest himself of the Cities of Nephthalim; leading with hima great part of the people captive. And his some Salmanasser, whom Ptolomie calleth Nabonaffer, after the revolt of Hofea, forced Samaria, and rent that Kingdome afunder. So as the line and race of Ninus in Sardanapalus, whom Belochus supplanted; the face and Monarchie of the Syrian Adads in ReZin, whom Teglath flaughtered; the Kingdome of Israel in Hosea, whom Salmanasser over urned; happened neere about a time that of Ninus in the dayes of Belochus, and the other two in the dayes of Teglatphalasser, and Salmana ser his son. For Sardanapalus perished, O sia ruling Juda; and the other two kingdomes were diffolved, Achaz yet living.

Lastly, the Kingdome of Juda it selfe, being attempted by Senacherib, the sonne of Salmanasser in vaine, and preserved for the time by God miraculously, was at length

344 utterly overturned. Hierusalem and the Temple burnt 132 yeares after the captivitie of Ifrael and Samaria: the destruction of Ifrael being in the ninth yeare of Hofea: that of Juda in the eleventh of Zedechia. Now the Emperours of Affgria and Babylon held also the Kingdome of Syria, from the eight yeare of Salmanaffar, to the last of Baltaffar, whom Herodoius calleth Labynitus: in all about 200. yeares. After these the Persians from C1.

rus to Darius their last King, held Syria about 200. yeares.

Then Alexander Macedon tooke this among other Provinces of the Persian Empire. his successors the Seleucide raigned therein, till it became subject unto the power of the Romanes, from whom it was wrested long after by the Saracens, and remaineth nowin possession of the Turke, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the Nations borde is ring upon the Israelites, with whom they had most to doeboth in warre and peace, being the only people, whose History in those ancient times carried an affured face of truth.

CHAP. XII.

OF THE TRIBBOF BENJAMIN, and of Herusalem.

Of divers memorable places in the Tribe of Benjamin, whereof Hiericho, Gilgal, Missalli, Missall thel, Rama, Gobah and Gibha.



Fene Tribe of Benjamin, the twelfth and youngest son of Jacob; whom he had by Rachel, there were mustered at Mount Sinai 35000. ale bodyes: all which perishing in the Defarts, there entred the Holyland of their iffues 45600 fit to beare Armes and these had their Terrimit on this fide Jordan, between Juda and Ephraim: The Cities withinhis Tribe neerest Jordan, are Lod, Haded, and Ono: of which, Lodan

One were built by Shemed a Benjamite: they were all three re-inhabited with Boile mites, after the returne out of Captivity, as is mentioned, Nehem. 11.35. and Eld. 2.35 where Adrichemius reading Lod, Hadid, Ono, makes besides Hadid in Nehemia, a Citi called Lodhadid: This Hadid or Chadid was rebuilt by Simon Machabaus.

Samarim or Tiemaraim, named of Tiemary, one of the fons of Canaan, was another of their Cities: and further into the Land standeth Jericho, one of the Toparchies and the last of Juda, seated in a most fruitfull valley, adorned with many palme trees: and there fore elsewhere called the City of Palmes. From the time of Jofus, who utterly deftroy ed it, it lay waste untill the time of Achad: in whose dayes Chiel of Bethel laid the new foundation of it, in the loffe of Abiram his eldest sonne, and built the gates of it in the loffe of his youngest son Segub: according to the curse of Josua: in which and other to spects, Hof. 12.14. calleth Josua a Prophet. In after-times it was destroyed by Vespassan, and re-built by Agrian.

To the Southeast of Jericho stood * Halmon of the Levites, of which 30f.21.18. Toth South Betharaba, of which 30.6.15. and c.18. Then that Gilgal of which there is so much mention in the Scripture, where Jofus first are of the fruits of the land.circumcifed all thost

borne in the Defarts, and celebrated the Passeover. The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the Erymologic of this name (for it seemes by the place, Deut. 11.30. that the name was knowne before the comming of the Israelites into Canaan) is noted Jos. 5.9.0b devolutionens probri Agyptiati, be cause their fore-skinnes (the people being there circumcised) were tumbled downed the Hill: which from thence was called Collis praputiorum. This Gilgal was also called Gdi loth, as appeares by comparing the places, 30f. 15.7 and 18.17. for it was in the border of Jordan, of which Jof. 22.13. and Geleloth fignifieth borders. It flood (though in for distance) directly Eastward, over against the two * Hils GaraZim and Hebal: upon the one

of which the bleffings, and on the other the curfings were to be read to the people both being the mountaines of Ephraim. Further, for the situation of this Gilgal, it is to be nored, that both it, and Mitha of Benjamin (of which also we reade oft in the Scripture) were feated about the midst of the length of the land of Canaan: for which reason & Sa. 2 1 Sam.7.15. muel chose these two places, to either of which he came yearly to give judgement to the Ifraelites; of which two, Gilgal, (as is faid) was neere Jordan on the East fide of this Tribe: and Mitfa neere the West Sea, towards the land of the Philistims.

The third place, which is named with these two, whither also Samuel used yearely to b Faniss in this come, is Bethel: which also was seated in this Tribe of Benjamin. But to return to Gilgal, place, for Bethel which was the first place where the Arke resided, after they past over Jordan (from Despois, and whence it was carried to Silo, and thence to Kiriath-jeharim, and at length to Hierufalem) interpressing herein Gilgal it was that Josua pitched up the twelve stones, which were taken out of the whetethe arke channell of Jordan, when it was drie, that the Ifraelites might passe over it: by which abode. For Storie, as it is fet downe Jof 4-it appears, that the same day that they passed over Jordan, the Law, Exed. they lodged at Gilgal. At the fame Gilgal, to omit many other memorable things, it was 33.17.the greethat Samuel hewed Agag the King of the Amalekites in pieces. And as for Mitfla, whither Samuel came yearely to give judgement, there also were often the greatest meetings feaths were to heldas that for the revenge of the Levites wife against Gibba, and the Benjamites, Ju 20. 1, and another against the Philistims, 1 Sam. 7.12. Thither also Judas Macchabass gatheredthe Jewes, (when Hierusalem was possest by the Heathen) as it is 1 Macch 3.47. in norspeakeof which place this reason of their meeting is added; Qui a locus orationi fuerat Mits antea Madi. Touching this Misspa, to avoide confusion, it is to be remembred, that the Scriptings; and betures mention foure places of this name: Mitspa of Juda, of which Jos. 15.38. Mitspa of Gilead, of which we have spoken already in the Tribe of Gad. Mitspa of the Moabites, the differenter where David for a while held himselfe, commending his Parents to the King of Moab, great meetings 1 Sam, 22.3. and lastly, this chiefe Mitspa of the Benjamites. And as in this place the chiefe they were, as meetings were held both before Hierufalem was recovered from the Jebufites, and also in appears x Sam. the time of the Macchabees (as we have faid) when Hierusalem was held by the wic-neither is it eakedunder Antiochus, so also in the time of Hieremy, after the destruction of the Temple fiero expound by the Chaldees, Gedaliah whom Nabuchodonofor left in Jewrie, as Governour over Bethelotherwise those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: untill (to the great hurt of tie Bathat: the Jewes) he was flaine by the treason of Ismael, one of the royall bloud of Juda, as it though January is Jerem.41.

Necreunto this Mirspa, the Scripture mentioneth Beth-car, after called Aben-Hezer, the Alewas, that is, the Stone of helpe; where Samuel pitched up the Pillar or Stone, for a Trophey i Sam. 10.3.

Touching Bethel, which (as it feemes) was the third place where Samuel held his chiefe Militard Glieds of which the meetings for the ministring of Justice, that it was anciently called LuZ and how it was takenby the iffue of Joseph (though it belonged to the portion of Benjamin, as it is Nehem. by that will added 11.31 and Jos. 18.22.) and how another Citie called Luz Incere adjoyning to it, was built by the man of the Citie which shewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is Jud. 1. and suanoresthe of the occasion of the name from Jacobs vision: and how Jeroboam, by erecting one of three quarters, his calves here, of Bethel (which fignifieth the house of God) made it Beth-azen, that Eath, which s, the house of Vanitie, Hof. 4.15 and 10.5 as also other memorable things of this place, hey are so well known out of the Histories of the Scripture, that we may wel passe them though Adriche

The Territorie of Bethel, which at the first belonged to the Kingdome of the tenne Tibes, from the time of the great victorie of Abia against Jeroboam, (of which 2 Chron: Milpaor Mag-3.) was taken from them, and adjoyned to the Kingdome of Juda: and so it continued, phs (as they write:) into appeares by the Storie of Josius: which performed the Prophecies against the altar of Tribe of Affective tibel, 2 Reg. 23. whence those coasts 1 Macc. 11.34. are called Apherama, which d 1 Sam. 7.11. Greeke word fignifieth as much as, A thing taken away, to wit, from the tenne Tribes. e Borrowing t was one of the three Seigniories or Prafettures which Demetring in his Epiftle mentio- the name of a eth, as added by him to the Dition of the Jews, out of the Samaritan Country. A part of neighbourtown Is added by him to the Dition of the Jews, out of the Samuel.

Is appears 2 Chron. 13.19. was Hepbravin, which Jof. 18.23 is called Hophram, belong of the Kingdomes of Julia

Not farre from this Bethel, in this Tribe, we finde three other Cities, often mentioned tweene Hai and

is added, Verfus out of this

This Halmen is called Halemeth.whence they make a new Citie Abmath as if this Tribchad aiven five Cities tothe Levius.

*.1 Chron.6.60

z Cinon.8.12.

Matt.12.38

I Reg. 16.34.

3811.

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the place * Macc. 1 1.34. where it is namedfor one of the three Prafe-Etures which Demetrius y celds to the Jewesout of the countrey of Samaria: this lying toward the and Apherema (of which even now we (pake) lying in the tweene thetwo orher. A fixt Rama it feemesthere was in the Tribe of Sime cowardthe South which 70f.19 8.iscalled Rama of the South andotherwise Baha lath-beer-

d Gibhain con-Struction, that is, Governing a genitive case whencethe Willoar out of the Septuagint reade Joj. 24.33. for which Funt ashath Collis Phincali (for this word is ofttimes an Appellativelignifying a Hill)but Adrichomius taking notice of this builds his City Gabaath apon this Text, in Benjamin. when as the words adjoyned, note that of Ephraim. Nethinim.or Nethinai, is as much as dati (as it were à De dati) or as Funus expoundsit, dedititii : it isufed, 1 Chro.9.2-and in Efdras and Nehemias of-'ten.

b Secce S. in the Scriptures, Rama, Gidha, and Gebah. Of the name Rama, b it is noted already, in e Of this Ama the description of Ephrain, that there were many townes so called, because of their high fituation. But whereas they finde out Rama in the Tribe of Juda (as it feemes, because Mat. 2. it appeares that it bordered Bethlehem) and also out of Brochard and Breedenbach make Silo to have beene called Rama, and find yet another Rama in Zabulon; the fethree have no warrant in the Scripture. Of Rama in the Tribe of Affer, as it feemes, we have testimonie, 70f. 19.29. and of another in Nephthalim, 70f. 19.36. of a third Rama, where Samuel dwelt in Mount Ephraim, 1 Sam. 25.1. which more often is called & Ramatha. and I Sam. 1. 1. Ramathaim T sophim: for which the Septuagint have Aramathaim Sophim taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they thinke to Joseph of Arimathaa Mat. 27.57. was denominated.

Of a fourth Rams we read 2 Reg. 8.29. which is Ramoth in Gilead. The first, which ward the Welt, is most often mentioned, is Rama of Benjamin, seated, as we said, necre Bethel the uner. most South-border of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes: for which cause Baashainthe time of Afa King of Juda, fortified it, to hinder those that did flie from him to Afa. Of this Rama or Ramatha, I should rather think Joseph was, that buried Christ because it was neerer to Hierufalem, and after the captivitie belonged to Judaa, as it appeares, Efd. 2.26. wherein that it is joyned with Gebab, it is plaine that he speaketh of that Rama with whose stones (after Baasha had ceased to buildit) Asa (asit is I Reg. 25.22.) built Gebal adjoyning to it : both being in Benjamin. And as Rama was the South-border of the tons Tribes, so was Gebah the North-border of the Kingdom of Juda: whence 2 Reg. 23.8. we reade that Josiah through all his Kingdome, even from Gebah, which wash North-border, to Beer-sheba, which was the South-border, destroyed the placesoff-

The third Citie Gibba, which was the Citie of Saul (the wickednesse of which Cities the time of the Judges had almost utterly rooted out this Tribe) Adrichomius confounds with Gebah, making one of two (as they are evidently diftinguished, Efay 10.27.) of which word & Gibba, in another form Gibbath, he imagineth Gibbaath, another Cuit this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinitie of this Citie also to Rama of Benjamina pears Jud. 19.13. where the Levite with his wife, not able to reach to Rama, took uping lodging at Gibba. By that place of 1 Sam. 22.6. it feems that there was in this Gibba form Tower or Cittadel called Rama: where Junius reads in excelso, for in Rama: but it may be that the name of the Kings Palace in this Citie, was Rama: as it feems that in Rama of St. muel, the name of the chiefe place where Samuel with the Colledge of Prophets abode, ws Najoth. The great Citic of Hai overthrowne by Josua, which Jos. 7.2. is placed men Beth-aven, upon the East of Bethel, was in this Tribe, as is proved Neh. 7. 10.30. though it be not named by Jofic. 28. for it was burned by him and laid desolate, as it is Jose 8.88 In solitudinem in tumulum perpetuum. Another Citie of chiefe note is reckoned 10/18. 25. In this Tribe was Gibbon, the chiefe Citie of the Hevites: whose cunning to binde the Ifraelises by oath to fave their lives, is fet downe Jof. 9. whence they were reckned among the * Nethinai or Profelites, and were bound to certaine publique services in the house of God: which oath of faving these Gebeonites, broken in part after by Saul, was by God punished by a famine; 2 Sam. 2 I. I. This Gibeon or Gibbon with Almonand that (of both which we have spoken) and with Hanothoth the natall place of Hieremitthe Prophet, were faid 70f. 21.28 to be given to the Levites by the Benjamites. Neere withis Hanothoth was Nob, as appeares 1 Reg. 2.26. where Abiathar the Prieft, which was of Nob before it was destroyed by Saul, is sent to his grounds at Hanothoth. It is reckoned the mountaines in the Tribe of Benjamin, Neh.9.31. and though in the time of Saul the refiding place of Bahrain. the Ark was at Kiriath-jeharim: yet by the lamentable tragedie of bloudshed, which sal raised in this place (as it is set downe I Sam. 21. and 22.) in the judgement of Junius, it's proved that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

Micmas also in this Tribe, Nehem. 9.31. was a place of fame, of which Eff. 10.28 where also he nameth Gallim, and Migrom in this Tribe In Micmas Saul had his Camp. I Sam. 13.2. (when he left Gibbs to Jonathan) and there also was Jonathan Macchabaus h aboad, 1 Macc. 9.73. Of Gifcala in Galilee Josephus makes often mention, but of any ho in Benjamin, which they make the natall place of S. Paul, whence (they fay) when it was taken by the Romans, he failed with his parents to Tharfis, of this I find no good warm Other places of leffe importance I omit, and come to the Citie of Higrufalem; and to

Princes and Governours of this Citie: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of Benjamin whence Jof. 18.28. it is named among the Cities of Benjamin,

Of divers memorable things concerning Hierusalem.

T what time Hierufalem was built (which afterward became the Princeffe of all Cities) it doth not appeare. Some there are who imagine that Melchifeder was the founder thereof in Abrahams time. But, *according to others, that Citie *Secintheliout of which Melchisedec encountred Abraham (in his returne from the overthrow of the halfe of the Affrian and Persian Kings or Captaines, when Lot was made prisoner) standeth by the river of Jordan, in the halfe Tribe of Manaffe bordering Zabulon, which was also cal-

led Salem, and by the Greekes Solima.

Hierusalem (whensoever or by whomsoever built) was a principall Citie in Josua his time : yet not fo renowned as Hazor the Metropolis (in those dayes and before) of all the Canaamtes. AdoniZedek (whom Jojus flew) was then King of Hierusalem. That it was belonging to the Jebusites it is manifest: for how long soever they held it before Moses time, they were Masters and Lords thereof almost 400. yeeres after him: even till David wanne it : and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the Jebusai (the children of Jebusans the son of Canaan) built; after whom it was called Jebus. And so much did that Nation 2 relyc on the strength of the place, as when David attempted it, they bragged that their

lame, and blinde, and impotent people should defend it.

David after he had by Gods affiltance possess it, and turned out the Jebusises, gave it an exceeding great increase of circuit: strengthened it with a Citadel or Castle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from Jebussalem, the Cine of the Jebusites, to Hierusalem, which the Greeks call Hierosolyma. After Davids time Salomon amplified, beautified, and ftrengthned it exceedingly. For befides the work For Come. Ap. 12. of the Temple, which was no leffe admirable than renowned among all Nations, the Palaces, gates, and wals, could not any where in the world be exampled: and befides, that had 1,0000. Inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60. foot depth, cut out of the very rocke: and 250 foot of breadth: whereof the like hath feldome been heard of, either fince or before.

After the death of Salomon, and that the Kingdome of the Jewes was cut afunder, Shibut King of Egypt, and his predecessor, having bred up for that purpose Adad the Idu- 2 Chroniz. mam, and Jeroboam Salomons servant; and both married to Egyptians: the State by the onedifturbed, by the other broken : Shifhac first invaded the Territorie of Juda, entred 2 Kinsta. Hierusalem, and fackt it, and became master not onely of the riches of Salomon, but of all those spoyles which David had gotten from Adadezer, Tohu, the Ammonites, and other Nations. It was again fackt, and a part of the wall thrown down by Jose King of Istael;

while Amasia the twelfth King thereof governed Juda.

Not long after, AshaZ the fifteenth King of Juda impoverished the Temple, and presented Teglatphalasser with the treasures thereof. And Manasses the sonne of EZe. 1 Chron 5.26. kiah, the sonne of AchaZ, by the vaunts made by Ezekiah, to the Embassadours of Me-2Kin.21. rodach, lost the remaine, and the very bottome of their treasures. It was againe spoyled by the Babylonians, Joakim then raigning. But this ungratefull, Idolatrous and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but perfiling in all kinde of impietie, filling the City even to the mouth with innocent bloud, 2Kin 19. Godraided with a property of his forward and property of his forward and property. Godraifed up that great Babylonian King Nabuchedonofor, as his scourge and revenger, who making this glorious Citie and Temple, with all the Palaces therein, and the Walls and Towers which embraced them, even and levell with the dust, carried away the poyles with the Princes and people, and crush them with the heavie yoake of bondage and servinde full seventy yeares, insomuch as Sion was not onely become as a Mich 3. Hier. tome and plowed-up field, Hierusalem an heape of stones, and rubble, the Mountaine 25,26.29. Of the Temple as a grove, or wood of thornes and briars, but (as Hierome speaketh) win the birds of the Ayre scorned to flie over it, or the beasts to tread on that defiled

Then 70, yeares being expired, according to the prophecie of Daniel, and the Jews by Hier tom 3, 1146 the grace of Cyrus returned: the Temple was againe built, though with interruption and House difficultie

2 Kin.16.

Egyptian Kings Macedon, who

1 Efd.4.45.

difficultie enough: and the Citie meanely inhabited, and without wals or other defences, Neh.12.34.8c. for some 60. and odde yeares, till Nehemia by the favour of Artaxerxes re-built them. Then again was the Temple and Citie spoyled by Bagoses, or Vagoses, the Lievtenant of The first of the Artaxerxes: after by * Ptolomeus the first; then by Antiochus Epiphanes: and again by Apollonius his Lievtenant. By Pompey it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor

robbed, though Crassus in his Parthian expedition tooke as much as hee could of that

Religion, came which Pompey spared. up to Hierafalon But the domain But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious Tyrants, were toofter Sacrifice. Jof 12.471. commonly recompensed by the industrie or bountie of good Princes, the voluntarie contribution of the people; and the liberalitie of strangers. Before the captivitie, the people of the land, through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repaire the Temple of Salomon. The wrong done by Ptolomaus Lagi to thefe cond Temple, was required by the bountie of his fon Prolomaus Philadelphus. The mifchiefe wrought by Antiochus Epiphanes and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were fent to Hierusalem out of other Nations. Finally, all the loffes, which either the Citie or Temple had endured, might well seeme forgotten in the M.T.c. proScylla raigne of Herod, that usurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many fumptuous workes did so adorne them, that he left them farre more stately and glorious than they had beene in the dayes of Sale.

6. III. Of the destruction of Hierusalem by the Romans.

N this flourishing estate, it was at the comming of our Saviour Christ Jesus: and at ter his death and ascension, it so continued about 40. yeares. But then did Titusthe Roman, being stirred up by God to be the revenger of Christ his death, and to punil, the fewes sinfull ingratitude, incompasse it with a Roman armie, and became Lordthere of. He began the fiege at such time as the Jewes, from all parts, were come up to the celebration of the Paffeever: fo as the Citie was then filled with many hundreds of those fands of all forts; and no maner of provision or store for any such multitudes. An extreme famine, with the civill diffention, opposed them within the walls; a forcible enemicalliled them without. The Idumeans also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the Junis Kingdome, thrust them selves into the Citie, of purpose to berray it: who also burnt the Temple, when Nabuchodonofor tooke it. And to be short, there perished of all sons, from the first besieging to the consumnation of the victorie, eleven hundred thousand foules: and the Citie was so beaten downe and demolished, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly beleeve that there had beene any such place or habitation. Only the three Herodian towers (works most magnificent, and to over-topping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the Romane garrisons, as that thereby their victorie might be the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and State remaining, after-ages might judge what the rest were; and their honour be the greater and more shining, that there-over became victorious.

After this, such Jewes as were scattered here and there in Judea, and other Provinces, began again to inhabit some part of the Citie; and by degrees to re-build it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, & tributaries to the Roman State: but after 6; years, when they again offered to revolt and rebel, Elius Adrianus the Emperour flaugh tered many thousands of them, and overturned those three Herodian Towers, with all the rest, making it good which Christ himselfe had foretold; That there should not stands one stone upon another, of that ungratefull Citie. Afterward, when his furie was appealed, and the Prophecie accomplished, he took one part without the wal, wherein stood Mount Calvarie, and the Sepulchre of Christ, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, heagaine made it a Citie of great capacitie, and called it after his owne name, Alia Capitolia In the gate toward Bethel, he caused a Sow to be cutin Marble, and set in the front theros, which he did in despight of the Jews Nation: making an Edie, that they should not from thence-forthever enter into the Citie, neither should they dare so much as to beholdit from any other high place over-topping it-

But the Christian Religion flourishing in Palæstina, it was inhabited at length by all Guil. Tir. net-Nations, and especially by Christians; and so it continued 500 yeares It was afterward in the 636 yeare after Christ, taken by the Egyptian Saracens, who onupriva

held it 400 and odde yeares.

In the yeare 1099. it was regained by Godfrey of Buillon, by affault, with an exceeding flaughter of the Saracens; which Godfrey, when he was elected King thereof refifed tobe crowned with a Crowne of gold, because Christ, for whom he fought, was Garines of therein crowned with thornes. After this recovery, it remained under the fucceffors of 1819,000. Godfrey fourescore and eight yeares: till in the yeare 1197. it was regained by Saladine of Egypt: and lastly, in the yeare 1517. in the time of seliming the Turkes cast out the Egyptians, who now hold it, and call it Cuzumbarec, or the Holy Citie. Neither was it Terusalemalone that hath so oftentimes bin bearen downe and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the World have with their Inhabitants, in feverall times and ages, fuffered the same shipwracke. And it hath bin Gods just will, to the end others might take warning if they would not onely to punish the impiety of men, by famine, by the fword, by fire, and by flaverie; but he hath revenged himselse of the very places they possest; of the walls and buildings, yea, of the foyle and the bealts that fed thereon.

For even that land, sometime called holy, hathen effect lost all her sertilitie and fruitfulnelle; witnesse the many hundreds of thousands which it fed in the dayes of the Kings of Juda and I frael; it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding from and barraine. rallopleafed God, nor onely to confume with fire from heaven, the Ciries of the Sodomitts; but the very soile it selfe hath felt, and dorn feele the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beafts that belonged to Amalek, no not any finall number of them to be facrificed to himfelfe : neither was it enough that Athan himfelfe was ftoned,

but that his moveables were also confumed and brought to ashes.

6. IIII. Of the vaine and malicious reports of Heather writers, touching the ancient Temes

F the originall of the Jewes, prophane writers have conceived diversly and injuriously. Quintilian speakes infamously of them, and of their Leader; who (faith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. Diodore and Strabo make them gyptains. Others affirme that while Isis governed Egypt, the people were so increaed, as firosolymus and Judus led thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom hey planted the neighbour Regions: which might be meant by Moses and Maron: for the name of Moles was accidentall, because he was taken up and saved out of the waters. But Islame, of all other most malicious, doth derive the Jewes from the Syrian Kings; of whom, Damafous, faith he, was the first : and to him fucceeded Abraham, Mofes and Ifrael. Jufint 360 He again fupposeth (somewhat contrary to himselfe) that Israel had ten sonnes, among whom he divided the land of Juda; fo called of Judas his eldest, who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sonnes of I/rael he calleth foseph: who being brought up in gypt, became learned in magicall Arts, and in the interpretations of Dreames, and gres prodigious; and this Jojeph (faith he) was father to Mofes: who with the rest, by asonoftheir foule diseases, and lest they should infect others, were banished Egyptunher, he telleth how these men thus banished, when in the Desarts they suffered exeme thirst and famine, and therein found reliefe the seventh day, for this cause ever terobscreed the seventh day, and kept it Holy, making it a Law among themselves, hich afterward became a branch of their Religion. He addeth alfo, that they might not ameout of their owne Tribes, lest discovering their uncleanenesse, they might also be spelled by other Nations, as they were by the Egyptians. These and the like fables ath Justine.

Cornelius Tacitus doth as groffely belie them, in affirming, that in the immost Oratorie their Temple, they had the golden head of an Affe, which they adored. But herein Taforgetteth himselfe, having in the fift booke of his owne History truely confessed the Jewes, that they worshipped one only God: & thought it most prophane to repre-

fent the Deitte by any materiall figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature and they had therefore in their Temples no Image or representation, no not so much as inarry Citie by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath Alexander Polyhistor, in Szephans, who also makes Judas with Idumea, the first parents of the Jewes.

Cited by Stophanus in Judea.

Tert in Apol.

Claudius Iolans drawes them from Judens, whose parents were Sparton and Thebi. whence it came that the Spartans or Lacedamonians challenged kindred of the Hebren; but they did it as descended of Abraham, faith Josephus; Some of these reports seeme to have bin gathered out of divine letters; though wrested and perverted, according to the custome of the Heathen. For so have they obscured and altered the Storie of the Creat. on, of Paradife, of the Floud; and given new names to the children of Adam in the fifth. age: to Noah and his fonnes, in the fecond: and fo to Abraham, I faac, and Jacob, Mofes, and therest of the Fathers, and leaders of the Hebrewes : all which fainings, as touching the Fines and their originalls, Josephus against Appion, and Tertulisan have sufficiently at Iwered, For that the Hebrewes were the children of Arphaxad and Heber, no mandoub. teth and fo Chaldeans originally, taking name either of Heber, the fonne of Sale, orelic (faith Montanus) of wandring, as is before remembred. And therefore doth Stephans, the Greeke Grammarian, derive the Hebrewes or Jewes, from Arabon; having millan the name of Abraham; who was the some of Heber, in the fixth descent. Their ancier names were first changed by the two grand-children of Abram : for after Jacob, other wife Ifrael, the chiefe part were called Ifrael, another partafter Efan or Edom, Edomini. ar length the remnant of 3400b, being most of the Tribe of 34da, honoured the name of Judas, the sonne of Jacob, and became Judasns or Jewes : as also for a time in the name of Ephraim the fon of Fofeph, the chiefe of the Patriarches of the ten Tribes, the ref of the ten Tribes were comprehended : but were first rooted out when the Kingdom of

If ael fell. The Indeans continued their names, though they suffered the same serving not long after, under Nabuchodonosor.

The government which this Nation under-went, was first paternall: which continued till they served the Egyptians. They were secondly ruled by their Captains and nucletil they served the Egyptians. They were fecondly ruled by their Captains at Leaders, Moses and Iosaa, by a policie Divine. Thirdly, they subjected themselves Leaders, Moses and Iosaa, by a policie Divine. Thirdly, they subjected themselves Leaders, Moses and Iosaa Saul for the first: Of whom, and his successions, before we intreat, we are first to speake of their Government under Jules, after the death of Josus: with somewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about

these times.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of Josuato the Warre of Troy: which was about the time of Jephtha.

6. I.

of the inter-regnum after Josua's death : and of Othoniel.



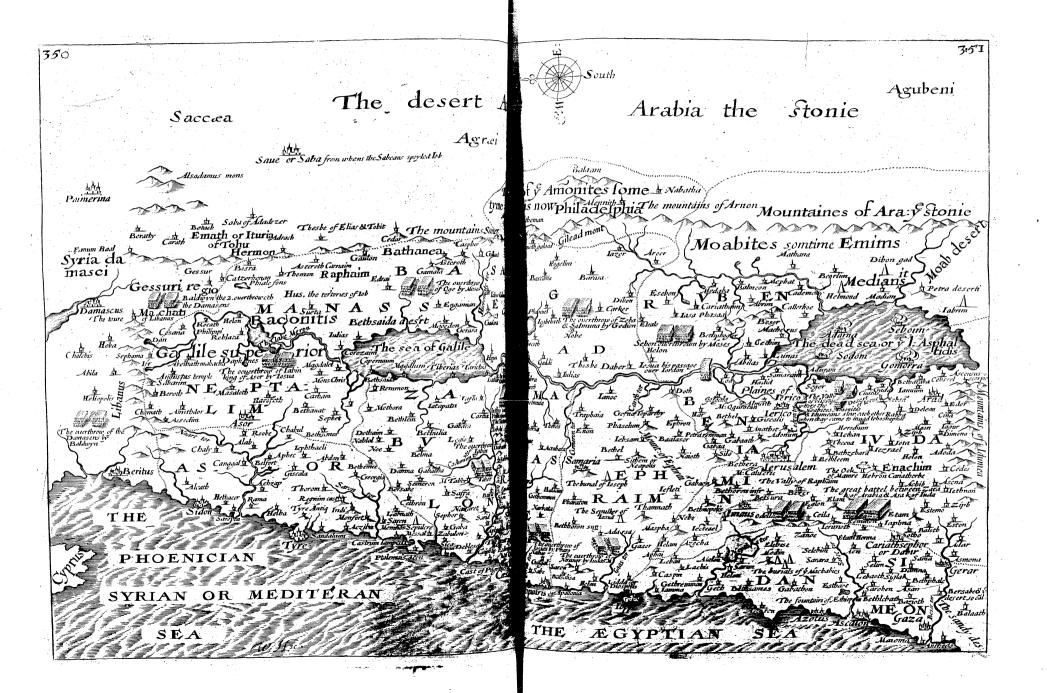
Hen Josua was now dead, who with the advice of the 70. Elders, and the high Priest, held authoritie over the people, & ordered that Common-weale: it pleased God to direct the Tribe of Juda (in whom to Kingdome was afterward established) to undertake the Warre against the Canaanstee, over whom (with Gods favour, and the affistance of Simeon) they became victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they not onely slew tenne thousand but made AdonibeZek prisoner: the greatest and cruellest Commander, both of the Canaanses and PeriZites. This tyrants crueltie, as elsewhere hath beene signified, the returned in the same kinde upon his owne head: and so by the torments which now felt in his owne person (before no otherwise knowne unto him but by his manney she in his owne person (before no otherwise knowne unto him but by his manney she in his owne person (before no otherwise knowne unto him but by his manney she in his owne person (before no otherwise knowne unto him but by his manney she him him but by his manney she him him but by his manney she had a she

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HAP.13.S.I. of the History of the World.

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cious imagination) made him confesse and acknowledge Gods judgements against him-

The tribes of fuda and Simeon did also master and possessed during this inter-regnum (or as some thinke, before the death of Josua) the Cities of Azotus, Askalon, Ekron and Hierulalem, which they burnt, and the febusites after re-edified. They tooke also the Cities of Hebron, Debir, or Kiriathsepher, and Zephath, afterwards Horma. And although it be not fet downe in expresse words that any one person commanded in chiefe over the people, as Moses and foster did: yet it seemeth that Caleb was of greatest authority among them: and that he, with the advice of Phinees, directed and ordered their warres. For if any think that they proceeded without a Chiefe, the good successe which followed their undertakings, witnesseth the contrary. And it was Caleb even while Josua governed, as appeares, Jos. 10.39. that propounded the attempt of Debir, to the rest of the Captaines: for the performance of which enterprise, he promised his Daughter Achian: which he performed to Othoniel his younger brother after the conquest: whose behaviout in that service was such, as (next unto the ordinance of God) it gave him the greareft reputation among them, and may be esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election for their first Judge soone after. But while those of Juda made warre with their borderers, from whom they onely recovered the mountainous Countries (for they could not drive out the Inhabitants of the Valleyes, because they had Chariots of judg 1.15 Iron.) The rest of the Tribes sought also to enlarge and establish their owne Territories. In which warre they laboured with variable successe: for as the house of Joseph re-Judg. 1.250 covered Bethel, or Luz, from the Hittites, so did the Amorites recover from Dan all the Judg 1.30. plaine Countries, and forc't them to fave themselves in the Mountaines. And now the Is ulives unmindfull of Gods benefits, and how often he had miraculously a-fore-time defended them, and made them victorious over their enemies (the Elders being also confuned, who better advised themin the Inter-regnum) did not onely joyne themfelvesin marriage with the Heathen Nations: but (that which was more detestable) they served the Idols of Baal, and Afteroth, with other the dead gods of the Canaanites and Amorites. And therefore did the Lord God, whom they had provoked with their Idolatrie, deliver them into the hands of the Aramites of Mesopotamia, whom Chuhan Rishathains at that time commanded. But after they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight yeares, it pleased him to have compassion on his people, and toraise up Othoniel to be their Judge and Leader: who by God affisted, delivered Judge 100 hisbrethren from oppression, and inforced the Aramites to returne into their owne Difarts, and into Mesopotamia adjoyning: after which the Israelites had peace fourtie yeares, during all the time of Otheniels government. This Otheniel is thought by To- 2608. status to have bin the younger brother of Caleb, for as much as in the booke of Judges he is twice called Otheneil, the sonne of Cenaz, Calebs younger brother. Others doe rather interpret those words [Calebs younger brother] as if they signified the meanelt of his kindred. Indeed it is not likely that Calebs Daughter should marrie with her owne Uncle: yet it followes not therefore that Othoniel should have bin the meanest of the kindred. Wherefore we may better thinke that he was the Nephew of Caleb, (as some learned men expound it) and as the very words of Scripture seeme to enforce. For Caleb was the sonne of Jephunneth, and Othoniel the sonne of Cenas, Calebs youngerbrother; that is, he was not brother to Caleb, but his ounger brothers sonne; to whom it was not onely lawfull, but commendable to marry with his Coufin German Calebs daughter.

How long it was from the death of Josua to the government of Othoniel, it cannot be found : but it seemes to have bin no short time. For many Warres were made In that space against the people of the Land. Laish was then taken (as is thought) by the Danites; and the best Writers are of opinion, that between the times of Josus and Othoniel that civill Warre brake out betweene the Benjamites and the rest of Ifrael, for theforeing to death of the Levites Wife. For it is written, that in those dayes there was & 19. no King in Israel, but every man did that which was good in his owns eye. And as Juda led the people against the Canaanites during the Inter-regnum, so was he commanded to do against Benjamin, even by the Lord God, whose direction they craved, as wanting a Judge to appoint what should be done; which sheweth it to have bin when Is was dead, and before the government of Othoniel, especially considering, that all

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other times wherein they wanted Governors, were spent under such oppression of strangers, as would have given them no leave to have attempted such a civill Warre, if their gers, as would have given, as it was in the managing of this action; wherein they fo weake. ned the body of their estate, by effusion of bloud, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemics.

Of the memorable things of this age in other Nations: and of the difficultie in the computation

Here lived in this Age of Othoniel, Pandon or Pandareus, according to Homer, the fift King of Athens; who began to rule in the twentieth yeare of Othoniel, and governed fortie yeares. He was Father to Erifthem: his Daughters were Prom and Philomela, so greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained Thebes: Of whose Daughter Semele was borne Dionyfius, or Liber Pater: under whom Linus the Mufician lived. In his time also the Ci.

ties of Melus, Paphus, and Tharfus were built.

Ida and Dataylus flourished in this age, who are said to have found out the use of Imn but Genesis hath raught us the contrary, and that Tubalcain long before wrought cunning. ly both in Iron and Braffe. Not long after this time, Amphion & Zethus governed Their whom divers Chronologers find in Ebuds time. But S. Augustine making a repetition of those fables, which were devised among the Grecians and other Nations, during the government of the Judges, begins with Triptolemus, of whose parentage there is as link agreement. Vives upon the thirteenth Chapter of S. Augustine de Civitate Dei, and the eighteenth booke, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progenie, where heetha defires his pedigree may find it. Lattantius and Eufebius make him native of Attica:and the sonne of Eleusius King of Eleusius: which Eleusius by carefull industric had fedth people of that Territorie in the time of a great famine. This, when upon the like occide Triptolemus could not performe, fearing the furie of the people, he fled thence by Semin kinde of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prow a graven or carved Serpentinho because he made exceeding great speed to returne and to relieve his people with Com, from some neighbour Nation: it was fained by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the ayre.

Whether the times of these Kings, which lived together with Othoniel, and after him, with the rest of the Judges and Kings of Israel and Juda, be precisely set downe, Icanot avow; for the Chronologers, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particular lars; to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore l desire to be excused, if in these comparisons I erre with others of better judgement. For whether Eusebius and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themselves some versant with these ancient Kings, and with the very yeare when they began to rule) have hit the marke of time, of all other the farthest off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors themselves, from whom the ancientest Chronologus have borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their owne workes, but conjecture: Secondly, because their owne disagreement and contention in those elder dayes, with that of our owne age among the labourers in times, is fuch, as no man among them hathyet lo edified any mans understanding, save his own; but that he is greatly distracted, afterwhat patterne to erect his buildings.

This difagreement is found not onely in the raignes of Heathen Kings and Princes, but even in the computation of those times which the indisputable authority of holy Scrip ture hath summed up, as in that of Abrahams birth; and after in the times of the July and the oppressions of Israel, in the times from the egression to the building of Salamon Temple, in the Persian Empire, the seventie Weekes, and in what not ! Wheresoever the account of times may fuffer examination, the arguments are opposite, and contention are fuch, as for ought that I fee, men have fought by fo many wayes to uncover the Suns

orthat yeare, I avow it no otherwise than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a private opinion: which I submit to better judgements. Namin prissis rebus veritas non ad unouem querenda; In ancient things we are not to require an exact narration of the truth. faves Diodore.

6. III.

of Ehuds time, and of Proferpina, Orithya, Tereus, Tantalus, Tityus, Admetus, and others that lived about those times.

Frer the death of Othoniel, when Ifrael fell backe to their former Idolatrie, God incouraged Moab to invade and suppresse them: to performe which he joyned the forces of Ammon, and Amalee unto his owne, and so (as all kinde of miserie readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawne his helpe from, thereby to make them feele the difference betweene his grace and his difpleasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations had an easie conquest over Israel, whom God himselfe exposed to those perills, within which they were so speedily folded up. Inthismiserable estate they continued full eighteene yeares under Eglon King of the Moabites, and his confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are infinite, he turned not his eares from their crying repentance: but raised up Ehud the son of Gerato deliver them: by which weake man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the just nesses his quarrell, and fearing that the Ifraelites were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, he resolved to attempt upon the person of Eglon, whom if he could but extinguish, he affured himselfe of the following victory: especially giving his Nation no time to reestablish their government, or to choose a King to command and direct them in the Warres. According to which resolution, Ehud went on as an Embassadour to Eglan, loaden with presents from the Israelites, as to appeale him, and obtain ning private accesse upon the pretence of some secret to be revealed, he pierc't his body with a Poniard, made of purpose with a double edge : and shutting the doores of his close upon him escaped.

It may seeme that being confident of his good successe, he had prepared the strength of If rael in readineffe. For fuddenly after his returne, he did repaffe Jordan, and invading the Territory of Moab, overthrew their Army confishing of 10000. able and strong men: whereof not any one escaped. After which victorie, and that Sangar his Successour had miraculously slaine 600. Philistims with an Oxe goade: the Land and People of Israel lived in peace unto the end of four-score yeares from the death of Othoniel, which terme expired in the Worlds yeare 2691.

Inthedayes of Ebud, Naomi with Elimelech her husband, and with her two fonnes, travailed into Moab, and so the storie of Ruth is to be referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourescore yeares which are given to Ehud, it was that Oreus King of the Molossions, otherwise Pluto, Stole Proserpina, as she walked to gather flowers in the fields of Hipponium in Sicilia: or (according to Pausanias) by the River Cephisus, which pausin Atis elsewhere he calleth Chemer, if he meane nor two distinct Rivers. This stealth being made knowne to Pyrithous, with whom Hercules and Theseus joyned themselves, they agreed together to recover her: bur Pluto or Orcus (whom others call Aidonius) had (as they fay) a very huge Dogge, which fastened on Pyrithous, and tare him in peeces, and had allo worried Thefeus, but that Hercules speedily rescued him, and by strength tooke and mastered the Dogge Cerberus: whereof grew the fable of Hercules his delivering Theseus out of Hell. But Zezes, as I take it, hath written this story somewhat more according to thetruth. For Thefeus and Parithous, faith hee, attempted to fleale Proferpina Daughter to Aidonins, King of the Molossians, who had Ceres to Wife, the mother of Proferpind: Proferpina being a generall name also for all faire women. This purpose of theirs being knowne to Aidonius, Theseus and Pyrithous were both taken; and because Pyrithous was the principall in this conspiracie, and Theseus drawne on by a kinde of affection or inforcement, the one was given for food to Aidonius his great Dogge Certhat the dayes thereby are made more darke, and the clouds more condensed than be berus, the other held prisoner, till Hercules by the instigation of Euristheus delivered fore: I can therefore give no other warrant, than other menhave done in these companies frong hand. The Molosis which Stephanus writes with a single (S) were a tations: and therefore that fuch and fuch Kings and Kingdomes tooke beginning in the people of Epirus, inhabiting neere the Mountaines of Pindus: of which Mountaines

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Gen.4-12.

Whencecame

the name of

Vulcanby A-

two first let-

Aug.deCivit

Dei l.18.c.13.

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Octa is one of the most famous, where Hercules burnt himselfe. The River of Acheron (which the Poets describe to be in Hell) riseth out of the same Hills. There is another Nation of the Molossi in Thessali: but these are neighbours to the Cassiopai, saith Plu. tarch in his Greeke questions.

The rape of Orithya, the Daughter of Erithew, King of Athens, taken away by Borea of Thrace, is referred to the time of Ehud. The Poets ascribe this rape to the North. winde, because Thrace is situate North from Athens. In this time also Terem ravished Philomela, of which the fable was devised of her conversion into a Nightingale. For Tereus having married her fister Progne, conducting Philomela from Athens to see her fifter, forced her in her paffage, and withall cut out her tongue, that she might notcom. plaine; perswading Progne his Wife, that Philomela died in the mid-way: all which her brother in lawes mercilesse behaviour towards her, Philomela expressed by her needle upon cloth, and fent into Progne. In revenge whereof Progne caused her onely some Itys to becut in peeces, and fet before Tereus her husband, fo dreft as it appeared to be Tome other ordinary food: of which when he had eaten his fill, she caused his head hands and feet, to be presented unto him: and then fled away with such speed to. wards Athens where her Father Pandion yet lived, as the Poets fained, that fhe war turned it to a Swallow. The place where it was performed, Straho findes to be Day. lis in Phoeis: and the Tombe of Tereus, Paulanias hath built neere the Rockes Mergi, in the Territorie of Athens. By which, as also by the name Daulis, where these things, are supposed to have bin done (whence also Philomela is called Daulias ales) it ap. peares that it is true, which Thueydides notes by way of digression in his Peloponnellan Warre, That this Tereus was not King in that which is now called Thracia, or in 0. dryfe, (as the Poets call him Odryfius) but that Phocis a Countrie in Greece not fare from Attica, a Citie whereof is called Daulia, was in Pandions time inhabited by Thus. ans : of which this Tereus was King : whence Pandion, to have amitie with his neighbours, made him his fonne in law : as it is good to beleeve, faith Thucydides, that Panling King of Athens made that alliance with a neighbour King, from whom he might have fuccour, rather than with any Tereus, that should have held the Kingdome of Odnik which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chosea Swallow ! for Progne to be turned into may seeme to have bin partly because, as Pausanias lays, Daulide nec nidificant, nec babitant in tota circum regione Hirundines ; as if a Swallow, to membring the wrong that was there done to her, and her fifter, did for ever after hate that place.

Neere this time Melampus (who is faid to have understood the voyces of Birds and Beafts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Physician. He restored to their former health the Daughters of Pratus King of the Argives, who (as the Poets please) Homer. O diff. 11. were made mad by Juno: and thinking themselves to be Kine, fled into the Woods, far ring to be constrained to the Plough: for in those Countries where the ground was light, they diduse often to plough with Kine.

In the seven and fortieth yeare of Ebud, Tros began to raigne in Dardania, and gave it his owne name; about which time Phemone the chiefe Priest of Apollo in Delpos, deviled the Heroicall Verse.

Of the fame date was Tantalus, King of Lydia: whom Eusebius makes King of Phrygid: and also of that part of which the people were anciently Maones. Of Tantalus was devifed the fable that some Poets have applied to the passion of love: and some to the cover tous that dare not injoy his riches. Eulebius calls this Tantalus the son of Jupiter, by the Nymph Pleta: Diaconus and Didymus in Zezes, give him another Mother. He was faid to be the fon of Jupiter, as some will have it; because he had that Planet in his ascendent, betokening wisedome and riches. It is said that when he made a feast to the gods, having nothing more precious, he caused his owne sonto be slaine and drest to the banquet: of whom Ceres are part of one of the shoulders: whereby was signified that those men which feeke after Divine knowledge, preferre nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their owne children, of all else the most dearest. And where it was devised, that he had alwayes Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacie of the world, yet his minde being otherwise and to higher defires transported, he enjoyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom ovid:

Quarit aquas in aquis & poma fugacia captat Tantalus, boc illi garrula lingua dedit. Here Tantalus in water feekes for water, and doth miffe The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they fay, was inflicted upon him, for that he discovered the secrets of the gods: that is, because he taught wisedome and vertue to mortall men: which storie Cornelius Gallus hath elegantly exprest in Verse. Others expound this fable otherwise, and fay, That Tantalus, though he excelled in riches, yet being thirftie of more abundance, was never fatisfied. Of whom Horace against coverousnesse:

Tantalus à labies sitiens fugientia captat Flumina : quid rides? mutato nomine de te Fabula narratur.

The thirsting Tantalus doth carch at streames that from him slee. Why laughest thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceive where it is fained of Tantalus, that he gave the Nedar and Ambrofia of the gods to vaine and unworthy men, that he was therefore by them in that fort punithed. Of which Natalis out of Pindarus:

> Immortalitatem quod furatus. Coetaneis convivis Nectar Ambrofiamque dedit.

Because that stealing immortalitie. He did both Nettar and Ambrofia give To guests of his owne age, to make them live?

Whereby it was meant, that the fecrets of Divinitie ought not to be imparted to the unpure Vulgar. For as the cleanest meates in a foule stomacke, are therein corrupted, so themost high and reserved mysteries are often perverted by an uncleane and defiled

Toyouit is given (faith Christ in Marke) to know the mysterie of the Kingdome of God, Marke 4.11. but unto them that are without, all things bee done in parables. So is it faid of him, that hee expounded all things to his Difciples apart. And therefore doth Gregorie Nazianzene in- Marke 4.34. ferreupona place of S. Paul: Quad fi Paulo licuisset efferi ea, quorum ipse cognitionem ca-deredaratione tum tertium of usq; ad illud progressio suppeditavit, fortasse de Deo, nobis aliquid amplices dip de Deo, constaret; If Paul might have uttered the things, the knowledge whereof the third heavens, 2 Cot. 120. and his going thither didbring unto him, peradventure wee might know somewhat more of

Pythagoras, faith Revelin, thought it not the part of a wife man, Afino lyram exponere, autmfferia, que itareciperet, ut Sus tubam, & fidem graculus, & unquenta Scarabaus: quare sikntium indixit discipulis, ne vulzo di vinorum arcana patefacerent, que meditando facility quam loquendo apprehendantur; To set an Asse to a harpe, or to learne mysteries: which he would handle as a Swine doth a Trumpet, or a Jay a viall, or Scarabies, and uncleane flies soveraigne ountment. Wherefore he commanded sitence to his disciples, that they should not disclose divine mysteries to the common sort, which are easier learned by meditation than bybabbling. And therefore did the Egyptians communicate their mysteries among their Priests in certaine Hieroglyphick letters, to the end that their secrets might be hidden from the Vulgar and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of their covered meanings.

But to proceed with the contemporaries of Aod, or Ehud, with him it is also faid, that Tirus lived whom Apollo flew, because he fought to force his Mother Latona. Euphorion hath it thus, that Tityus was the fon of Elara, the Daughter of Orchomenus; wich Elara being beloved of Jupiter, to avoyd Juno's revenge, he hid Elara in the earth, where she Was delivered of Tilym: whose Mother dying, and himselfe therein nourished, he was herefore called the fon of the earth. Paufanias speaking of the grave of this Gyant, affrings that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But Tibullus hath a louder lie his stature out of Homer:

Thrc.l.z.

Pauf.l.x.

Pauf.

Euseb.prep.Ebift-10.Chil.5.

Hom. Od. 11.

Porrettufque novem Tityus per jugera terra, Assidues atro viscere pascit aves.

Nine furlongs stretcht lyes Tityus, who for his wicked deeds, The hungry birds with his renewing liver daily feeds.

This Strabo doth thus expound; that Apollo killing this cruell and wicked Tyrant of Panopea, a Citie in Phocis, it was fained by the Poets to the terrour of others, that he was

still eaten in Hell by birds, and yet still lived, and had his steff renewed. Admetus King of The false lived also in this Age, whom it is said that Apollo first served as a Heard man, and afterward for his excellent wit was by him advanced; but having he flaine Hyacinthus, he croft the Hellespont, and fled into Phrygia: where together with Neptune, he was entertained by Laomedon, and got his bread by working in bricke, for building of the walls of Troy, not by making the bricks leape into their places by playing on his Harpe: according to him in Ovid, which faith:

Ilion aspicies, firmataque turribus altis Mania. Apolline Afratta camere lyra.

Strong Ilion thou shalt see with walls and towers high, Built with the harpe of wife Apollo's Harmonie.

Thus the Poets: but others, that he laboured with his hands, as hired in this worke And that he also laboured at the building of the Labyrinsh in Greece, all the Meganins

witnesse, saith Pausarias.

In these daies also of Ehud, or (as some finde it) in the dayes of Deborah, lived Persus, the sonne of Jupiter and Danae, by whose Souldiers (as they failed out of Peloponnesis, feeke their adventure on Africa fide) Medufa, the Daughter and Successor of Phorem, be ing weakely accompanied as she hunted, neere the Lake Tritan, was surprised and slane: whose beauty, when Perseus beheld, he caused her head to be imbalimed, and carried in Greece: the beauty whereof was fuch and fo much admired, and the beholders fo after nished which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, that all that looked on Medusa's head,

were turned into stones.

Cecrops, the second of that name, and 7. King of Ashens, and Acrifius the 13. or after Eusebius, the 14. King of the Argives, began also their raignes, as it is said, in the im of this Judge: of which the first ruled 40. yeares, and the second 31. yeares. Also Belle rophon lived in this age, being the some of Glaucus, the some of Sifyphus: who intically Antea or Sthenebia, the wife of Pratus of the Argives, to accompany her, but refle fing it, the accused him to her husband that he offered to force her: whereupon Pians fent Bellerophon into Lycia, about fome affaires of weight, betweene him and his fome in law Jobates: giving secret order to Jobates to dispatch him: but Jobates thinking it disher nourable to lay violent hands on him, imployed him against Chimara, a Monster vomiting or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the report is) pittying his innocency, fent him the winged Horse Pegasus, sprung up of the bloud of Medusa, formerly staine by the souldiers of Perfeus in Africa, to transport him; a horse that none other could master or bridle but Minerva: upon which beaft Bellerophon over-came Chimara: and performed the other fervices given him in charge: which done, as he returned toward Lycia, the Lycians lay in ambush to have slaine him : but being victorious also over all those, hear rived to Joba'es in lafetie: whom Jobates for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters : and afterward with his Kingdome : after which he grew foir folent, as he attempted to flye up to heaven upon his Pegafus: whose pride Jupiter dil daining, caused one of his stinging flyes so to vexe Pegasus, as he cast off Bellerophen from his backe, into the Valley of Cilicia, where he died blinde; of which burthen Pegala being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew backe to heaven: and being sed in Jupites owne stable, Aurora begg'd him of Jupiter to ride on before the Sunne. This tale is de and undeferved adversitie, and to cast downe those which are too high minutes are too high mi or rather certaine death, he found both deliverance and honour: but waxing over

proud and prefumptuous in his glorious fortunes, he was againe throwne downe into the extremitie of forrow, and ever-during miserie. Secondly by others. That under the name of Chimara, was meant a cruell Pyrat of the Lycians, whose ship had in her prow a Lyon, Plutar in elital a Goate in the mid-ship, and a Dragon in the stearne, of which three beasts this Monster mulier. Chimera was faid to be compounded, whom Bellerophon pursued with a kinde of Galley, of such swiftnesse, that it was called the flying Horse: to whom the invention of sayles (the wings of a ship) are also attributed. Many other expositions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not unlikely, that Chimera was the name of a ship, for so Virgil calleth one of the greatest ships of Aneus.

CHAP.13. S.4. of the History of the World

Ionalfo, from whom the Athenians (being ignorant of the antiquitie of their parent ad Apoll. Tavan) derive their name of Iones, is faid to have bin about Ehads time : Homer calls them Jaones, which hath a neere resemblance to the word Javan. Perhaps it might be fo that Ion himselfe tooke name from Javan : it being a custome observable in the Histories of all times, to revive the ancient name of a fore-father, in some the principall of his

The invalion of India by Liber Pater, is by some reported as done in this age: but Si Lib 18 c. i. de Augustine makes him farre more ancient: placing him betweene the comming out of cidis, 18.015. Egypt, and the death of Fosua.

About the end of the 80. yeares, ascribed to Ehud, and Samgar, Pelops flourished: who gave name to Peloponnefus in Greece, now called Morea.

of Debora and her Contemporaries.

Fter Ifrael had lived in peace and plenty to the end of these 80. yeares, they againe began to forget the giver of all goodnesse, and many of those being worne Out, which were witnesses of the former miserie, and of Gods deliverance by Elud; and after him by Samgar; the rest began to returne to their former neglect of Gods commandements. For as Plentie and Peace are the parents of idle fecuritie; fo is fecuniyas fruitfull in begetting and bringing forth both danger and subversion: of which all estates in the world have tasted by interchange of times. Therefore when their sines were againe ripe for punishment, Jahin King of Hazor, after the death of Ehud, invaded the Territorie of Ifrael; and having in his fervice 900. iron Chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subjection twenty yeares, till it pleased God to raise up Deborah, the Prophetesse, who incouraged Barac to levie a force out of Nepthalim, and Zabalon, to incounter the Canaanites. That the men of Nepthalim were more forward than the restinthis action, it may seeme to have proceeded partly from the authoritie that Barac had among them, being of the fame Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grievance, which in them was more fensible than in others, because Hazor and Harofeth the chiefe holds of Jabin, were in Nepthalim. So in the dayes of Jeptha the Gileadites tooke the greatest care, because the Ammonites, with whom the Warre was, pressed most upon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of Ehudto deliver Israel from the Moabites: and by the counsaile and courage of awoman, to free them from the yoke of Canaan, and to kill the valiant Sifera by Jael the Kenites wife . fo was it his will at other times, to worke the like great things by the weakelt meanes. For the mighty Affyrian Nabuchodonofor, who was a King of Kings, and resultes, he overthrew by his owne imaginations, the causers of his brutish melanchoy: and changed his matchlesse pride into the base humility of a Beast. And to approve that he is the Lord of all power, he fometime punisherh by invisible strength, as when he flaughtered the Armie of Senacherib by his Angell, or as he did the Egyptians in Mossi time: sometime by dead bodies, as when he drowned Pharas by the waves of the Sea; and the Canaanites by haile-stones in the time of Josua: sometimes by the ministeicofmen, as when he overthrew the foure Kings of the East, Chedorlaomer; and his companions, by the houshold servants of Abraham. He caused the Moabites and Amowne stable, Aurora begg'd him of Jupiter to rice on before the Sume. I homes to set upon their owne confederate the Army of the Edomites; and having slaine homes to set upon their owne confederate the Army of the Edomites; and having slaine versly expounded as first by some, That it pleaseth God to relieve men intuition and undeferved adversitie, and to cast downe those which are too high minded: according to another in the sight of Jebos applies and of the like to these a volume of 2 Chron. 2011.

4rac in these words: But this journey that thou takest, shall not be for thine honour, for Judgas.

Tricon a Lake. of Africa, which Plinie

Pausin Alt.

calleth Pallan tias.Didym. in percg. Hift.

Euleban Chra.

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the Lord shall sell Sisera into the hands of a Woman. In which victorie all the strength of the Canaanite Jabin fell to the ground, even to the last man; in the end of which Warre it Gemeththat Jabin himselfe also perished, as appeareth by the last Verse of the fourth of After all which, Deborah giveth thankes to God, and after the acknowledgement of Judges.

Jud.5.v.18.

Verife 17

all his powerfulnesse, and great mercies, she sheweth the weake estate whereinto Israel was brought for their Idolattie by the Canaanites, and other bordering Nations, in the was prought to the ld or speare seene among forty thousand of Israel? She also sheweth how the Ifraelites were fevered and amased, some of them confined over Jordan, and durst not joyne themselves to the rest; as those of Reuben in Gilead: that the Asherican kept the Sea-coast, and for soke their habitations towards the Land; and the children of Dan, who neighboured the Sea, crept into their ships for safetie, shewing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. Shee then curied the Inhabitants of Meroz, who dwelling neere the place of the battaile (belike fearing the successe) came not out to affer Ifrael, and then bleffeth Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite, who nailed Sifera, in her Tent: shewing the ancient affection of that race to the Israelites. For though the Familie of Heber were inforced in that miserable time of subjection, to hold correspondence with Jabin the Canaanite, yet when occasion offered them meanes, they witnessed their love and faith to their ancient friends. Lastly, the derideth the Mother of signs who promised her son the victory in her owne hopes : and fancied to her selfe, and described the spolle, both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, the directerh her praise thankesto God onely victorious.

From the beginning of Jabins oppression to the end of that peace, which Deborahand Barac purchased unto Israel, there passed 40. yeares. In which time the Kingdome of Arges, which had continued 544 yeares, was translated to Mycana: The translationof this Kingdome Vives out of Pausanias writeth to this effect: After Danaus, Lynus fucceeded in Argos, after whom the children of Abas the sonne of Lyncess divided the Kingdome: of which Acrifius being eldeft, held Arges it felfe: Pratus his brother police Ephyra or Corinth, and Tirynthos, and other Cities, with all the Territorie towards the Sea, there being many monuments in Tiryathos, which witnesse Pratus possession, links

Now Acrifius was fore-told by an Oracle, that he should be slaine by the some of his Daughter Danae: whereupon he caused her to be inclosed in a Tower, with end that no man might accompanie her. But the Lady being exceeding faire, it is fained that Jupiter turned himselfe into a golden shower: which falling into her in begat her with childe: the meaning whereof was, that some Kings sonne, or other worthy man, corrupted her Keepers with gold, and enjoyed her, of whom Perfess was borne; who when he grew to mans estate, either by chance (faith Ctessas) or in shewing his grand-father the invention of the diffus, or leaden ball, flew him unwilling! After this Perseus, to avoide the infamie of Patricide in Argos, changed Kingdoms with his Uncle Pratus: and built Mycana. This imprisonment of Danae, Sophalls reporteth otherwise: and that she was inclosed in a brazen vault, under the Kins Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Upon this close custodie Horace hath this witte de fervation:

> Inclusam Danaen turris ahenea, Robustaq; fores & vigilum canum Trifles excubiæ munierant fatis Nocturnis ab adulteris:

Si non Acrisium Virginis abditæ Custodem pavidum, Jupiter & Venus Rififfent, fore enim tutum iter & patens Converso in pretium Deo.

Aurem per medios ire satellites, Et perrumpere amat faxa, potentius Ictu fulmineo,

The brazen Tower with doores close barr'd,
And watchfull bandogs frightfull guard,
Kept safe the maidenhead, Of Danae from secret love: while the assistance of our Till smiling Venus, and wife fore on who are a share we who you Beguil'd her Fathers dread For chang'd into a golden showre, The god into her lap did poure Himselfe, and tooke his pleasure. Through guardes, and stonie walls to breake, The thunder-bolt is farre more weake, Than is a golden treasure.

The first Kings of the Argives were these.

Inachus the first King, who began to reigne in the first yeare of Jacob, and the 61. of Man: from which time to the end of Sthenelus, Cafter mifreckoneth 400 yeares. This Kingdome before the translation, Eufebius accounteth to have stood 544-yeares, others but at 417.10 was the Daughter of this Inachus: whom the Egyptians called Ifise Phoroneus.

5713-Ft _

Pirafus. Phorbas. Triopas, Crosopus Sthenelus Danaus. Lynceus. Abas, Acrifius, Pelops.

After the translation to Mycena, Mar. Scotus findes these Kings: Perfeus.

Sthenelus Eurysthens.

Afreus and (The fonnes of Pelops by Hippodamia: Atreus by Thyestes Zeurope had Agamermon and Menelaus.

> Agamemnon Agy (thms. Orestes, Tisamenus. Penthelus and Cometes.

Of these Kings Mercator and Bunting leave out the two first, & the last: beginning with Eurystheus: and ending with Penthilus. In Tifamenus time the Heraclida returned into Peloponen fus: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of Baras and Debora, were Midas, who reigned in Phrygia: and w, who built Ilium: with others mentioned in our Chronologicall table; as contempora-

of Gideon, and of Dædalus, Sphinx, Minos, and others that lived in this age.

Ebora and Baras being dead, the Midianites affifted by the Amalekites infelted Ifrael. For when, under a Judge who had held them in the feare of the Lord, they had enjoyed any quiet or prosperity: the Judge was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious idolarrie. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations

Paula Covin

Jud.6.

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did so master them in a short time (the hand of God being with-held from their defence) as to fave themselves, they crept into caves of the mountaines, and other the like places of hardest accesse: their enemies possessing all the plaines and fruitfull vallies: and in harvest time, by themselves, and the multitude of their cattell, destroying all that grew up: covering the fields as thicke as graffe-hoppers: which servitude lasted seven yeares.

Jud.6.7.5. 3ud.c.6.&.7.

Then the Lord by his Angell stirred up Gideon the sonne of Frash, afterward called Jerubbaal: whose feare and unwillingnesse, and how it pleased God to hearten him in his enterprize, it is both largely and precifely fet downe in the holy Scriptures: as also how it pleafed God by a few felect perfons, namely 300, out of 32000. men, to make them know that he onely was the Lord of Hofts. Each of thefe 300- by Gideons ap. pointment carried a trumper, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terrour than force, with which he gave the great Armie of their enemies an alarum: who hearing fo loud a noyfe, and feeing (at the cracke of formany pitchers broken) formany lightsabout them esteeming the Armie of Israel to be infinite, and strucken with a sodine feare, they all fled without a ftroke ftricken, and were flaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made prisoners and same In his returnet he Ephramicsbegan to quarrell with Gideon because he made warre without their affistance, being then greedy of glory, the victory being gotten: who (if. Gideon had failed and fallen inthe enterprise) would no doubt have held themselves happy by being neglected But Giden appealing them with a milde answer, followed after the enemie, in which pursuite being tyred with travaile, and weary even with the flaughtering of his enemies, hee defired reliefe from the inhabitants of Succoth, to the end, that (his men being refreshed) he might over-take the other two Kings of the Midianites: which had faved themselves by flight. For they were foure Princes of the Nations, which had invaded and walted Ifrael: to wit, Oreb and Seeb, which were taken already, and Zebah and Zalmunna, which

Gideon being denied by them of Succesth, fought the like reliefe from the Inhabitans of Penuel, who in like fort refused to succour him. Toboth of these places he threamed therefore the revenge, which in his returne from the profecution of the other two Pin ; ces, he performed: to wit, that he would teare the fleth of those of Succetb with Thoms & Briars, and destroy the Inhabitants and Citie of Penuel. Now why the people of their two Cities should refuse reliefe to their brethren the Israelites, especially aftersogeat a victorie: if I may prefume to make conjecture, it feemes likely, first, that those Cities fet over fordan, and in the way of all invafions, to be made by the Moabites, Ammo nites and Midianites, into Ifrael, had either made their own peace with those nations, and were not spoiled by them; or else they knowing that Zeba and Zalmunna were escaped with a great part of their army, might feare their revenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men as it is not rare to finde of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, especially of those which follows the warre, that both envie and maligne others, if they performe any praise-worthyactions, for the honour and fafety of their owne Countrey, though themselves may be a fured to bearea part of the finart of contrary fuccesse. And such malicious hearts can rither be contented that their Prince and Countrey should suffer hazzard and want, that that fuch men as they mislike, should be the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

A place in Bafan, as it is

Now Gideon, how or wherefoever it were that he refreshed himselfe and his weary and hungry Souldiers, yet he followed the opportunity, and purfued his former victor ry to the uttermost : and finding Zebah and Zalmunna in Karker (fuspecting no further attempt npon them) he againe surprised them, and slaughtered those 15000. remaining having put to the fword in the former attempt 1 20000 and withall he tooke Zebah and Zalmunna prisoners: whom because themselves had executed Gideons brethren be fore at Tabor, he caused them both to be flaine : or (as it is written) at their owne requel flew them with his owne hands, his Sonne whom he first commanded to doe it, refu fing it ; and in his returne from the confiummation of this marveilous victory, he took revenge of the Elders of Succest, and of the Citizens of Pennel. Forgiving no offens committed against him, either by strangers or by his brethren the Israelites. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his owne children found soone after his death, according

to that which hath beene faid before. The debts of crueltie and mercie are never left unfatisfied: for as hee flew the 70. Elders of Succoth, with great and unufull forments, fo were his owne 70 fons, all but one, murthered by his owne baftard Abimelec: The like Analogie is observed by the Rabbines, in the greatest of the plagues which God brought upon the Egyptians, who having caused the male children of the Hebrewes to be slaine, others of them to be cast into the river and drowned: God rewarded them even with the like measure, destroying their owne first borne by his Angel, and drowning thar ash and his Armie in the red sea. And hereof a world of examples might be given both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

In the end so much did the people reverence Gideon in the present for this victorie, and their owne deliverance, as they offered him the Soveraigntie over them, and to establish him in the Government; which he refused, answering; I will not raigne over you, neither Jud. 8.23. hall my childe raigne over you, but the Lord shall, &c. But he defired the people that they would bestow on him the golden care-rings which every man had gotten. For the 1smadites, neighbours, and mixt with the Midianites, used to weare them: the weight of all which was a thousand and seven hundred Shekles of gold, which makes of ours 2380. li. if weld low the account of the Shekle vulgar. And because he converted that gold into an Ephod, a garment of gold, blew filke, purple, scarlet, and fine linnen, belonging to the Jud. 2.2. High Priest onely, and set up the same in his owne Citie of ophra or Ephra, which drew Ifrael to Idolatrie, the same was the destruction of Gideon and his house.

There was another kind of Ephod belides this of the High Priefts, which the Levites used, and so did David when he danced before the Arke; and Samuel, while he was yet

young, which was made of linnen onely.

Now if any man demand how it was possible for Gideon with 300. men to destroy 120000. Of their enemies, and afterward 15000, which remained, wee may remember, that although Gideon with 300 gave the first alarme, and put the Midianites in rout and disorder: yet all the rest of the Armie came in to the slaughter, and pursuite : for it is written; That the mem of Israel being gathered together out of Nepthalie, and out of Asher, and out Jud,723. of Manaffe, pursued after the Midianites: for this armie Gideon left in terits behinde him, when he went down to view the armie of his enemies, who with the noyfe of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution.

Therelived with Gideon, Egeus, the forme of Pandion, who raigned in Athens: Eurysheus King of Mycene: Acreus and Thyestes the sonnes of Pelops, who bare dominion over a great part of Peloponnesus, and after the death of Eurystheur, the Kingdome of Mycene fell into the hand of Atreus. This is that Atreus, who holding his brother in jeealousie, as an attempter, both of his Wife and Crowne, slew the children of Thyestes, and caufing their flesh to be drest, did therewith feast their father. But this crueltie was not unrevenged. For both Acreus and his sonne Agamemnon were slaine by a base sonne of Threstes, year the grand-childen, and all the linage of Atreus dyed by the same

In Gideons time also those things were supposed to have beene done, which are writtenof Dedalus and Icarus. Dedalus, they fay, having flaine his Nephew Attalus, fled to Minos, King of Crete, for fuccour; where for his excellent workmanship hee was greatly effectmed, having made for Minosa Labyrinth, like unto that of Egypt. Afterward hewas faid to have framed an artificiall Cowe for Pasiphae the Queene, that shee, being inlove with a faire Bull, might by putting her selfe into the Cowe, satisfie her lust; a thing no leffe unnatural than incredible, had not that shamelesse Emperour Domitian exhibited the like beaftly spectacle, openly before the people of Rome, in his Amphitheater; of purpose, as may seeme, to verifie the old fable. For so it appeares by those verses of Martial, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable shew, as a goodly Pascant, in those vicious times.

> Janetam Pasiphaen Dieteo credite Tauro Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem. Nec se miratar Cafar long ava vetuftas Quicquid fame canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of Paliphae, Servius makes a leffe unhonest

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construction of it, thinking that D ædalus was ofher counsaile, and her Pandar for the enticing of a Secretarie of Minos called Taurus, which fignisheth a Bull, who begather with the childe; and that she being delivered of two sonness, the one resembling Taurus, the other husband Minos, it was fained that she was delivered of the Monster Minosaur, half a her husband Minos, it was fained that she was delivered of the Monster Minosaur, half a Man, and halfe a Bull. But this practice being discovered, and D ædalus appointed to be sain, he shed out of Crete to Cocalus King of Sicil: in which passage has fonce to transport dition, as it was fained that he fashioned wings for himselfe and his sonne to transport them. For whereas Minos pursued him with boats which had oares onely, D ædalus framed sailes both for his owne boate, and for his sonnes, by which he outwent those that had him in chase. Upon which new invention, Icarus bearing himselfe overbold, wason werborne and drowned.

It is also written of *Dædalus*, that he made Images that could move themselves, and go, because he carved them with legs, armes, and hands; whereas those that preceded him, could onely present the bodie and head of those men, whom they carried to counterfait, and yet the workmanship was esteemed very rare. But *Plutareb*, who had seene someof

those that were called the Images of *Dædalus*, found them exceeding rude.

With *Gideon* also flourished *Linus* the *Theban*, the son of *Apollo*, and *Terpsichore*, who instructed *Thamaris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. He wrote of the Creation, of the Sunnead Moones course, and of the generation of living Creatures, but in the end he was slainely

Hercules his scholler with his owne harpe. Againe, in this age those things spoken of Sphinx and Oedipus, are thought to have bin performed. This Sphinx being a great robber by fea and land, was by the Corimbian Armie, led by Oedipus, overcome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles, to those whom shee mastered, was meant by the rockie and unaccessible mountaine neere Thebes, which she defended; and by Oedipus disfolving her probleme, hisvictorie over her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the bodie of a Lyon, for her crueltie. But that which Palaphatus reports of Sphinx, were more probable, did not the time disprove it, for he calls her an Amazonite, and the wife of Cadmin who when by her helpe he had cast Draco out of Thebes (neglecting her) he married the fifter of Draco, which Sphinx taking in despightfull part, with her own troope shelds the mountaine by Thebes, from whence she continued a sharpe warre upon the Theban, till by Oedipus overthrowne. About this time did Mines thrust his brother out of cou, and held sharpe war with the Megarians and Athenians, because his son Andregums flaine by them. He possest himselfe of Megara, by the treason of Scylla, Daughteros N. fus the King. He was long mafter of the fea, and brought the Athenians to the tributed delivering him every yeare seven of their sons : which tribute Thefeus released, as stable shewed, when I come to the time of the next Judge Thola. In the end he was simes Camerinus or Camicus in Sicilia by Cocalus the King, while he purfued Dadalus: andwas esteemed by some to be the first law-giver to those Ilands.

To this time are referred many deeds of Hercules, as the killing of Anteus the Gyan, who was faid to have 60 and odde cubits of length, which though Plutarch doth confirm, reporting that there was such a bodie found by Sertorius the Roman, in Lybia, when Hercules slew Anteus: yet for my selfe I thinke it but alowed lie. That Anteus was great strength and a cunning wrestler, Eusebius affirmeth: and because hee cast so many men to the ground, he was fained to be the sonne of the earth. Plinie saith, that he inhabited neere the gardens Hesperides in Mauritania. S. Augustine affirmes, that this Hurales was not of Greece, but of Lybia: and the Hydra also which he overcame, Plate expounds.

deth to be a subtle Sophister.

§. VI.
Of the expedition of the Argonautes.

Bout the eleventh yeare of Gideon, was the famous expedition of the Arg.

nautes: of which many fabulous discourses have been written, the sum of which is this.

Pelius the fon of Neptune, brother by the mothers fide to Efon, who was Jafansh ther, raigning in Jolcos a town of The state, was warned by the Oracle of Apollo to take he

of him that wore but one shoe. This Pelias afterward facrificing to Neptune, invited 7a-Con to him, who comming hastily, lost one shoe in passing over a brooke: whereupon Pelias demanded of him what course he would take (supposing he were able) against one of whom an Oracle should advise him to take heed? to which question when Take for had briefly answered, that he would fend him to Colchos to fetch the golden Fleece. Pelias immediately commanded him to undertake that service. Therfore Jason prepared for the voyage, having a ship built by Argus the sonne of Phryxus, by the counfell of Pallas: wherein he procured all the bravest men of Greece to saile with him: as Typhis the Master of the ship, Orpheus the famous Poet, Castor and Pollux the sonnes of Tyndarus, Telamon and Peleus sonnes of Aacus, and fathers of Ajax and Achilles, Hercules. Theseus, Zetes and Calais the two winged sonnes of Boreas, Amphiaraus the great Soothfayer, Meleager of Calidon that flew the great wilde Boare: Ascalaphus and Falmenus or Almenus the sonnes of Mars, who were afterwards at the last warre of Troy. Laërtes the father of Ulyffes, Atalanta a warlike virgin, Idas and Lynceus the sonnes of Aphareus, who afterwards in fight with Caftor and Pollus flew Caftor, and wonnded Pollux, but were flaine themselves: Lyncens by Pollux, Idas by Jupiter with

These and many other went with Jason in the ship Argo: in whose prowe was a table of the Beech of Dodona, which could speake. They arrived first at Lemnos; the women of which Iland, having slaine all the males, purposing to lead an Amazonian life, were neverthelesse contented to take their pleasure of the Argonautes. Hence they came to the Country about Czzicus: where dwelt a people called Doliones: over whom then raigned one Czzicus: who entertained them friendly: but it so fell out, that loosing thence by night, they were driven by contrary winds back into his port, neither knowing that it was the same Haven, nor being known by the Doliones to be the same ment but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies: by which meanes they fell to blows, insomuch that the Argonauts slew the most part of the Doliones together with their King Cyzicus: which when by day-light they perceived, with many teares they solemnized his funerall. Then departed they againe, and arrived shortly in Mysia, where they left Hercules and Polyphemus the son of Elates, who went to seeke Hylas the dar-

ling of Hercules, that was ravished by the Nymphes.

Polyphemus built a towne in Mysia called Cios, wherein he raigned. Hercules returned to Argos. From Mysia the Argonautes failed into Bythinia, which then was peopled by the Bebryces, the ancient Inhabitants of the Country, over whom Amyous the fonne of Neptune was then King. Hee being a strong man, compelled all strangers to fight with him at whorlebats, in which kind of fight he had flaine many, and was now himfelfe flain by Pollux. The Bebryces in revenge of his death flew all upon Pollux, but his companions rescued him, with great slaughter of the people. They sayled from hence to Salmydessus a towne in Thrace (fomewhat out of their way) wherin Phineus a Soothlayer dwelt, who was blind and vexed with the Harpyes. The Harpyes were faid to be a kinde of birds which had the faces of women, and foule long clawes, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furnished for Phineus, came flying in, and devouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured. When therefore the Argonautes craved his advise, and direction for their Voyage: you shal doe wel (quoth he) first of all to deliver me from the Harpyes, and then afterwards to aske my counfaile. Whereupon they caused the table to be covered, and meat fet on which was no fooner fet down than that prefently in came the Harpyes and played their accustomed pranks: when Zetes and Calais the winged yong men saw this; they drew their fwords and purfued them through the air; some fay that both the Har-Presand the yong men died of wearinesse in the fight, & pursuit But Apollonius saith that the Harpies did covenant with the youths, to doe no more harme to Phineus, and were therupon dismissed. For this good turn Phineus gave them informations of the way,& advertised them with all of the dangerous rocks called Symplegades, which by force of Winds running together, did shut up the passage: wherfore he willed them to put a Pigeonbefore them in the passage: & if that passed safe, then to adventure after her if not, then by no means to hazard themselves in vain. They did so, & perceiving that the Pigeonhad only lost a piece of her taile, they observed the next opening of the rocks, and then rowng with all their might, passed through safe, only the end of their poope was bruised.

Herind Plat. Pauf l.9.

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Strab.l.9.

Arift.pol.l. 1.

Euseb.in Chr.

Ang he civ. dei. 1.18.c.12. Eufeb in Chron.

From

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From thence forward, (as the tale goeth) the Symplegades have stood still: for the gods, say they, had decreed that after the passage of a ship, they should be fixed. Thence gods, say they, had decreed that after the passage of a ship, they should be fixed. Thence the Argonautes came to the Mariandyni, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the river Parthenius, where Lycus the King entertained them curteously. Here Idmon a Southver Parthenius, where Lycus the King entertained them curteously. Here Idmon a Southver Parthenius, where Lycus the King entertained them curteously. Here Idmon a Southver and their company was slaine by a wilde Boare; also here Typhis dyed: and Anca. say cander to she five Phasis, which runs through the land of Colchos. When Caucasus, and came to the river Phasis, which runs through the land of Colchos. When Caucasus, and came to the river Phasis, which runs through the land of Colchos. When Commandement of Pelias, and cause of his comming, desiring him to deliver thegolden Fleece; which Retes, as the Fable goeth, promised to doe, if he alone would use the Fleece; which Retes, as the Fable goeth, promised to doe, if he alone would use yoake together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, sowe Drayoake together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, fowe Drayoake together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, fowe Drayoake together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, fowe Drayoake together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, fowe Drayoake together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, fowe Drayoake together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, fowe Drayoake together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, fowe Drayoake together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, fowe Drayoake together two brazen hooft Bulls, and plowing the ground with them.

Whilest Jajon was in a great perplexity about this taske, Medaa the daughter of Euter Whilest Jajon was in a great perplexity about this taske, Medaa the daughter of Euter fell into a most vehement love of him, so farre forth, that being excellent in Mazique, fell into a most vehement love of him, so farre forth, that being excellent in Mazique, she came privily to him, promising her helpe if he would assure her of his marriage. To she had a promise by oath. Then gave she to him a medicine this Jajon agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gave she to him a medicine wherewith she bad him to annoint both his body and his armed men would rife out of the whim from their violence: further she told him, that armed men would rife out of the ground, from the teeth which he should sowe, and set upon him. To remedy which in convenience, she bad him throw stones amongst them as soone as they came up thick, whereupon they would fall together to blowes, in such wise that he might easily slay whereupon they would fall together to blowes, in such wise that he might easily slay them. Jajon followed her counsaile; whereto when the event had answered, he againe them. Jajon followed her counsaile; whereto when the event had answered, he againe devised how to destroy the Argonauses, and burne their ship; which Medaa penceiving, went to Jason, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung on an Oake in the grove of Mars, where, they say, it was kept by a Dragon, that never slep. This Dragon was by the Mazique of Medaa cast into a sleepe: so taking away the golden Fleece, she went with Jason into the ship Argo; having with her, her brother passes the surface of the went with Jason into the ship Argo; having with her, her brother passes the surface of the

Actes understanding the practises of Medea, provided to pursue the ship, whom when Medea perceived to be at hand, she slew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, the state of the slimbs in divers places; of which Actes sinding some, was faine to seeke out the rest, and suffer his daughter to passe; the parts of his son he buried in a place, which thereupon he called Tom; the Greeke word signifiesth Division. Afterwards he sent may of his subjects to seeke the ship Argo, threatning that if they brought not backe Media, they should suffer in her stead. In the meane while the Argonautes were driven about the Seas, and were come to the River Eridanus, which is Po in Italie.

Jupiter, offended with the flaughter of Absyrius, vexed them with a great tempes, and carryed them they knew not whither; when they came to the Ilands Absyride, there the ship Argo (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) spake to them and said, that the anger of Jupiter should not cease, till they came to Austria, and were cleansed by Circe, from the murther of Absyrius. Now they there upon sayling between the coasts of Lybia and Gallia, and passing through the Sas Sardinia, and alongs the coast of Hetruria, came to the Ile of Aea, wherein Circedwell, who cleansed them. Thence they sayled by the coast of the Syrens, who sang to allust them into danger: but Orpheus on the other side sang so well that he stayed them. One ly Butes swamme out unto them, whom Venus ravished, and carryed to Lylibaum in Sintered well.

Having past the Syrens, they came betweene Scylla and Charybdis, and the stragling rocks which seemed to cast out great store of stames and smoake. But Thetis and the streides, conveyed them safe through at the appointment of Juno. So they coasted Civilia where the beeves of the Sunne were, and touched at Coreyra, the Hand of the Phaates, where King Alernous raigned. Meane while the men of Colchos, that had been set by Aetes in quest of the ship of Argo, hearing no newes of it, and searing his anger, they sulfill dnot his will, betooke themselves to new habitations: some of them dwell in the mountaines of Coreyre, others in the Hands Absyrtides, and some comming

to the Pheaces, there found the ship Argo, and demanded Medea of Alcinous: whereto Alcinous made answer, that if the were not Jasons mife, they should have her; but if the were already married, he would not take her from her husband. Arete, the wife of Alcinous, hearing this, married them: wherefore they of Colchos, not daring to returne home, flayed with the Phaaces; fo the Argonantes departed thence, and after a while cameto Crete. In this Iland Mines raigned, who had a man of brassegiven to him (as fome of the Fablers fay) by Vulcan. This man had one veine in his body reaching from the necketo the heele, the end whereof was closed up with a brazen naile; his name was Talus: his cultome was to runne thrice a day about the Iland for the defence of it. When he saw the ship Argo passe by, he threw stones at it, but Medaa with her Magique defroved him. Some fay that she flew him by potions, which made him mad; others. that promifing to make him immortall, the drew out the nailethat stopt his veine, by whichmeans all his bloud ran out, and he died; others there are that fay he was flaine by Paan, who wounded him with an arrow in the heele. From hence the Argonautes fayled to Agina, where they were fain to fight for fresh water. And lastly, from Agina they failed by Esbera and Locris home to Jolcos, where they arrived, having spent foure whole moneths in the expedition.

Somethere are that by this journey of Jajon, understand the mystery of the Philosophersitione, called the golden Fleece, to which also, other super-fine Chymists draw the twelve labours of Hercules. Suidas thinkes that by the golden Fleece was meant a golden booke of Parchment, which is of sheep-skin, and therefore called golden, because it was taught therein how other mettals might be transmuted. Others would fignifie by Jalon, wisedome, and moderation, which overcommethall perils: but that which is most probable, is the opinion of Dercilus, that the story of such a passage was true, and that Jason with the rest went indeed to rob Colchos, to which they might arrive by boat. For not far from Caucasus there are certaine steep falling torrents which wash downemany graines of gold, as in many other parts of the world; and the people there inhabiting use to set many sleeces of wooll in those descents of waters, in which the graines of gold remaine, and the water passeth thorow, which Strabe witnesseth to be true. Themany rockes, straits, fands, and currents, in the passage betweene Greece and the bottome of Ponsus, are Poetically converted into those fiery buls, the armed men rifing out of the ground, the Dragon cast asleepe, and the like. The man of brasse, the Syrens, Stylla and Charybdis, were other hazzards and adventures which they fell into in the Mediterran Sea, disguised, as the rest, by Orpheus, under Poeticall morals: all which Homer afterward used (the man of braffe excepted) in the description of uly ses his travels on the same In-land seas.

of Abimelech, Tholan, and Jair, and of the Lapytha, and of Thefeus,
Hyppolytus, &c.

Fter the death of Gideon, Abimelech his base sonne begotten on a Concubine of the Sechemites, remembring what offers had beene made to his father by the people, who defired to make him and his their perpetual Princes; and as it feemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his fathers religious modesty) that some of his brethrenmight take on them the Soveraignty, practifed with the Inhabitants of Sechem (of which his mother was native) to make election of himselfe; who being easily moved with the glory, to have a King of their owne, readily condescended: and the better to enable Abimelech, they borrowed 70. pieces of filver of their Idoll Baelberith, with Jud etc. which treasure he hyred a company of loose and desperate vagabonds, to affift his first detellable enterprise, to wit, the flaughter of his 70. brethren, the sonnes of Gideon, begotten on his wives, of which he had many; of all which none escaped but Jotham the verse; Youngest, who hid himselfe from his present furie: all which he executed on one stone; acruelty exceeding all that hath beene written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, amonster that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whose revenges are without date and for everlasting) neither hath it respect to nature, which labouin the preservation of every being: but it rageth also against her, though gar-Thed with beautie which never dyeth, and with love that hath no end. Mm 3 pallions

passions and affections, by which the soules of men are tormented, are by their contraries often-times refisted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth every vice, and is it selfe the childe and darling of Satan, looketh onely towards the ends by it selfe set downe, forgetting nothing (how fearefull and inhumane foever) which may serveit: remembring nothing, what soever justice, piety, right or religion can offer and alledge on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the errour or weakenesse of the undertakers, and rather praiseth the adventure than feareth the like successe. It was the first sinne that the world had, and began in Angels: for which they were cast into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his naturall corruption. The punishment also preteded to his creation, yet hath the Divell, which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practife the other, as befitting every age, and mans con-

The second Booke of the first part

Josham, the youngest of Gideons sonnes, having escaped the present perill, sought by his best persivasions to alienate the Stebemites from the affishing of this merciles tyran, letting them know, that those which were vertuous, and whom reason and religionhad taught the safe and happy estate of moderate subjection, had refused to receive as unlaw. full, what others had no power to give, without direction from the King of kings: who from the beginning (as to his own peculiar people) had appointed them by whomand how to be governed. This he taught them by the Olive, which contented it felfe to with its fatnesse, the Figge-tree with its sweetnesse, and the Vine with the good juya it had: the Bramble onely, who was most base, cut downe all the rest, and accepted the Soveraigntie. He also foretold them by a Prophetical I spirit, what should beful them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the Bramble, and consume the Ce-

Now (as it is an eafie matter to call those men back whom rage without right ledon) dars of Libanon. Gaal the fon of Ebed withdrew the Citizens of Sechem from the service of Abimeluh. who therefore after fome affaults entred the place, and mastered it; and in conclusions red the towne, wherein their Idoll Baalberith was worshipped, and put all the people all forts to the flaughter. Laftly, in the affault of the Castle or Tower of Teber, himself a was wounded in the head with a stone throwne over the wall by a woman; and finding himselfe mortally bruised, he commanded his own Page to pierce his body, thereby avoid the dishonour of being slaine by so feeble a hand.

While Abimelech usurped the Government, the Lapitha and Centaures made warres gainst the Thebans. These Nations were descended of Apollo, and were the first inthose parts that devised to manage horses, to bridle and to sit them: insomuch as whenthey first came down from the mountaines of Pindus, into the plaines, those which hadnever feene horsemenbefore, thought them creatures compounded of men and horses; loud the Mexicans when Ferdinando Cortes the Spaniard first invaded that Empire.

After the death of Abimelech, Tholo of Iffachar governed Ifrael 23. yeares, and after him Jair the Gileadite 22. yeares, who feemes to be descended of Jair the some of Ma nasse, who in Moses time conquered a great part of Gilead, and called the same afterhis ownename, Havoth Jair. For to this Jair there remained thirty of those Cities which his ancestor had recovered from the Amorites. Of these Judges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument that during all their times Ifrael lived without disturbance

When Jair judged Ifrael, Priamus began to raigne in Troy, who at fuch time as Hacules facked Ilium, was carryed away captive with his fifter Hefione into Greece, & heigh afterward redeemed for ransome, he rebuilt and greatly strengthened and adorned ras and so farre enlarged his Dominions, as he became the supreme Lord in effect of Asia the lesse. He married Hecuba the daughter of Cisses King of Thrace, and had in a (faith Cicero) fiftie fonnes, whereof seventeene by Hecuba, of whom Paris was one; who attempting to recover his aunt Hesione, took Helena the wife of Menelam, the cause of the warre which followed.

Theseus the tenth King of Athens, began likewise to raigne in the beginning of Just fome writers call him the forme of Neptune and Athra: but Plut arch in the forme of life, finds him begotten by Egeus, of whom the Grecian sea between it and Asia theles took name. For when Mines had maftered the Asbenians, fo far as he fore't themtop him feven of their sonnes every yeare for tribute, whom he inclosed within a Labyrinth. ro he devoured by the monster Minotaure because belike the sonnes of Taurse, which he begat on Pasiphae the Queene, had the charge of them: among these seven Thesess thrust himselfe, not doubting by his valour to deliver the rest, and to free the Countrie of that flaverie occasioned for the death of Androgeus, Minos his sonne.

And having possest himselfe of Ariadnes affection, who was Minos daughter, he received from her a bottome of thred, by which he conducted himselfe through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the Labyrinth, made in all like that of the Citie of Crocodilesin Egypt; by meane whereof having flaine Minotaur, he found a ready way to returne. But whereas his father Ægem had given order, that if he came backe with vi-Aorie and in fafetie, he should use a white saile in signe thereof, and nor that mournefull blacke faile under which they left the port of Athens: This instruction being either forgottenor neglected, Egens descrying the Shippe of Thesens with a blacke faile, did cast himselfe over the Rockes downe into the Sea, afterward called of his name A-

One of the first famous acts of Thesew, was the killing of Segren, who kept a passage betweene Megara and the Peloponnessan Isthmes, and threw all whom he mastered into the Sea, from the high rockes. Afterward he did the like to Geregon, by wreftling, who used by that art to kill others. Healfo ridde the Countrie of Procrustes, who used to benddowne the strong limbes of two trees, and fastned by cords such as hee tooke, part of them to one, and part to the other bough, and by the springing up tare them asunder. So did he root out Periphetes and other mischievous theeves and murtherers. He overthrew the Armie of the Amazons, who after many victories and vaftations, entred the Territorie of Athens. Thefews having taken their Queen Hippolita prisoner, begat on her Hippolytus; with whom afterward his mother in law Phedra, falling in love; and he refuling to abuse his fathers bed, Phadra perswaded Theseus that his son offered to force her after which it is fained, that Thefeus befought Neptune to revenge this wrong of his somes by some violent death. Neptune taking a time of advantage, sent out his Sea-Calves, as Hippolysus passed by the sea shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the Coachover, he was (by being intangled therein) torne in pieces. Which miserable and undeferved deftinie, when Phedra had heard of the strangled her selfe. After which it is fained, that Diana intreated Asculapins to fer Hippolysus his pieces together, and to restore him to life: which done, because he was chaste, she led him with her into Italie. to accompany her inher hunting, and field fports.

It is probable that Hippolytus, when his Father fought his life, thinking to escape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and did receive many wounds in forcing his paffage and escape; which wounds Æsculapius, to wit, some skilful! Physician, or Chirurgion, healed againe: after which he passed into Italie, where he lived with Diana, that is, the life of a hunter, in which he most delighted. But of those ancient prophane Stories Plutarch faith well, that as Cosmographers in their descriptions of the world, where they finde many vast places whereof they know nothing, fill the same with strange Beafts, Birds, and Fishes, and with Mathematicall lines; so doe the Gracian Historians and Poets imbroder and intermixe the tales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous discourses. True it is, that Theseus did many great things in imitation of Hercules, whom he made his patterne, and was the first that gathered the Athenians, from being dispersed in thinne and ragged Villages: in recompence whereof, and for devising them Lawes to live under, and in order, he was by the beggarly, mutable, and ungratefull multitude, in the end banished. Some say, per offracifmum, by the Law of Lottes, or names written on shells, which was a device of his

He stole Helen (as they say) when she was fiftie yeares old, from Aphidna, which City Castor and Pollur overturned, when they followed after Theseus to recover their sister. Erassfratus and Pausanias write, that Thefeus begot her with childe at Argos, where she e- substitus rected a Temple to Lucina: but her age makes that tale unlikely to be true, and so doth Paufan Com. Ovid, Nontamen ex facto fructum tulit ille petitum, &c. The rape Eusebius findes in the interin Helent first of Jair, who governed Ifrael 22. yeares, to whom succeeded Jephra or Jepte fixe Judg 10-3 yeares, to whom 167 an, who ruled sevenyeares, and then Habdon eight yeares: in whose time was the fall of Troj. So, as if Thefeus had a childe by her in the first of Jair, (at

Palaphatus J. I. de incredib.

Ocut.2.14. Num.12.41

Jud.ro.

In Tulc.

Bunt Chron. Euleb.Chron.

368

Aug.de Civ.Dei,

which time we must count her no lesse than fifteene yeares old; for the women did not commonly begin to young as they doe now) the was then at least two and fifty yeares old at the destruction of Troy: and when she was stollen by Paris, eight and thirty: but hereinthe Chronologers doe not agree. Yet Eusebius and Bunting, with Halicarnaseus, doe in effect consent, that the City was entred, and burnt in the first yeare of Demophoon Kine of Atbens, the fuccessour of Mnesthem, the successor of Thesens, seventeen dayes before the Summer Tropique; and that about the eleventh of September following, the Trojani crost the Hellespont into Thrace, and wintered there, and in the next spring that they navi. gated into Sicilia, where wintering the second yeare, the next summer they arrived at Laurentum, and builded Lavinium. But S. Augustine hath otherwise, That when Polyphi. Is des governed Sicyon; Mnestheus, Athens; Tautanes, Affyria; Habdon, Ifrael; then Aneus ar. rived in Italie, transporting with him in twenty ships the remainder of the Trojans : but the difference is not great: and hereof more at large in the story of Trey at hand.

In Sicyonia, Phallus the two and twentieth King, raigned eight years, beginning by the common account in the time of Thola. His fuccessors, Adrastus, who raigned four years, & Polyphides, who raigned thirteen, are accounted to the time of Jair; fo is also Mnellhut King of Ashens, and Asreus, who held a great part of Peloponnefus. In Affyria, during the government of these two peaceable Judges, Mitreus, and after him Tantanes, raigned. In Egypt, Amenophis, the fon of Ramefes, and afterwards Annemenes.

9. V II.

Of the warre of Thebes which was in this age.

N this age was the warre of Thebes, the most ancient that ever Greek Poet or Hillo rian wrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet Lucretius, affirming (as the Epicurein this point held truly against the Peripatetickes) that the world had a beginning, weeth them with this objection.

> Si nulla fuit genitalis origo Rerumq; & mundi, semperque aterna fuere, Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Troja, Non alias alsi quoque res cecimere Poeta?

> If all this world had no originall, But things have ever bin as now they are: Before the fiege of Thebes or Troyes last fall, Why did no Poet fing some elder warre ?

It is true that in these times Greece was very salvage, the inbabitants being often chaced as from place to place, by the Captaines of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon he dwelt his owne longer than he could hold it by ftrong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourse they used little, neither did they plant many trees, or fowe more come than was necessary for their sustenance. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of mony was not heard of in Greece, when Homer did write, who measures the value of gold and braffe by the worth in cattell; faying that the golden armour of Glaucus was worth an hundred Beeves, and the copper armour of Diomedia worth nine.

Robberies by land and sea were common and without shame, and to steale horses of kine was the usuall exercise of their great men. Their townes were not many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For Mycena the principall City in Peloponnesus was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the rest were proportionable: briefly, Greece was then in her infancie, and though in some small towns of that halfe Ile of Peloponnefus, the Inhabitants might have enjoyed quietneffe within their narrow bounds as likewise did the Athenians, because their Country was so barren, that nonedid care to take it from them: yet that the land in generall was very rude, if will eafily appeare to fuch as confider what Thucidy des the greatest of their Historians hath written to this effect, in the Preface to his Historic. Wherefore, as in these later

rimes, idle Chroniclers use when they want good matter, to fill whole books with reports of great frosts, or dry summers, and other such things which no man cares to reade so did they who spake of Greece in her beginnings, remember onely the great flouds which were in the times of Ogyges and Deucation: or else rehearse fables of men changed into birds, of strange monsters, of adulterie committed by their gods, and the mighty men which they begat, without writing ought that favoured of humanitie before the time of the warre of Thebes: the briefe whereof is this.

Oedipus the sonne of Laises King of Thebes, having bin cast forth when he was an infant, because an Oracle foretold what evill should come to passe by him, did afterwards inanarrow passage, contending for the way, slay his owne father, not knowing either. then or long after, who hee was. Afterward hee became King of Thebes, by marriage of the Queene Josafta, called by Homer Epicafte: on whom, not knowing her to be his mo- Homody [11] ther, heebegate two fonnes, Eteocles and Polynices. But when in processe of time, finding out by good circumstances, who were his parents, hee understood the grievous murther and incest hee had committed, hee tore out his owne eyes for griefe, and left the Citie. His wife (and mother) did hang herfelfe. Some fay that Oedipus having his eyes pulled out, was expelled Thebes, bitterly curfing his fonnes, because they suffered their father to bee cast out of the Towne, and aided him not. Howsoever it were, his two Sonnes made this agreement, that the one of them should raigne one yeare, and the other another yeare, and fo by course rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill observed. For when Polynices had after a yeares government refigned the Kingdome to his Brother: or (according to others) when Eteocles had raigned the first yeare, hee refused to give over the rule to Polynices. Hereupon Po-Innies fledde unto Argos, where Adrastus the Sonne of Talaas then raigned, unto whose palace comming by night, he was driven to seeke lodging in an out-house, on the backe-fide.

There hee mer with Tydeus the fonne of Oeneus, who was fled from Calydon: with whomstriving about their lodging, hee fell to blowes. Adrastus hearing the noise, cameforth and tooke up the quarrell. At which time perceiving in the shield of Ty deusa Bore, in that of Polynices a Lion, hee remembred an olde Oracle by which heewas advised to give his two daughters in marriage to a Lyon and a Bore: and accordingly he did bestow his daughter Argia upon Tydeus, and Deipyle upon Polynices, promifing to restore them both to their Countreies. To this purpose levying an Army, and affembling as many valiant Captaines as hee could draw to follow him, hee was defirous among others to carry Amphiaraus the fonne of Oicleus a great Sooth-sayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But Amphiaraus, who is faid to have foreseene all things, knowing well that none of the Captaines should escape, save onely Adrastus, did both utterly refuse to bee one in that expedition, and perswaded others to stay at home. Polynices therefore dealt with Eriphyle the Wife of Amphiaraus, offering unto heravery faire bracelet, upon condition that shee should cause her Husband to assist him. The South-sayer knowing what should worke his destinie, forbad his wife to take any gift of Polynices. But the bracelet was in her eye so precious a Jewell, that she could not refuse it. Therefore whereas a great controversie betweene Amphiaraus and Adrastus, was by way of compromise put unto the decision of Eriphyle, either of them being bound by solemne oath to stand to her appointment: shee ordered the matter 10, as a Woman should that did love a bracelet better than her husband. Hee now finding that it was farre more easie to soresee than avoide destiny, sought for such comfort as revenge might affoord him, giving in charge unto his fonnes, that when they came to full age, they should kill their mother, and make strong warre upon the Thebanes.

Now had Adrastus affembled all his forces, of which, the seven chiefe Leaders were bimselfe, Amphiaraus, Capaneus, and Hippomedon (in stead of whom some name Mecifew) all Argives, with Polynices the Theban, Tideus the Atolian, and Parthenopeus the Arcadian, sonne of Meleager and Atalanta. When the Army came to the Nemzan Wood, they met a woman, whom they defired to helpe them to some water; shee having a childe in her armes, laied it downe, and led the Argives to a spring: but ere shee returned, a ferpent had flaine the childe. This woman was Hypsipyle the daughter of Those the Lemnian, whom shee would have saved when the women of the Ile slew all

the males by conspiracie, intending to lead an AmaZonian life. For such her Piety the Lemnian wives did fell her to Pyrats, and the Pyrats to Lyeurgus Lord of the Country. about Nemaa, whose young sonne Opheltes or Archemorus she did nurse, and lost, asis shewed before. When upon the childes death she hid her selfe for feare of her master Amphiar aus told her sonnes where they should find her: and the Argives did both kill the Serpent which had flaine the childe, and in memorie of the chance, did institute for lemne funerall games called Nemaan, wherein Adrastus wanne the prize with his swift horse Areon, Tydeus with the whorlbats, Amphiaraus at running and quoiting, Polynices at wreftling, Parthenopaus at shooting, and one Laodocus in darting. This was the first infi. tution of the Neman games, which continued after famous in Greece for very many a. 10 ges. There are, who think that they were ordained in honour of one Ophelius a Lacede. monian. Some fay by Hercules when he had flaine the Nemaan Lyon: but the common

opinion agrees with that which is here fet downe. From Nemaathe Argives marching onwards arrived at Citheron, whence Tydeus was by them sent Embassadour to Thebes, to require of Eseccles the performance of Cove. nants between him and Polynices. This message was nothing agreeable to Eteocles, who was throughly refolved to hold what he had, as long as he could: which Tydeus percei. ving, and intending partly to get honour, partly to trie what mettle was in the Thebans. he made many challenges, and obtained victorie in all of them, not without much enviand malice of the people, who layd fifty men in ambush to intercept him at his returne to to the Army, of which fifty he flew all but one, whom he fent backe to the Citicasa reporter and witnesse of his valour. When the Argives understood how resolved Eta. cles was, they presented themselves before the Citie, and encamped round about it. Thebes is faid to have had at that time feven gates, which belike stood not far afunder, fering that the Argives (who afterward when they were very farre stronger, could scarce muster up more thousands than Thebes had gates) did compasse the Towne, Adrassus quartered before the gate Homoloides, Capaneus before the Ogygean, Tydeus before Cunis Amphiaraus at Proetis, Hippomedon at Anchais, Parthenopaus at Electa, and Polynicesa Hypsika. In the mean season, Executes having armed his men, and appointed Commanders unto them, took advise of Tirefias the Soothfayer, who promised victory to the Thebas to if Menacius the sonne of Creen, a principall man of the City, would vow himselfe to be flaine in honour of Mars the god of warre. So full of malice and pride is the Divell, and fo envious at his Creators glory, that he not onely challengeth honour due to God alone, as oblations and facrifice with all Divine worthip, but commandeth us to offer our selves and our children unto him, when he hath sufficiently clowded mens understanding, and bewitched their wils with ignorance and blinded evotion. And fuch abominable facrifice of men, maides, and children hath he exacted of the Syrians, Carthaginians, Gals, Germans, Cyprians, Egyptians, & of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or feare they were most filled with superstition. But as they grew more wile, fo did he waxe leffe impudent in cunning, though not leffe malicious in defiring the con 4 tinuance of fuch barbarous inhumanitie. For King Diphilus in Cyprus without advice of any Oracle, made the Idoll of that Country rest contented with an Oxe in stead of a man. Tiberius forbad humane facrifices in Afrike, and crucified the Priests in the groves where they had practifed them. Hercules taught the Italians to drown men of hay in flead of the living: yet among the falvages in the West Indies these cruell offerings have been practised of late ages: which, as it is a sufficient argument that Satans malice is onelycovered and hidden by this subtiltie among civill people: so may it serve as a probable conjecture of the barbarismes then raigning in Greece. For Menacius, as soone as heunderflood that his death might purchase victory to his people, bestowed himselfe (as hee thought) upon Mars, killing himselfe before the gates of the City. Then was a battalles fought, wherein the Argives prevailed so far at the first, that Capaneus advancing ladders to the wals got up upon the rampart: whence, when he fell or was cast down, or (as Writer) ters have it) was fricken down by Jupiter with a thunder-bolt, the Argives fled. Many on each part were flain in this battell, which caused both sides to defire that Executes and Polynices might try out the quarrell in fingle fight: whereto the two brethren according

Another battell was fought after their death, wherein the formes of Aftacus behaved themselves very valiantly: Ismarus one of the sonnes slew Hippomedon, which was one of the feven Princes: Parthenopaus being another of the feven (who was faid to have bin so faire, that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was flain by Amphidicus, or, assome say, by Periclymenus the sonne of Neptune: and the valiant Tydeus by Menalippus; yet ere Tydeus died, the head of Menalippus was brought unto him by Amphiaraus. which he cruelly tore open, and fwallowed up the braines. Upon which fact, it is faid. that Pallas, who had brought from Jupiter fuch remedie for his wounds, as should have made him immortall, refused to bestow it upon him: whereby perhaps was meant that hishonour which might have continued immortall, did perish through the beastly rage that he shewed at his death.

The hoast of the Argives being wholly discomfitted, Adrastus and Amphiaraus fled : of 10 whom Amphiaraus is said to have beene swallowed quicke into the earth, neare to the river Ismenus, together with his Chariot, and so lost out of mens fight, being peradvennure overwhelmed with dead carkaffes, or drowned in the river: and his bodie never found, nor greatly fought for. Adrastus escaped on his good horse Arion, and came to Athens: where sitting at an Altar, called the Altar of Mercie, he made supplication for their aide to recover their bodies. For Croon having obtained the Government of Thebes after the death of Executes, would not suffer the bodies of the Argives to bee buried: but caused Antizone, the onely daughter then living of Oedipus, to bee buried quicke, because she had sought out and buried the bodie ofher brother Polynices, contrary to Creens Edict. The Athenians condescending to the request of Adrastus, did send forth an Armie under the conduct of Thefens, which tooke Thebes, and restored the bodies of the Argives to Sepulture: at which time Evadne the wife of Capaneus threw her selfeinto the funerall fire, and was burnt willingly with her Husband. But it little contented the fonnes of those Captaines which were flaine at Thebes, that any leffe revenge should be taken of their fathers death, than the ruine of the Citie: where fore tenne year afterhaving levied forces, Azialeus the sonne of Adrastus, Diomedes of Tydeus, Promashus of Parthemopaus, Sthenelus of Capaneus, Thersander of Polynices, and Euripylus of Mesifius, marched thither under the conduct of Alemaon, the fon of Amphiaraus: with whom also went his bother Amphilottus. Apollo promised victorie if Alemaon were their Captain, whom afterward by another Oracle he commanded to kill his own mother.

When they came to the Citie, they were incountred by Landamas the fon of Eteocles then King of the Thebanes, (for Creen was onely Tutor to Laidamas) who though he did valiantly in the battell, and flew Agialeus, yet was hee put to the worst, and driven to flie, or (according to Apollodorus) flain by Alemaon. After this disaster the citizens began to desire composition; but in the meane time they conveyed themselves with their wives and children away from thence by night, and so began to wander up and downe, till at lengththey built the Town called Estima. The Argives, when they perceived that their enemies had quitted the Town, entring into it, facked it, threw down the walls, and laid it waste; howbeit it is reported by some, that the Town was saved by Thirsander, the son of Polynices, who causing the Citizens to returne, did there raigne over them. That he saved the Citie from utter destruction, it is very likely, for he raigned there, and led the The-

bans to the Warre of Troy, which very shortly after ensued.

6. VIII.

of Jephta, and how the three hundred yeares which he speaketh of, Jud. 11.28. areto be reconciled with the places, Acts 13.20. 1 Reg. 6.1. together with some other things touching Chronologie about the fetimes.

Fter the death of Jair (neereabout whose time these things hapned in Greece, & during whose government, & that of Thola, I frael lived in peace and inorder) they during whose government, & that of Thola, I frael lived in peace and morder) they Judice revolted again from the law and service of God, and became more wicked & ido- The personal lives are with the law and service of God, and became more wicked & ido- The personal lives are the law and service of God, and became more wicked & ido- The personal lives are the law and service of God, and became more wicked & ido- The personal lives are the law and service of God, and became more wicked & ido- The personal lives are the law and service of God, and became more wicked & ido- The personal lives are the law and service of God, and became more wicked & ido- The personal lives are the law and service of God, and became more wicked & ido- The personal lives are the law and service of God, and became more wicked & ido- The personal lives are the law and service of God, and became more wicked & ido- The personal lives are the law and service of God, and became more wicked & ido- The personal lives are the law and service of God, and became more wicked & ido- The personal lives are the law and service of God, and became more wicked & ido- The personal lives are the law and service of God, and became more wicked & ido- The personal lives are the law and service of God, and became more wicked & ido- The personal lives are the law and service of God, and became more wicked & ido- The law are the law and service of God, and the law are the larrous than ever. For wheras in the former times they worshipped Baal & Afteroth, they tion of the American larrous than ever. For wheras in the former times they worshipped Baal & Afteroth, they tion of the American larrous than ever the same larrows the same larrow now became followers of all the Heathen nations adjoyning, and imbraced the idols of monites lafted the dearers and imbraced the idols of 18 years, and the Aramites, of the Zidonians, Moabites, & Ammonites: with those of the Philistims. And endedinthe as before it pleased God to correct them by the Aramites, by the Amalekites, and Midia. Yeare of the World 1830. nites : fo now he foourged them by the * Ammonites and afterward by the Philistims. in which years Now among the Israelises, those of Gilead being most oppress, because they bordered fephia began, upon Judas.

Jud.11.33.

Borin Tud.

Juditz.

2925.

lud. 11.28.

1 King.6.1.

prepofito.

uponthe Amonites, they were inforc's to feek Jephta, whom they had formerly defpifed and cast from them, because he was base borne; but he (notwithstanding those former injuries) participating more of godly compaffion than of divellish harred and revenge was content to lead the Gileadites to the Warre, upon condition that they should effablish him their Governour after victorie. And when hee had disputed with Ammon for the Land, disproved Ammons right, and fortified the title of Ifrael by many arguments. the same prevailing nothing, he began the warre; and being strengthened by God, over. threw them: and did not onely beaterhem out of the plaines, but forc't them over the mountaines of Arabia, even to Minnith, and Abel of the vineyards, Cities express there. tofore in the description of the holy Land. After which victorie it is said, that hee perfor med the vaine vow which he made, to facrifice the first living creature hee incountred comming out of his house to meet him; which happened to be his owne daughter, and onely childe, who with all patience submitted her selfe, and onely defined two moneths time to be waile her Virginitie on the mountaines of Gilead; because in her the issues of her Father ended: but the other opinion, that shee was not offered, is more probable. which Borhaus and others prove fufficiently.

The second Booke of the first part

After the sethings the children of Israel, of the Tribe of Ephraim, either envious Tephra's victorie, or otherwise making way to their future calamitie, and to the most orie. your flavery that ever Ifrael fuffered, quarrelled with Jephia, that they were not called to the Warre, as before time they had contested with Gideon. Jephra hereupon inforced no to defend himselfe against their furie, in the incounter slew of them 42000. which so weakned the bodie of the Land, as the Philiftims had an easie conquest of themallor long after. Tephta, after he had judged I frael fixe yeares, died: to whom fucceeded Iblan who ruled seven yeares: after him Elon was their Judge tenne yeares: in all which time Ifrael had peace. Eufebius findes not Elon, whom he calleth Adon, for in the Septuaging,

approved in his time, this Judge was omitted.

Now before I goe on with the rest, it shall be necessarie upon the occasion of Topha's account of the times Jud. 11.28. (where he faies that Ifrael had then posses the East side of Jordan 300 years) to speak somewhat of the times of the Judges and of the differing opinions among the Divines and Chronologers: there being found three places of Scrip-16 tures touching this point, feeming repugnant or difagreeing: the first is in this dispute betweene Jephta and Ammon, for the right and possession of Gilead: the second is that of Saint Paul, Atts 12. the third is that which is in the first of Kings. Jephia here challengen the possession of Gilead for 300. years: Saint Paul giveth to the Judges, as it feems, from the end of Joses to the last of Heli, 450. yeares. In the first of Kings it is taught, that from the departing of Israel out of Egypt, to the foundation of Salomons Temple, there were confumed 480. years. To the first Beroaldus findeth Jephra's 300. yeares to be but 266. yeares, to wit, 18.0f Josua, 40.0f Othoniel, 80.0f And and Samzar, 40.0f Debon, 40. of Gideon, 3. of Abimelech, 23. of Thola, and 22. of Jair : But Jephta (faith Beroaldui) putteth or proposeth a certaine number for an uncertaine: Sic ut dicat annum agi propin tresentesimum, ex quo nullus litem ea de re moverit Israeli; So he speaketh (saith he) asmaning, that then it was about or wel-nighthe three hundreth yeare, fince Ifrael poffeffed those Countries, no man making question of their right. Codoman on the contrary findes more years than Jephra named by 65. to wit, 365. where of 71. were spent in Israels captivitie, at severall times, of which (as Codoman thinketh) Jephta forbare to repeate the whole fumme or any great part, left the Ammonite should have justly objected, that 71. of those yeares the Ifraelites were in captivitie and vaffals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name three hundred yeares, it was enough for prescription, he omitted the rest.

To justifie this account of 365. yeares, besides the 71. yeares of captivitie or affirm ction, to bee added to Beroaldus his 266. hee addeth also 28. yeares more, and so maketh up the summe of 365. These 28. yeares hee finderhout thus: twenty yeares hee gives to the Seniors betweene Josua and Oshoniel: and where Beroaldus alloweth eighteene yeares to Fosua his government, Codoman accounts that his rule lasted 26. according to Josephus : whereas Saint Augustine and Ensebius give him 27. Melanathon 32. The truth is, that this addition of 28. years is farre more doubtfull than the other of 71. But though wee admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the yeares of affliction (to wit, 34. yeares of the 71.) if we adde them to the 266. yeares

of Beroaldus, which reckoneth none of these, we have the just number of 300. yeares. Neither is it strange that Jephra should leave out more than halfe of the yeares of affliction: feeing, as it is already faid, the Ammonites might except against the 71. yeares, and fay, that during these yeares, or at least a good part of them, the Israelites had no quiet possession of the Countries in question. Martin Luther is the author of a third opinion, making those 300. yeares remembred by Jephta, to bee 306. which odde veares, faith hee, Jephta omitteth. But because the yeares of every Judge, as they reigned, cannot make up the number of 306. but doe onely compound 266. therefore doth Lusher adde to this number the whole time which Moses spent in the Desarts of Arabia Petra; which forty yeares of Moses added to the number which Beroaldus findeth of 266. make indeed 306.

But I see nothing in the Text to warrant Luthers judgement herein: for in the dispute betweene Jephia and Ammon for the Land of Gilead, it is written in the person of Ammon, in these words: Because Is raeltooke my Land, when they came up from Egypt, from Arnon unto Jaboc, &c. now therefore restore those Lands quietly; or in peace. So by this placeitis plaine, that the time is not to be accounted from Mogs departure out of Egypt: but from the time that the Land was possest. For it is said, Quia cepit Israel terram meam, Behold Ifrael tooke my Land: and therefore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking: which Jephta's answer also confirmeth in these words: 20 When Ifrael dwell in Heshbon, and in her Townes, and in Areer, and in her Townes, and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon 300. yeares: why did ye not then recover them Judit 126,

in that space? soas this place speaks it directly, that Israel had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of Gilead 300. yeares: and therefore to account the times from the hopes orintents that Israel had to posselle it, it seemeth somewhat strained to mee: for we doe not use to reckon the time of our conquests in France, from our Princes intents or purpo-

ses, but from their victories and possessions.

Junius neverthelesse likes the opinion of Luther, and sayes, that this time of 300 years hathreference, and is to take beginning from the first of Jephra's narration; when he makes a briefe repetition of Moses whole journey: to wit, at the sixteenth Verseof the ekventh Chapter of Judges, in our translation in these words: But when I frael came up Junius in the sto from Egypt, &c. and therefore Moses his 40. yeares (as he thinkes) are to be accounted, of Judg. annote which make the number of 305. yeares: and not onely the time in which Ifrael possess Gilead, according to the Text, and Jephta's owne words: of which I leave the judgment toothers; ro whom also Ileave to judge, whether we may not begin the 480. yeares, from the deliverance out of Egypt to the Temple, even from the first departure out of Egyp, and yet finde a more probable reconciliation of Saint Pauls and Jephta's account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet have been signified. For first, touching Jephra's three hundred yeares of possession of the East side of Jordan, it is to be remembred, that for a good while before the Ifraelites possessed it, Sehon and og had dispossessed Moab and Ammon thereof: so that when the Israelites had conquered Schon and 0g, the right of possession which they had, passed to Israel; and so Jephia might say that they had possessed those Countries 300. years, reckoning 266. yeares of their own possession, and the rest of the possession of the two Kings, Sehon and Og, whose right the Israelites had by the law of conquest.

The second place disputed is this of S. Paul, Att. 13. that from the end of Fosica, to Read the 24. of the beginning of Samuel, there past 450. yeares. And this place Luther understandeth Joseph India also besides the letter (as I find his opinion cited by Functives Krentzhem us, and Beza) 2 of Judg 7for I have not reade his Commentaries. For he accounterh from the death of Mofes, to 4 Bezain his anthe last yeare of Heli, but 357. yeares: and this he doth the better to approve the times notations upon the 13. of the from the egression out of Egypt to the building of the Temple, which in the first of Kings Ad.v.10.

6. is said to be 480. yeares.

Nowforasinuchas S. Paul (as it seemes) findes 450. yeares from the death of Fosua, to the last of Hell, and leaves but thirty yeares for Saul and Samuel, who governed 40. for David who ruled 40. and for Salomon who wore the Crown three whole yeares ere the the foundation of the Templewas laid; therefore Luther takes it, that there was errour in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of S. Paul: to wit, Then afterward hee gave unto them Judges about 450. yeares, unto the time of Samuel the Pro-Pher: the words [then afterward] being clearely referred to the death, or after the death

CHAP.12.5.8.

Jud.13.

Jud-17.11.

of Jojua, as shall be hereafter proved. But where Saint, Luke, rehearing the words of Saint Paul, wrote 350. yeares (faith Luther) the Scribe in the transcription being decei. ved by the affinity of those two Greek words, whereof the one fignifieth 300. and the other 400. wrote Tetracosios, for Triacosios; 400. yeares for 300 yeares; and 450. for 350. This he seeketh to strengthen by many arguments: to which opinion Beza in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary judgement to this hath Codoman: where Luther and Bel's begin at Moses death, he takes his account from the death of Josua, and from thence to the beginning of Samuelhe makes 430. yeares: to wit, of the Judges (not reckoning Sampsons yeares) 319. and of yeares of servirude and affliction under strangers, 111. The reason why he doth not reckon Sampsons twenty yeares, is, because he gers, 111. The reason why he doctriot tears, in which the Philipins are faid to have to oppressed Israel. For it is plaine, that during all Sampsons time they were Lords over Ifrael. So then of the Judges, besides the III. yeares of servitude, Codoman reckoneth (as I have faid) 319. yeares, which two fummes put together, make 430. yeares. And whereas Saint Paul nameth 450. yeares, he finds 20. yeares to make up Saint Pauls number, to have bin spentafter the death of Joshua by the Seniors, before the Cap. tivity of Culhan, or the election of Othoniel: which 20. yeares added to 430. make 450. according to Saint Paul. To approve this time of the Flders, he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24. of Joins, and the fecond of Judges, in each of which plazes it is written, that I frael ferved the Lord all the dayes of Joshua, and all the dates of 10 the Elders that over lived Joshua: so as to these times of the Elders, Codoman given 20. yeares, which make as before 450. according to Saint Paul. Neither would it bred any great difficulty in this opinion, if here also the 20. yeares of the Seniors between Jofhus and Otheniel should be denied. For they which deny these yeares, and make Othoniels 40. to begin prefently upon the death of Joshua, as in the beginning of this reckoning, they have 20. yeares lesse than Codoman, so toward the end of it (when they reckonthe yeares of affliction apart from the yeares of the Judges) in the number of Samplons yeares, and of the forty yeeres of the Philiftims oppressing the If selices, they to have 20. yeares more than Codoman. For they reckon these 40. yeares of oppression all of them a-part from Sampsons 20. but Codoman, as is faid, makes Sampsons 20. tobe the one halfe of the forty of the Philistims oppressions; so that if the 20. years of the St. niors be not allowed to Codoman, then he may reckon (as the letter of the Text feems to inforce) that the Philifims in any Inter-regnum, before Sampson judged Israel, vexed the Ifraelites 40. years, besides the 20. while Sampson was their Judge; and so the reckoning will come to 450. yeares between the end of Josua, and the beginning of Samuel, though we admit not of an Inter-regnum of the Seniors between Josua and Othoniel: For, if the times of their affliction be summed, they make 111. yeares, to which swe adde the yeares of the Judges, which are 339. we have the just summe of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may feeme to be much more probable, than theirsthat correct the Text, although we should admit of their correction there of of, and read with them 350. for 450. For whereas they conceive that this time of 350. years, is to begin immediately, or foone after the death of Moses: certainely the place of S. Paul doth evidently reach the contrary, though it be received for true that there was visium scriptoris in the reft. For these be Saint Pauls words: And about the time of forty yeares, God suffered their manners in the wildernesse: And he destroyed seven Na tions in the Land of Canaan, and divided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward he gave unto them Judges about 450. yeares unto the time of Samuel the Prophet. So as first in the eighteenth verse he speaketh of Moses, and of his yeares spent in the Wildernesse, then in the nineteenth versehe commeth unto the acts of Josia; which were, that he destroyed seven Nations in the land of Canaan, and divided their Land 1016 them by lot. In the twentieth Verseit followeth, Then afterward bee gave them Judge about 450 yeares, &c. and therefore to reckon from the death of Mofes, is wide of Saint Pauls meaning, fo farre as my weak understanding can pierce it. The onely inconvenience of any weight in opinion of Codeman touching this place in the Alli, is, that it feemes irreconcileable with the account, I Reg. 6. 11. For if indeed there were spent 450. yeares between the end of Jofus and the beginning of Samuel, certainly there mult

needs be much more than 480. yeares between the beginning of the Ifraelites jour-

neying from Egypt, and the foundation of the Temple by Salemon. To this difficulty

The second Booke of the first part

Codoman answereth, that these 480. years, 1 Reg. 6.1. must begin to be reckoned, not in the beginning, but in the ending of their journeying from Egypt, which he makes to be 25. yeares after the beginning of Othomiels government; from whence if wee cast the veares of the Judges, with the yeares of servicude (which summes, according to his account, of which we have already spoken, make 397. yeares) and so to these yeares adde the 40. of Samuel, and Saul, and the 40. of David, and the 3. of Salomon, wee shall have the just summe of 480. yeares. Neither is it hard (saith he) that the annus egressionis, I Reg. 6.1. should be understood egressianis non incipientis, sedsinita, the yeere of their comming out of Egypt (for foit is in the originall) or the yeare after they came out of Egypt, may well be understood for the year eafter they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandring from thence. For sowee finde that things which were done 40. yeares after they had fet foot out of Egypt, are faid to have bin done in their going out of Egypt; as Pfal. 114. When I fraclcame, out of Egypt, Jordan was driven backe, and Deut 4.45. These are the testimonies which Moses spake when they came out of Egipt. And thus farre it feemes we may very well agree with Codoman, for the interpretation of the abenitusto be as much as quam exivifent, or ab exitufinito: for if Junius, Dent 4.45. doe well read gumm exivifent, for inexitu, as it seemes that herein he doth well, why may not we also, to avoid contradiction in the Scripture, expound abexitu to be pastauam exivisione?

The next point to be cleared, is how their journeying should be said not to have had enduntill the 25, yeare after the victory of athaniel. To this Godoman answereth, that then it had no end till when all the Tribes had obtained their portions, which happened notuntill this time: at which time the Danites at length feated themselves, as it is declared, Jud. 18. For doubtleffe to this time the expedition may most conveniently be re-Jud. 18.1 ferred. And thus without any great inconvenience to him appearing, doth Codoman reconcile the account of Jephea, and S. Paul, with that in the first of King.c.6. Now wherasitisfaid that the expedition of the Danites was when there was no King in Ifrael: to this Codoman answereth, that it is not necessary that we should suppose that Othoniel livedall those 40. yeares of rest, of which Jud. 3.11. so that by the 25. yeare after his vio cory, either he might have bin dead, or at least, as Gideon did, he might have refused all foveraignty, and so either way it might truely bee said that at this time (to wit, the 25. yeare after Othoniels victory) there was no King in Ifrael. This opinion of Codoman, if it were as consonant to other Chronologers, grounding their opinions on the plaine Text, where it is indisputable, as it is in it selfe round enough and coherent, might perhaps be received as good: especially considering, that the speeches of S. Paul have not otherwise found any interpretation, maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they found, and are fet downe. But feeing that he wanteth all helpe of authority, we may juftly suspect the supposition whereupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the consent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told Codoman, that the conquest of Laish, by the Tribe of Dan, was performed in the five and twentieth yeere of Othoniel? Or what other probability hath hee than his owne conjecture, to shew that Othoniel did so renounce the office of a Judge after five andtwenty yeeres, that it might then be truely faid there was no King in Ifrael, but every mandid that which was good in his owne eyes?

Now concerning the rehearfall of the law by Moses, and the stopping of Jordan, they might indeed bee properly faid to have been, when Ifrael came out of Egypt like as we say that King Edward the first was crowned when he came out of the holy Land, for so all journeles with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I thinke that hee can finde no such phrase of peech in Scripture as limiteth a journey by an accident, or faith by converting the pro-Polition, when Jordan was turning back, Ifrael came out of Egypt. Indeed most unproperit were to give date unto actions commenced long after, from an expedition finished long before, namely, to fay, that King Edward at his arrivall out of Palæstina did winne Scolland, or died at Carlile. How may we then beleeve that enterprize performed for many yeeres after the division of the Land (which followed the conquest at the jourfees end) should be said to have bin at the time of the departure out of Egypte Or who will not thinke it most strange, that the most notable account of time, serving as the one-Vguide for certaine ages in facred Chronologie, should not take name and beginning

[0].14.1.

CHAP. 14. S.I.

from that illustrious deliverance out of Egyps, rehearfed often by God himselfe among the principall of his benefits to Ifrael, whereof the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewise are the yeare and moneth wherein it expired) and the forme of the yeare upon that occasion changed; but should have reference to the surprizing of a Town by fixe hundred men, that robbed a Chappell by the way, and stole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to work in Gods name. For this accident whereupon Codoman buildeth, hath either no time given to it, or a time far different from that which he supposeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in such a yeare, because it best flood with his interpretation fo to have it, than for any certainety or likelihood of the

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirme that the Apostle S. Paul did not 10 thing it selfe. herein labour to set downethe course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but onely to shew that God, who had chosen Israel to be his people, delivered them out of bondage, and ruled them by Judges and Prophets unto the time of Saul, did raise up our Lord Jesus Christ out of the seed of David the King, in whose succession the Crowne was established, and promise made of a Kingdome that should have no end, Now in rehearing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherein he sheweth Christ to have beene the true Messias) the Apostle was so farre from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the History being so well known & beleeved of the Jewes to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large 20 of the 40. yeares consumed in the wildernesse, whereof no man doubted, saying, that God suffered their manners in the wildernesse about 40. yeares. In like manner hepoceeded, faying, that from the division of the Land unto the daies of Samuel the Prophet, in whose time they required to have a King, there passed about 450. yeares. Neither did he stand to tell them, that an hundred and eleven yeares of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339. yeares of the Judges: for this had bin an impertinent digression from the argument which he had in hand. Wherefore it is not a work so needfull as laborious, to search out of this place that 10 which the Apostle did not here intend to teach, when the summe of 480. yeares is soex. pressely and purposely set downe.

Now that the words of S. Paul (if there be no fault in the copy through error of some Scribe) are not fo curiously to be examined in matter of Chronologie, but must be taken, as having reference to the memory and apprehension of the vulgar, it is evident by his ascribing in the same place 40. yeares to the reigne of Saul: whereas it is manifest that those yeares were divided between Saul & Samuel, yea, that far the greater part of them were spent under the government of the Prophet, howsoever they are here included in the reigne of the King. As for those that with so much cunning for sake the general opinion, when it favoureth not such exposition as they bring out of a good minde, to help where the need is not overgreat; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The words of S. Paul were sufficiently justified by Beroaldus, as having 40 reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in those dayes, that the 111. years of servitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339. yeares ascribed to the Judges which account the Apostle would not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speake as the vulgar, qualifying it with a quasi, where he faith quasi quadringentie quinquagintaannis, As it were foure hundred and fifty yeares. But Codoman being not thus contented, would needs have it be so indeed, and therefore dis-joines the members to make the account even. In so doing he dasheth himselfe against a notable Text, where upon all Authors have builded, (as well they might and ought) that purposely and precifely doth cast up the yeares from the departure out of Egypt, unto the building of Sollmons Temple, not omitting the very Moneth it selfe.

Now(as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) having already given faith 10 his owne interpretation of S. Paul, he thinketh it more needfull to finde fome new exposition for that which is of it selfe most plaine, and to examine his owne conjecture upon a place that is full of controversie. Thus by expounding, after a strange Methode, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he loseth himselfe in those waies where in before him never man walked. Surely if one should urge him to give reason of these new opinions, he must needs answer, that Oshoniel could not governe above 25. years, because then was the taking of Laish, at which time there was no King in Israel; That the Danites must needs have taken Lailh at that time, because else we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might be termed the comming of Israel out of Egypt, without excluding the yeeres of fervitude; And that the veeres of servitude must needes be included, for that otherwise he himselfe should have menthis time vainely, in feeking to pleasure S. Paul with an exposition. Whether this ground be strong enough to uphold a Paradoxe, I leave it to the decision of the judicious

And now to proceed in our story. To the time of Jephta are referred the death of Hercules, the rape of Helen by Paris, and the provisions which her husband Menelaus. reigning then in Sparta, and his brother Agamemnon King of Mycenæ, made for her recovery. Others referre this rape of Helen to the fourth yeere of 1674n: from which time, if the warre of Troy (as they suppose) did not begin till the third of Aslon or Elon, yet the Greeks had fixe yeeres to prepare themselves: the rule holding not true in this War, langapraparatio belli celerem affert victoriam; that a long preparation begets a speedy victone. for the Greeks confumed ten yeares in the attempt: and Troy, as it seemes, was entred, fackt, and burnt in the third yeare of Habdon.

Three yeares after Troy taken, which was in the fixt yeere of Habdon, Aeneas arrived in Italy. Habdon in the eighth yeare of his rule, died, after he had beene the Father of 40. fonnes, and 30. grand-children. And whereas it is supposed, that the 40. yeeres of o Ifraels oppression by the Philistims (of which Jud. 13. v.1.) took beginning from the ninthyeere of Jair, and ended with the last of Habdon: I see no reason for that opinion. For Ephraim had had little cause of quarrell against Jephra, for not calling them to war over fordan, if the Philistims had held them in servitude in their own territories: and if Ephram could have brought 42000 armed men into the field, it is not likely that they werethen opprest: and had it been true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather have fought against the Philistims with so powerfull an Army for their ownedeliverance, than against their own brethren the Ifraelites? but Ammon being overthrowne, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other enemy. And therefore these 40. veers must either be supplied elsewhere, as in the time of Sampson, and afterward or elfe they must be referred to the inter-regnum between the death of Habdon. and the deliverance of Ifrael by Sampfor, fuch as it was.

CHAP. XIII. Of the Warre of Troy.

Of the Genealogy of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets show they have observed historicall truth.



He Warre at Troy with other ftorieshereupon depending (because the ruine of this Citie, by most Chronologers is found in the time of Habdon Judge of Israel, whom in the last place I have mentioned) I rather choose here to treat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineal descent of their Princes, than to breakehe story into pieces by rehearsing a-part in diversive years, the diversity of occurrents.

The Historic of the ancient Kings of Troy is uncertaint, in regard both of their originall, and of their continuance. It is commonly held that Teucer and Dardanus were the two founders of that Kingdome. This is the opinion of Pireil: which if he (as Raneccius thinks) tooke from Berofus, it is the more probable: if Annius borrowed it ofhim, then it refts upon the authority of Virgil, who faith thus:

> Creta Jovis magni mediojacet insula Ponto ! Mons Idaus ubi ,& gentu cunabula nostra. Nn a

T Vin.6.

Act. 13.

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C M A P. 14. S. 1. C N A P. 14. S. 1.

Centum Urbes babitant magnas, uberrima regna : Maximus unde Pater (firite audit a recorder) Teucrus Thæteas primum est advectus adoras : Optavita; locumregno. Nondum Ilium & arces Pergamea fleterant : habitabant vallibus imis. Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiag; ara, Idaumq; nemus.

In the maine Sea the Ile of Creete doth lve: Whence Jove was borne, thence is our progeny. There is mount Ida: there in fruitfull Land An hundreth great and goodly Cities stand. Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame) Teucer the eldeft of our grand-fires came To the Rhætean shores: and reigned there Ere yet faire Ilion was built, and ere The Towers of Troy : their dwelling place they fought In lowest Vales. Hence Cybels rites were brought: Hence Corybantian Cymbals did remove: And hence the name of our Idean grove.

Thus it seemeth by Virgil, who followed surely good authority, that Teucer first give name to that Countrey, wherein he reigned ere Troy was built by Dardanus: of which Dardanus in the same booke he speaks thus:

Est locus, Hesperiam Grait cognomine dicuns: Terra antiqua, potens armis et 45 where gleba. Oenotrii colucre viri nunc fama minores Italiam dixiffe, ducis de nomive gentem. Ha nebis propria fedes : binc Dardamis ortus : Jafinfq; Pater, genus à que principe noftrum.

Hesperia the Gracians call the place: An ancient fruitfull Land, a warlike race, Oenotrians held it : now the later progenie Gives it their Captaines name, and calls it Italy; This feat belongs to us, hence Dardanus, Hence came the author of our stocke, Jasius.

Also Aeneidles.

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Atq; equidem memini (fama eft obscurior annic) Auruncos ita fere fenes, hic ortus ut agris Dardanus Idaus Phrygia penesravis adurbes. Threiciamq : Samum, qua nunc Samothracia fertur. Hinc illum Corysi Tyrrhena ab fede profestum, Auxeanung solie fiellantie regie cali Accipit dec.

Some old Aruncans, I remember well, (Though time have made the fame obscure) would tell Of Dardanns, how borne in Italy: From hence he into Phrygia did flic. And leaving Tufcaine (where he earst had place) With Corytus did faile to Samothrace; But now inthronized he firs on high, In golden Palace of the starry skie.

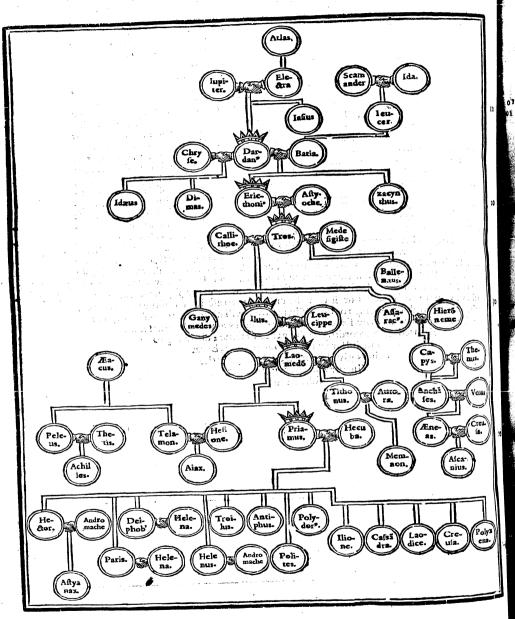
But contrary to this, and so many Authors, approving and confirming it, Reintella thinkes that thefe names, Trees, Teneri, and Thraces, are derived from Tires or Thirs the fon of Japhes : and that the Dardanians, My fians, & Afcanians, mixt with the Trojan

were Germane Nations, descended from Ashkenaz, the sonne of Gomer: of whom the Countrie, Lake, and river of Ascanius in Asia tooke name. That Askenaz gave name to those places and people, it is not unlikely: neither is it unlikely, that the Ascanit, Darda. mi and many others, did in after-times paffe into Europe: that the name of Teucer came of Irras, the conjecture is somewhat hard. Concerning Tencer, whereas Hal carnalleur makes him an Athenias, I finde none that follow him in the fame opinion. Virgil (as is hefore shewed) reporteth him to be of Crete; whose authority is the more to be regarded because he had good meanes to finde the truth, which it is probable that he carefully fought, and in this did follow, seeing it no way concerned Augustus (whom other-whiles to he did flatter) whether Tencer were of Grete or no. Reineccius doth rather embrace the opinion of Diodorus, and others that thinke him a Phrygian, by which report he was the Sonne of Scamander and Ida, Lord of the Country, not founder of the Citie; and his Daughter or Neece Batia was the second wife of Dardanus founder of Troy. Reineccius further thinkes that Atlas raigned in Samothracia, and gave his daughter Elettra to Coretus, or Coritus: and that these were parents to Chryse, first wife to Dardanus. Virgilholds otherwise; and the common Tradition of Poets makes Dardanus the sonne of Electra by Jupiter, which Electra was the daughter of Atlas, and wife to Coritus King of Hetruria, to whom she bare Jasius. Annius out of his Berefus findes the name of Camboblascon, to whom he gives the addition of Corytus, as a Title of dignity, making him Father of Dardanus and Jasius; and further telling us very particularly of the faction betweene these Brethren, which grew to fuch heate, that finally Dardanus killed his Brother, and thereupon fled into Samothrace. The obscurity of the historie gives leave to Annus of faying what he lift. I, that love not touse such libertie, wil for beare to determine any thing herein. But if Dardanus were the Sonne of Jupiter, it must have beene of some elder Jupiter than the Father of those that lived about the Warre of Troy. So it is likewise probable that Atlas the Father of Electra was rather an Italian than an African, which also is the Deville 423: opinion of Boccace. For (as hath often been faid) there were many Jupiters, and many of Boccace gen

almost every name of gods: but it was the custome to ascribe to some one the acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therefore I will not greatly trouble my self with making any narrow fearch into these fabulous antiquities, but set down the Pedigree according to the generall fame; allowing to

Tencer fuch Parents as Diodorus gives, because others give him none, and carrying the line of Dardanus in manner following.

1.1



Concerning the beginning and continuance, the Trojan Kingdome, with the length of every Kings reigne, I have chosen good Authors to be my guides, that in a History, whereon depends the most ancient computation of times among the Greeks, I might not follow incertainties, ill cohering with the consent of Writers, and generall passage of things elsewhere done. And first for the destruction of Troy, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that City whilest it stood, it is reckoned by Diodorus to be Diodles. 780. yeares more ancient than the beginning of the ninety fourth Olympiad. Whereas therefore 372. did passe betweene the beginning of the Olympiads, and the first yeare of the 94. it is manifest that the remainder of 780. yeares, that is 408. yeares went betweene the destruction of Troy, and the first institution of those games by Iphitus, if Diodin pref. the authority of Diedorus be good proofe, who elsewhere tels us, that the returne of the Herachdæ, which was 80. yeares after the fall of Troy, was 328. yeares before the first Olympiad.

Hereunto agrees the authority of *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, who placing the foundati- Dionysi Halica on of Rome in the first of the seventh Olympiad, that is, source and twenty yeares after the Antique. beginning of those games, accounts it 432. later than the fall of Troy. Solians in expresse solian politifica; words, makes the institution of the Olympiads by Iphitus, whom he calleth Iphiclus, 480. yeares later than the destruction of Troy. The summe is easily collected by necesfary inference out of divers other places in the same booke. Hereunto doth Eusebius, Eusebide rap.Ereckoning exclusively agree: and Eratosthenes (as he is cited by Clemens Alexandrinus) vangl. 10 c.3.cle.

Alex. Strom. lib. 1. makes up out of many particulars, the same totall summe, wanting but one yeare, as reckoning likewise exclusively.

Theother collections of divers writers that are cited by Clemens in the fame place doe neither cohere any way, nor depend upon any collaterall hiftory, by which they may be

The destruction of Troy being in the yeare before the Olympiads four hundred and eight: we must seeke the continuance of that from the beginning to the end, out of Essebius, who leads us from Dardanus on-wards, through the reignes of foure Kings, by the space of two hundred and five and twenty yeares, and after of Priamus, with whom also t length it ended. As for the time which passed under Laomedon, we are faine to doe as others have done before us, and take it upon trust from Annius his Authors; beleeving Manetho so much the rather, for that in his account of the former Kings reignes, and of Priamus, he is found to agree with Eusebins, which may give us leave to thinke that Anmus hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we need not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no history or accompt of time depends upon the reigne of the former Kings, but onely upon the ruine of the Citie under Priamus, it may suffice that we are carefull to place that memorable accident in the due yeare.

True it is, that some objections appearing waighty, may be alledged in maintenance of different computations, which with the answers I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those yeares, wherein the Greeks knew no good forme of a yeare; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all writers, whereof this destruction of Troy was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprise that was undertaken by generall consent of all Greece, was the last warre of Troy, which hath bin famous even to this day, for the numbers of Princes and valiant Commanders there affembled; the great bartailes fought with variable successes the long indurance of the fiege: the destruction of that great Citie: and the many Colomes planted in fundry countries, as well by the remainder of the Trojans, as by the victorious Greeks after their unfortunate returne. All which things, with innumerable circumstances of especials note, have bin delivered unto posterity, by the excellent wits ofmany writers, especially by the Poems of that great Homer, whose verses have given immortality to the action, which might else perhaps have been buried in oblivion, among other worthy deeds, done both before and fince that time. For it is true which Herace faith:

> Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona Multi, sedomnes illashrymabiles Urgentur, ignotiq; longa Notte : carent quia vate facro.

Many by valour have deferv'd renowne Ere Agamemnon; yet lye all opprest Under long night, unwept for, and unknowne: For with no facred Poet were they bleft.

Yet foit is, that whilft these writers have with strange fables, or (to speake the bestof them) with Allegories farre strained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of those noble undertakers: they have both drawne into suspicion that great vertue which they fought to adorne, and filled after-ages with almost as much ignorance of the History, admiration of the persons. Wherefore it is expedient that we seeke for the knowledge of fuch actions, in Histories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of Poets, in whose workes are both profit and delight: yet small profit to those which are delighted otherwise; but such as can interpret their fables, or separate them from the naked truth, fhall find matter in Poems, not unworthy to be regarded of Historians. For those things excepted which are gathered out of Homer, there is very little, and not without much difagreement of Authors, written of this great warre. All writers consent with Home, that the rape of Helen by Paris the fon of Priamus, was the cause of taking arms: but how he was hereunto emboldened, it is doubtfull.

Of the rape of Helen: and strength of both sides for the Warre.

Eredetus fetcheth the cause of this rape from very farre; faying, That whereas the Phoenicians, had ravished 10, and carried her into Fgypt, the Greeks, tobe -revenged on the Barbarians, did first ravish Europa, whom they brought out of Phamera into Creta, and afterward Medaa, whom they fetcht from Celchos, denying to restore her to her father, till such time as they might be satisfied for the rape of the these deeds of the Greeckes, Paris (as the fame Herodorus affirmes) was emboldenedo doe the like; not fearing fuch revenge as enfued. But all this narration feemes frivolus. For what had the King of Calches to doe with the injury of the Phoenicians ? Orhow could the Greekes, as in revenge of 16, plead any quarrell against him, that never had heard the name of Phoenicians? Thucydides, a writer of unquestionable fincerity, maken it plaine, that the name of Barbarians was not used at all in Homers time, which was long after the warre of Troy: and that the Greeks themselves were not then called all by one name, Hellenes, as afterwards. So that it were unreasonable to thinke, that they should have fought revenge upon all Nations, as barbarous, for the injury received byone: or that all people else should have esteemed of the Greeks, as of a people opposed wall the world; and that even then when as the Greekes had not yet one common name among themselves. Others with more probability say, that the rape of Helen wasto procure the redelivery of Hefione, King Priamus his fifter, taken formerly by Hereult, and given to Telamon. This may have beene true: for Telamon (as it feemes) was active ell man, seeing his owne sonne Teucer durst not come in his sight, after the warre of Try, but fled into Cyprus, onely because his brother Ajax (which Teucer could not remedy) had flaine himselfe. Yet, were it so, that Hesione was ill entreated by Telamon, it was not therefore likely that Priamus her brother would feeke to take her from her husband, with whom shee had lived about thirty yeeres, and to whom shee had borne children which were to fucceed in his Dominion. Whereupon I thinke that Paris had note gard either to the rape of Europa, Medea, or Hesione, but was meerely incited by Venus, that is, by his luft, to doe that which in those dayes was very common. For not onely Greeks from Barbarians, and Barbarians from Greeks, as Herodotus difcourfeth; butally people were accustomed to steale women and cattell, if they could by strong hand or power get them: and having stollen them, either to fell them away in some farre Countrie, or keep them to their owne use. So did Thefeus and Pirythous attempt Proferpine; and so did Theseus (long before Paris) ravish Helen. And these practices, as it appears in Thucydides, were so common, that none durst inhabite neere unto the Sea, for feared pyracy, which was accounted a trade of life no leffe lawfull than merchandife: where fore Tyndareus, the father of Helen, confidering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which Thefew had made, caused all her woods, who were most of the principall men

in Greece, to binde themselves by solemne oath, that if she were taken from her hufband, they should with all their might helpe to recover her. This done, he gave free choice of a husband to his daughter, who chose Menelaus, brotherto Agamemnon. So the cause which drew the Greeks unto Troy in revenge of Helens rape, was partly the oath which so many Princes had made unto her Father Tyndareus. Hereunto the great power of Agamemnon was not a little helping : for Agamemnon, befides his great Dominions in Peloponnesus, was Lord of many Hands: he was also rich in mony, and therefore the Arcadians were well contented to follow his pay, whom he embarked for Troy in his owne ships, which were more than any other of the Greek Princes brought to that expedition.

Thus did all Greece, either as bound by oath, or led by reputation and power of the two brethren, Agamemnon, and Menelaus; or defirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterprise; take armes against the Trojans. The Greeks Fleet was (by Homers account) 1200. sayle, or thereabouts: but the vessels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build ships with deckes; onely they used (as Thucydides faith) small ships, meet for robbing on the Sea; the least of which carried fifty men, the greatest 120. every man (except the Captaines) being both a Mariner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appeares that the Grecian army confished of 100000. men or thereabout. This was the greatest armie that ever was raised out of Greece: and the greatnesse of this armie doth well declare the strength and power of Troy, which tenwhole yeares did stand out against such forces: yet were the Trojans which inhabitedthe citie, not the tenth part of this number, as Agamemeon faid in the second of Homers Ilads; but their followers and aides were very many and strong. For all Phrygia, Lycia, Missia, and the greatest part of Asia the leffe, tooke part with the Trojans. The Amazons also brought them succour. And Rhefus out of Thrace, and Memnon out of Affivia (though some thinke out of Æthiopia) came to their defence.

Of the Grecians journey, and Embassage to Troy, and of Helena's being detained in Egypt, and of the sacrifising of Iphigenia.

Herefore the Greeks, unwilling to come to tryall of armes, if things might be compounded by treaty-fent Menelous and William To the State of the Sta be compounded by treaty, fent Menelaus and Uly fes Embaffadors to Trey. who demanded Helen, and the goods were taken with her out of Menelaus his house. What answer the Trojans made hereunto it is uncertaine. Herodorus from the report of the Egyptian Priests, makes it very probable, that Helen was taken from

Paris before his returne to Troy. The fumme of his discourse is this. Paris in his return with Helena, being driven by foule weather unto the coast of Egypt, was accused for the rape of Helen by some bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. Proteus then King of Egypt, finding the accusation true by examination, detained Helen and the goods taken with her, till her husband should require them: dismissing Paris without further punishment, because he was a stranger. When therefore the Greeks demanding Helen, had answer, that she was in Egypt, they thought themselves deluded. and thereupon made the warre, which ended with the ruine of Troy. But when after the City taken, they perceived indeed she had not beene there, they returned home, sending Menelaus to aske his wife of Proteus. Homer and the whole Nation of Poets (except Euripides) vary from this History, thinking it a matter more magnificent, and more gracefull to their Poems, for the retaining of a faire Lady, than that they endured all by force, because it lay not in their power to redeliver her. Yet in the fourth of his Odysfis, Homer speaks of Menelaus his being in Egypt, before he returned home to Sparta; which voyage it were not eafily believed that he made for pleasure: and if he were diven thither by contrary Windes, much more may we thinke that Paris was likely to have bin driven thither by foule Weather. For Paris immediately upon the rape committed, was enforced to flye, taking fuch Windes as he could get, and rather enduring any storme, than to commit himselfe to any Haven in the Greek Seas: whereas Menelaus might have put into any port in Greece, and there have remained with good entertainment, untill fuch time as the Windhad comeabout, and served for his NaviCHAP, 14. S. 4.

that landed first.

One great argument Herodotus brings to confirme the faying of the Egyptian Priefts which is, that if Helen had been at Troy, it had beene utter madnesse for Priamus to fee fo many miseries befall him, during the warre, and so many of his sonnes slaine for the pleasure of one, who neither was here to the Kingdome (for Hetter was elder) nor cqui invertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seeme that Lucian spake not more plea fantly than truely, when he faid that Helen, at the warre of Troy, was almost as older Queene Hecuba, confidering that she had beene ravished by Theseus the companions Hercules, who tooke Troy when Priamus was very young; and confidering further, the the was fifter to Castor and Pollux (she and Pollux being said by some to have been twinnes) who failed with the Argonauts, having Telamon the father of Ajax in their com. pany, before the time that Hesione was taken; on whom Telamon begat Ajax, 'that was a principall Commander in the Trojan warre. But whether it were so that the Trojan could not, or would not reftore Helen, foit was that the Ambassadours returned contented, and not very well entreated, for there wanted not some that advised to have them flaine. The Greekes hereupon incensed, made all haste towards Troy: at which time Calchas (whom some say to have been a Runnagate Trojan, though no such thing be found in Homer) filled the Captaines, and all the Hoast with many troublesomean fwers and divinations. For he would have Agamemnons daughter facrificed to appeale Diana, whose anger, he said, withstood their passage. Whether the young Ladywer facrificed, or whether (as some write) the goddesse was contented with a Hinde, itisms needfull here to bee disputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the Divell, which awaits for all opportunities, is never more importunate, than where mens ignorance is more Calchas also told the Greekes, that the taking of Troy was impossible, till some half impediments were removed : and that till ten yeares were past, the towne should hill out against them. All which notwithstanding, the Greekes proceeded in their entitle prise, under the command of Agamemnon, who was accompanied with his Brother M. nelaus: Achilles the most valiant of all the Greekes, his friend Patroclus, and his Tun Phanix; Ajax and Teucer, the fonnes of Telamon; Idomeneus, and his companion Main ones; Neftor and his fonnes Antilochus and Thrafymedes; Ulyfes, Mneftheus the fonned Petreus, Captaine of the Athenians; Diomedes the sonne of Tydeus, aman of singuir courage; the wife and learned Palamedes, Ascalaphus, and Jalmenus, the sonnes of Man, who had failed with the Argonauts; Philottetes also the sonne of Pean, who haddher rowes of Hercules, without which Calchas faid, that the Citie could not be taken; has the fon of Oileus, Peneleus, Thoas, Eumelus, Tylandrus, Euripilus, Athamas, Sthungs, Tlepolemus the sonne of Hercules; Podalyrius, and Machon, the sonnes of Asculapinis, E. peus, who is faid to have made the wooden Horse, by which the towne was taken; and Protesilans, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the Oracle that threatned death whim

§ IV.

Of the Acts of the Gracians at the fiege.

Hese, and many other of lesse note, arriving at Trey, found such sharpe entrainment, as might easily perswade them to thinke that the warre would be more than one yeares worke. For in the first encounter, they lost Protesium, whom Hester slew, and many other, without any great harme done to the Trajunt save only that by their numbers of men, they wan ground enough to incamp themselves in, as appeareth in Thucydides. The principall impediment which the Greekes sound, was want of victuals, which grew upon them by reason of their multitude, and the simulanesse of their vessels, wherein they could not carry necessaries for such an Armic Cherronesse. Others to rob upon the Sea for the reliefe of the Campe. Thus was the warre protracted nine whole yeares, and either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the rowne receive little losse by them, having equal numbers to maintain the field against such Greekes as continued the siege, and a more safe retrait if the enemity got the better.

Wherefore Ovid faith, That from the first yeare, till the tenth, there was no fighting at all, & Heraclide commends as very credible, the report of Heraclicus, that the Gred did not lye before Troj the first nine yeares: but onely did beare up and downe the sea

exercifing their men, and inriching themselves, and so by wasting the enemies countrie, did blocke up the towne, unto which they returned nor, untill the fatall time drew neere when it should be subverted.

This is confirmed by the enquirie which Priamus made, when the Greeke Princes came into the field, the tenth yeare, for he knew none of them; and therefore fitting upon an high tower (as Homer tels) he learned their names of Helen: which though it is Homeliad is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all have beene supposed that he should be ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselves before the towne somany yeares together. Betweener these relations of Thucydides and Herodicus, the difference is not much; the one faving, that a few of the Greeks remained in the Camp before Troy, whileft the reft made Durveyance by land and by sea: the other, that the whole armie did spend the time in wasting the sea-coasts. Neither doe the Poets greatly disagree from these authors: for they make report of many townes and Ilands wasted, and the people carried into Captivitie; in which actions Achilles was imployed, whom the armie could not well, nor would have spared, if any service of importance had beene to be performed before the Citie. Howfoever it was, this is agreed by generall confent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which Troy was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe, and agreat peffilence arose among the Greeks: which Homer faith, that Apollo sent in revenge of his Priefts daughter, whom Agamemnon had refused to let goe, for any ransome: but Heraclides interpreting the place, faith, that by Apollo was meant the Sunne, who raised peffilent Fogs, by which the armie was infected, being lodged in a moorish piece of ground. And it might well be that the campe was over-peftered with those, who had beene abroad, and now were lodged all close together: having also grounded their ships within the for ifications.

About the fame time arose much contention betweene Agamemnon and Achilles about the bootie, whereof Agamemnon, as Generall, having first chosen for his part a captive woman, and Achilles in the second place chosen for himselfe another, then Ajax, Whise, and so the rest of the chiefe Captaines in order: When the Soothsayer Calchus had willed that Agamemnons woman should be restored to her father Apollo's Priest, that so the Pestilence might cease, then did Agamemnon greatly rage, and say, that hee alone would not lose his part of the spoile, but would either take that which had been given to Achilles, or that which had fallento Ajax, or to Uhises. Hereupon Achilles desied him, but was faine to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to revenge her losse otherwise than by resusing to sight, or to send forth his Captaines. But the Greeks, encouraged by their Captains, presented themselves before the Cities without him on this traces.

the Citie without him and his troopes. The Trojans were now relieved with great fuccours, all the neighbour Countries having fent them aide: partly drawne to that warre by their Commanders who affisted Priamus for money, wherewith he abounded when the warre began (as appeares by his words in Homer,) or for love of himselfe and his sonnes, or hope of marriage with some of his many and faire daughters; partly also (as we may well ghesse) incited by the wrongs received of the Greekes when they wasted the Countries adjoyning unto Trey. So that when Hettor issued out of the towne, he was little inferiour to his enemies in numbers of men, or qualitie of their Leaders. The principall Captaines in the Trojanarmie, were Hettor, Paris, Deiphobus, Helenus, and the other fonnes of Priamus: Aneas, Antenor, and his fonnes, Polydamas, Sarpedon, Glaucus, Asins, and the fonnes of Panthus, beides Rhefus, who was flaine the first night of his arrivall; Memnon, Queene Penthesilea, and others who came towards the end of the warre. Betweene the fe and the Greeks were many battels fought: the greatest of which were, that at the tombe of King Ilus upon he Plain: and another at the very trenches of the Campe, wherein Hellor brake through hefortifications of the Greeks, and began to fire their ships; at which time Ajax, the onof Telamon, with his brother Teucer, were in a manner the onely men of note that remaining unwounded, made head against Hettor, when the state of the Greekes was almost

Another battell (for so antiquitie calls it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by atroclus, who having obtained leave, drew forth Achilles troopes, relieving the wearie freekes with a fresh supply. Agamemnon, Diomedes, Ulyses, and the rest of the Princes, mough fore wounded, yet were driven to put on armour, and with helpe of Passocius,

repelled

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repelled the Trojans very hardly. For in that fight Patroclus was loft, and his bodie, with much contention recovered by his friends, was brought backe into the Campe: thear. mour of Achilles which he had put on, being torne from him by Hector. It was the manner of those warres, having slaine a man, to strip him and hale away his bodie, not resto. ring it without ransome, if he were one of marke. Of the vulgar little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, flightly armed, and commonly followed the fuccess of their Captaines; who rode not upon horses, but in Chariots, drawne by two or three horses, which were guided by some trustie followers of theirs, which drave up and downe the field, as they were directed by the Captains, who by the swiftnesse of their horses presenting themselves where need required, threw first their Javelins, and then and lighting, fought on foot, with swords and battel-axes, retiring into the ranks of footmen or else returning to their Chariots when they found cause, and so began again with anew dart as they could get it, if their old were lost or broken. Their armes defensive were helmets, breft-plates, boots of braffe, or other mettall, and shields commonly of leather plated over. The offensive were swords and battel-axes at hand; and stones, arrows or dans when they fought at any distance. The use of their Chariots (besides the swiftnesse) was to keep them from wearinesse, whereto the leaders were much subject, because of their armour, which the strongest and stoutest ware heaviest : also that from them they might throw their Javelins downwards, with the more violence. Of which weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were oftendriven in to return to their tents for a new one when the old was gone. Likewise of armours they had little change or none; every man (speaking of the chiefe) carried his own complete, of which if any piece were lost or broken, he was driven to repaire it with the like, the had any fitting, taken from fome Captaine whom he had flain, and stripped: orelleto borrow of them that had by fuch means gotten some to spare. Wheras therefore Adult les had lost his armour which Hettor (as is faid before) had taken from the bodie of Pana clus, he was fain to await the making of new, ere he could enter the fight: whereof hebe came very defirous, that he might revenge the death of Patroclus his deare friend.

At this time Agamemnon reconciled himselfe unto Achilles, not onely restoring his concubine Brifeis, but giving him very great gifts, and excufing former matters as well and he might. In the next battell Achilles did so behave himselfe, that he did not onely put the Trojans to the worst, but also slew the valiant Hestor, whom (if Homer may heren be believed) he chaced three times about the walls of Troy. But great question may be made of Homers truth in this narration. For it is not likely that Hetter would stay alone without the Citie (as Homer doth report of him) when all the Trojans were fled into it: nor that he could leape over the rivers of Xanthus and Simos, as he must have done in that flight: nor that the Trojans, perceiving Hellor in fuch an extremitie, would have forborne to open some of their gates and lethim in. But this is reported onely to grace Achilles, who having (by what meanes foever) flaine the noble Hedor, did not onely carry away his dead bodie, as the custome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thrust # ing leatherne thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragging him shamefully about the field, felling the dead bodie to his father Priamus for a very great ransome. But his crucltie and coverousnesse were not long unrevenged; for he was shortly after slame with an arrow by Paris, as Homer fayes, in the Scaan Gate; or as others, in the Templeof Apollo, whither he came to have married Polyxena the daughter of Priamus, with whom he was too farre in love, having flaine so many of her brethren; and his bodie was ranso med(as Lycophron faith) at the felfe-fame rate that Hellors was by him fold for Notlong afterthis, Penthefilea Queen of the Amazons arrived at Troy, who after some proofegiven of her valour, was flaine by Pyrrbus the fon of Achilles.

Inally, after the death of many worthie persons on each side, the Citie Was taken by night, as all Writers agree: but whether by the treason of Enew and Antenor; or by a woodden Horse, as the Poets, and common fame

(which followed the Poets) have delivered, it is uncertaine. Some write that upon one of the gates of Troy, called Scea, was the image of a horse, and that the Greekes entring by that gate, gave occasion to the report, that the Citie was taken by an artificial horses It may well be that with some wooden engine, which they called an horse, they either did batter the wals, as the Romanes in after-times used to do with the Rammetor scaled the wals upon the sudden, and so tooke the Citie. As for the hiding of men in the hollow bodie of a woodden horse, it had bin a desperate adventure, and serving to no purpole. For either the Trojans might have perceived the deceit, and flaine all those Princes of Greece, that were inclosed in it (which also by such as maintaine this report they are faid to have thought upon: Jor they might have left it a few dayes without the Citie for it was unlikely, that they should the very first day both conclude upon the bringing ir into the towne, and breake downe their wals upon the fudden to doe it:) by which meanes they who were thut into it, must have perished for hunger a if they had not by iffing forth unfeafonably discovered the invention. Whereas further it is faid, that this horse was so high and great, that it could not bee brought into the towne through any of the gares, and that therefore the Trojans were faine to pull downe a part of their wall to make way for it, through which breach the Greekes did afterwards enter: it is hereby manifest, that the inclosing of so many principall men was altogether needlesse, confidering that without their helpe there was way fufficient for the armie, fo that the furprising of any gate by them was now to no purpose. .

John Baptista Gramay in his Historic of Asia, discoursing of this warre, saith that the Greekes did both batter the wals with a woodden engine, and were also let into the Citie by Antenor, at the Schan gate: the townesmen seeping and drinking without feare or care, because the fleet of the Grecians had hoisted faile, and was gone the day before to the fle of Tenedos, thereby to bring the Trojans into security. That the Citie was betraved, the books of Dares and Dyttis must prove, which whether we now have the same that were by them written, it may be suspected; for surely they who have made mention of these writers in ancient times, would not as they did, have followed the reports of Humer and others quite contradictorie in most points to these two authors, without once taking notice of the opposition, which they having served in that warre made against the common report: had it not beene that either those bookes were even in those times thought frivolous, or elfe contained no fuch repugnancie to the other Authours as now is

found in them.

CHAP. 14. S.5.

Allo concerning the number of men flaine in this warre, which Dares and Dyttis fay to have beene above 600000. on the Trojan fide, and more than 800000. of the Greeks, it is a report meerely fabulous; for as much as the whole Fleet of the Greekes was reckonedby Homer, who extolled their armie and deedes as much as he could, to bee fomewhat leffethan 1200. faile, and the armie therein transported over the Greeke feas, not much above 100000. men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common fullion of men to extoll the deeds of their Ancients: for which cause both Homer magnified the Captaines of the Greekes that served in the warre, and Virgil with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the Trojans and their Citie, from which the Romanes descended. Yea, the Athenians long after in the warre which Xerxes the Persian King made against all Greece, did not for beanto vaunt of the great cunning which Mneffeus the fon of Peteus had shewed in marshalling the Grecian army before Troy: whereupon, as if it had bin a matter of much consequence, they were so proud, that they refused to yeeld unto Gelon King of almost all Sicily, the Admiralty of their Seas, notwithstanding that he promised to bring 200. good fighting ships, and 30000 men for their defence.

The like vanitie possessed many other Cities of Greece, and many Nations in these Parts of the world, which have striven to bring their descent from some of the Princes that warred at Troy : all difficulties or unlikelihoods in fuch their Pedigree notwithstanding. But those Nations which indeed, or in most probabilitie, came of the Trojans, were the Albanes in Italie; and from them the Romans, brought into that Country by Aneas: the Venetians first scatted in Padua, and the Country adjoyning by Antenor: the Chaonians planted in Epirus by Helenus, the sonne of King Priamus, To which Hellanicus addeth, that the posteritie of Hector did assemble such of the Trojans as were left, and

reigned over them about Troy.

Of the taking of Troy, the woodden Horse, the Booke of Dares and Dy Cis, the Colonies of the reliques of Troy.

S. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greekes returning from Troy.

Oncerning the Greeks, they tasted as much miserie as they had brought upon the Trojans. For Thucydides notes, that by reason of their long abode at the siege, they found many alterations when they returned for that many were driven by their borderers from their ancient seats: many were expelled their Countries by facilion: some were slaine anon after their arrivall: others were debarred from the Soveraigntic among the people, by fuch as had flayed at home. The cause of all which may feeme to have beene the dispersion of the Armie, which, weakned much by the li calamities of that long warre, was of little force to repell injuries, being divided intofo many pieces under feverall Commanders, not very well agreeing. For (befides other quarrels ariling upon the division of the bootie, and the like occasions) at the time when they should have set Taile, Agamemnon and his brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediately, the other to flay and perform some facrifices to Minerva. Herupon they fell to hot words, halfe the fleet remaining with Agamemnon, the rest of them falled to the Ile of Tenedas; where when they arrived, they could not agree among themselves, but fome returned backeto Agameninon; others were dispersed, each holding his own courfe. But the whole fleet was fore vexed with tempests: for Pallas (as Homer faith) would not be perswaded in haste. .

They with returned fafe were Nefter and Pyrrbus, whom Oreftes afterwards flewalfo Idomeneus and Philoctetes, who neverthelesse, as Virgittells, were driven soone afterto fecke new feats: Idomeness among the Salentines, and Philothetes at Petilia in Italia. Ma. memnon likewise returned home; but was forthwith slaine by his wife, and by the Adulterer Agysibus, who for a while after usurped his Kingdome. Menelaus wandring long upon the Seas, came into Egypt, either with Helen, or (as may rather feeme) to fetchler. uly fes, after ten years, having loft all his company, got home in poore effate, withmuch ado recovering the mastership of his own house. All the rest either perished by the way,

or were driven into exile, and fain to feek out new habitations.

Ajax the fon of Oilens was drowned; Tewer fled into Cyprus; Diemedes to King Daunu, 30 who was Lord of the Japyges in Apulia; some of the Locrians were driven into Afrik, others into Italie, all the East part whereof was called Magna Gracia, by reason of some ny Towns which the Greeks were driven to erect upon that coast. Finally, it appeares in Homer, that the Gracian Ladies, whose husbands had bin at the war of Troy, were wont to call it. The place wherethe Greekes suffered miserie, and the unluckie Citie nor to be mentioned. And thus much for Trey, and those that warred there: the overthrowof which Citie, as hath bin faid, happened in the time of Habdon Judge of Ifrael, whom Sampson, after a variance or Inter-regnum for certaine yeares, succeeded.

CHAP. XV.

Of Sampson, Eli, and Samuel.

of Sampson-

HE birth and acts of Sampson are written at large in the 13.14.15 and 16. of Judges; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But thefethings I gather out of that Storie, First, that the Angel of God forbad the wife of Maneah the mother of Sampfon. to drinke Wine or strong drink, or to eate any uncleane meat after the was conceived with child; because those strong liquors hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrinke the childin the

mothers wombe. Though this were even the counsell of God himselfe, and delive vered by his Angell, yet it feemeth that many women of this age have not read

or at least will not believe this precept: the most part forbearing nor drinks, nor meats, how ftrong or uncleane foever, filling themselves with all forts of wines, and with artificialldrinkes far more forcible: by reason whereof, so many wretched seeble bodies are home into the world, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed:

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the Angelof God refuled the facrifice which Manoah would have offered him, commanding him to prefent it unto the Lord: and therefore those that professe divination by the helpe of Angels, to whom also they facrifice, may affiredly know that they are Divels who accept thereof, and not good Angels, who receive no worship that is proper to God.

Thirdly, this Sampson was twice betrayed by his wives, to wit, by their importunitie and deceitfull teares: by the first he lost but a part of his goods; by the second his life. Ouem nulla vis super are potuit, volupt as evertit: Whom no force could over-master, Volup-

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliver Ifrael from the oppression of the philistims; though in some fort he revenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had flaine 30.0f them in his first attempt, burnt their Corne in harvest time, and giventhem a great overthrow instantly upon it: yet so much did Israel seare the Philifims, as they affembled 3000 menout of Juda, to befrege Samfon, in the rock or mountaine of Etam, using these words: Knowest not thou that the Philistims are rulers over vs? &. After which they bound him, and delivered him unto the Philistims, for fear of their revenge; though he was no fooner loofened, but he gave them another overthrow, and flew 1000 with the jawbone of an Asse.

Lastly, being made blinde, and a prisoner by the treason of his wife, he was content to endhis owne life, to be avenged of his enemies, when hee pulled downe the pillars of the houseat the feast whereto they sent for Sampson, to deride him; till which time he bare hisaffliction with patience : but it was truely faid of Seneca; Patientia sape la savertitur infurorem; Patience often wounded is converted into furie neither is it at any time fo much

wounded by paine and loffe, as by derifion and contumelie.

6. II.
of Elizand of the Arke taken; and of Dagons fall, and the sending back of the Ark.

He Storie of Eli the Priest, who succeeded Sampson, is written in the beginning of Samuel; who foretold him of the destruction of his house, for the wickednesse of his fonnes, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: whose fins were horrible, both in abusing the Sacrifice, & prophaning and i Sama to polluting the holy places: though Levi Ben Gerson, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the women by the fons of Eli, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleased God to cast the Israelites under the swords of the Philistims; of whom there perished in the first encounter 4000. and in the second battell 30000. footmen; among whom the fons of Eli being flaine, their father (hearing the lamentable fuccesse) by falling from his chaire, brake his neck. He was the first that obtained the High-Priesthood of the flock of Ithamar the fon of Aaron, before whose time it continued successively in the race of Elea ar the eldest brother of Ithamar: for Aaron was the first, Elea ar the second, Phinees the son of Eleazar the third, Abisue the son of Phinees the fourth, his son Bosci the fift, 0% the fon of Bosci the fixt, and then Eli, as Josephus and Lyranus out of di-tkin.227. vers Hebrew Authors have conceived. In the race of Ithamar the Priesthood continued and a Chron. after Eli to the time of Salomon, who cast out Abiathar, and established Sadock and Achimass and their fuccessours. The Arke of God which Ifrael brought into the field, was in this battell taken by the Philistims. For as David witnesseth, God greatly abhorred Ifrael, Plates. So that he for sooke the habitation of Shilo: even the Tabernacle where hee dwelt among men, and delivered his power into captivitie, &c.

Now as it pleased God at this time, that the Arke whereby himselse was representedshould fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people: so did he permit the Chaldrans to destroy the Temple built by Salomon; the Romans to overthrow the fecond Temple; and the Turks to overthrow the Christian Churches in Asia and Europe. And had not the Israelites put more considence in the

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2 Sam-15.

facrament, or representation, which was the Ark, than in God himselfe, they would have observed his Lawes, and served him onely: which when soever they did, they were then victorious. For after the captivitie they had no Arke at all, not in the times of the Macchabees : and yet for their pietie it pleased God to make that familie as victorious as any that guarded themselves by the figne in stead of the substance. And that the Ark was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an enfigne, David witneffed when hee fled from Absalon. For when the Priests would have carried the Arke with him; he forbad it, and caused it to be turned into the Citie, using these words: If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he willbring me again: if not let him doe to me as scemeth good in his eyes.

The second Booke of the first part

The Trojans beleeved that while their Palladium or the image of Minerva was keptinto Trey, the Citie should never be overturned: so did the Christians in the last fatall battell against Saladine carry into the field, as they were made believe, the very Cross whereon Christdied; and yet they lost the battell, their bodies and the wood. But Chrysoftome upon Saint Matthew (if that be his worke) giveth a good judgement, speaking of thosethat wore a part of Saint Johns Gospell about their necks, for an amuletor preservative: Si tibi ca non profunt in auribus, quomodo proderunt in Collo ? If those words doe not profit men in their eares, (to wit, the hearing of the Gospell preached) how hould it profit them by hanging it about their neckes? For it was neither the wood of the Ark, nor the wood of the Crosse, but the reverence of the Father, that gave the one for a memorie of his Covenant; and the Faith in his Sonne, which shed his bloud on the other for 10 redemption, that could or can profit them and us, either in this life or after it.

The Philistims returning with the greatest victorie and glorie which ever they obtain ned, carried the Arke of God with them to AZOSNS, and fet it up in the house of Dages their Idoll: but that night the Idoll fell out of his place, from above to the ground, and lay under the Arke. The morning following they tooke it up, and fet it up, and fet its gaine in his place. And it fell the second time, and the head brake from the bodie, and the hands from the armes, shewing, that it had nor power nor understanding in the prefence of God; for the head fell off, which is the feate of reason and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute strength) were fundred from the armes. For God and the divell inhabite not in one house, nor in one heart. And if this Idoll could not endure the 30 representation of the true God, it is not to be marvelled, that at such time as it pleased him to cover his only begotten with flesh and sent him into the world, that all the Oncles, wherein the Divell derided and betrayed mortall men, lost power, speech and opention at the instant. For when that true light which never had beginning of brightnesse, brake through the clouds of a Virgins body, shining upon the earth which had beenlong obscured by Idolatrie, all those foule and stinking vapours vanished. Plus arch rehearstin a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god Pan, as he filleth him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he searcheth his brains for many reasons of to great an alteration: yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not only this old Divelldid then die as he supposed, but all the rest, as Apollo, Jupiser, Diana, and the whole rabblebe 4 came speechlesse.

Now while the Philistims triumphed after this victorie, God strooke them with the grievous disease of the Hamorrhoides, of which they perished in great numbers. Foritis written, that the Lord destroyed them. It was therefore by generall confent ordered, that the Arke should be removed from Azetus to Gath or Geth, another of the five great Cities of the Philistims; to prove, as it seemeth, whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediately: but when it was brought to Gath and received by them, the plague was yet more grievous and mortall. For the hand of the Lord was against this Citie with a very great destruction, and he smote the men of the Citie both small and great &c. And being not yet fatisfied, they of Gath sent the Arke to Ekrons or Accaron, a third Citie of the Philiftims . but they also felt the same smart, and cryed out, that themselves and their people should be flain thereby; For there was a destruction on and deaths broughout all the Citie. In the end, by the advice of their Priefts, the Princes of the Philisims did not onely resolve to returne the Arke, but to offer gifts unto the God of Ifrael, remembring the plague which had fallen on the Egyptians, when their hearts were hardned to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his fervice by ftrong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the God of Israel to be almightie, and that their owne Idols were subject thereunto, they agreed to offer a fin offering.

using these words; So ye shall give glorie to the God of I frael, that he may take his hand from and from your gods, and from your land. And what can be a more excellent witnessing. than where an enemie doth approve our cause ? according to Aristotle: Pulchrum est te-Aimonium, quo nostra probantur ab hostibus. So did Pharao confesse the living God. when he was plagued in Egypt: and Nabuchodonofor and Darius, when they had feene his mi-

This counsell therefore of the Priests being imbraced, and the golden Hamorrhoides. and the golden Mice prepared, they caused two milch kine to be chosen, such as had not heen yoaked, and a new Cart or Carriage to be framed: but they durst not drive or direditto any place certaine, thereby to make tryall whether it were indeed the hand of God that had strucken them. For if the Arke of God were carried towards Bethshemesh. and into the territoric of Israel, then they should resolve that from God only came their late destruction. For the Philistims knew that the milch Kine which drew the Ark, could not be forced from their calves, but that they would have followed them wherefoever: much leffe when they were left to themselves, would they travel a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world, if calves be removed from their dammes, the kine wil follow them through woods and defarts by the foot, till they finde them. But the kine travelled directly towards Beth/hemelh: and when they came into the fields thereof to wit. of one Josua of the same Citie, they stood still there, which when the Princes of the Philifting perceived, they returned to Ekron. After which, God spared not his owne people the Beth shemites, in that they prefumed to looke into the Arke. And because they knew God and his commandements, and had beene taught accordingly; he strooke them more grievously than he did the Heathen: for there perished of them fiftie thousand and seventhe From hence the Arke was carried to Kiriath-jearin, and placed in the house of Abinadab; where it is written that it remained twentie years in the charge of Eleaz ar his fon, untill David brought it to Hierusalem.

Now whereas it is faid, that in the meane while the Arke was in Nob, Milha, and Gal- 2 Sam 6.8 galatiwas the Tabernacle, which was at this time fevered from the Arke, or at leaft, it a see in this wasfor the a present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to Kiriath-book, c. 12.8.1.

§. III. of Samuel, and of his Government.

Hefe Tragedies overpast and ended, Samuel, to whom God appeared while hee was yet a childe-became now Judge and Governour of Ifrael. He was descended of the familie of Chore or Korach. For Levi had three sonnes; Gerson, Cheath, b & Chro.6.22. and Merari: Cheath had Amram and IZ war; of Amram came Moles and Aaron; of IZ war, Chore; and of the familie of Chore, Samuel. His father Elcana a Levite, was called an Ephratean; not that the Levites had any proper inheritance, but because he was of a Mount c Which Region Ephraim, like as Jeste, Davids father, was called an Ephrataean, because borne at Ephra-on wascanted ta, or Bethleem. Hannah his mother being long fruitlesse, obtained him of God by pray-peareth Jud 120 ers and teares: it being an exceeding shame to the Jewish women to be called barren, in distinctionwe respect of the bleffing of Godboth to Abraham that his seed should multiply as the read Ruths 2. Stars of Heaven, and the fands of the Sea; as in the beginning to Adam, Increase and mul-letter februar tiply. Oc. and in Deuteronomie the seventh; There shall be neither male nor female barren a- the town Epiramong you.

Samuel was no sooner borne, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedi-da, Gen. 35. 13. cated him to God, and his fervice; to which the delivered him even from the dugge. For from the region as the first borne of all that were called Nazarites, might be redeemed til they were five which is in yeares old for five sheckles, and betweene five years and twentie, for twentie sheckles: lo Mountephraim was it not required by the Law that any of the race of the Levites should be called to whence Pial lerve about the Tabernacle, till they were five and twentie yeares old.

Saint Peter reckons in the Asts the Prophets from Samuel, who was the first of the for Silo, which Writers of holy Scriptures, to whom usually this name of a Prophet was given, & yet did of Enham. Moses account himselfe such a one; as in the 18. of Deuteronomie, The Lord thy God will Ver. 15. raise up unto thee a Prophet like unto mee, &c. But hee is distinguished from those that 1 Same preceded him, who were called Seers; as beforetime in Israel, when a man went to seek an

CHAP. 16. S.I.

CHAP.IG.

T Sam.T2.

See in this

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* Plutarchreports of Numa

answer of God, thus he spake; Come and let us goe to the Seer: for hee that is now called a Prophet, was in old time called a Seer. And although it pleased God to appeare by his Angels to Moses, as before to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; yet in the time of Eli, there was no manifest vision; not that God had altogether with-drawne his grace from Ifrael but as the Chaldwan Paraphrast hath it, those revelations before Samuels time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherein Samuel judged were Matspa or Mitspa, seated on a hill in Benjamin neere Juda: also Gilgal and Bethel, of which we have spoken else book, c.12.5.1. where.

The Philistims taking knowledge of the affembly and preparation of Warre at Mitha in the beginning of Samuels government, gathered their Armie, and marched towards to the Citie: at whose approach the Ifraelites strucken with feare, and with the memorie of their former flaughters and servitude, besought Samuel to pray to God for them; who was * then performing his facrifice when the Philistims were in view. But God being moved with Samuels prayers (as he was by those of Moses, when I frael fought again the second King the Amalekites at their first entrance into Arabia:) it pleased him with thunder and temof Rome, that when as he was peft to differfe and beat downe the Armie of the Philiftims, according to the prophecie of Hanna, Samuels Mother, The Lords adversaries shall be destroyed, and out of Heaven shall was rold him thatthe enemies be thunder spon them, &c. Josephus affirmes, that a part of the Philistims were swallowed approached, with an earthquake: and that Samuel himselfeled the Ifraelites in the prosequation of nothing difmai-ed, answered, E. their victorie. After which Samuel erected a Monument in memorie of this happy file to go autem parifico. cesse, obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which Josephus called Lapidem forten:
15am.2.10. Samuel Elemose or the stone of a sistance and then following the apportunities. Samuel, Ebenezer, or the stone of affistance: and then following the opportunitie and alvantage of the victorie, the Ifraelites recovered divers Cities of their own formerly lift, and held long in the possession of the Philistims, who for a long time after did not offer any invasion or revenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts, the Ifraelites made peace with the Amerites, or Canaanites, which layor their backes, and to the North of them, that they might not be affaulted from divers parts at once; having the Philistims towards the West and Sea-coast, the Canaanitto ward the North and East, and the Idumite on the South. The estate being thus settled Samuel for the ease of the people gave audience and judgment in divers places by turnes, 39 as hath beene elfewhere faid.

CHAP. XVI. Of SAUL.

Of the deliberation to change the government into a Kingdome.

TUT when age now began to over-take Samuel, and that hee was not able to undergoe the burthen of so carefull a government, her put offfrom himfelfe the weight of the affaires on his fonnes, Jol and Abyab, who judged the people at Beersheba, a Citie, thevery utmost towards the South of Judea. And as the place wasinconvenient and farre away, fo were themselves no lesse removed from the justice and vertue of their Father: For the thirst of covetousnesse, the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and defireth, finding take innothing but gaine; to recover which, they fet the Law at a price, and fold Justice and Judgement to the best Chapmen. Which when the Elders of Israel observed, and faws that Samuel as a natural man (though a Prophet) could not fo well difcerne the errours

of his owne, they prayed him to confent to their change of government, and to make them a King, by whom they might be judged as other Nations were; who might all leade them to the Warre, and defend them against their enemies. For after the illand lamentable successe which followed the rule of El his sons, when those of Samuel by their first blossomes promised to yeeld fruit no lessebitter, they saw no way to putthe government from out his race, whom they so much reverenced, but by the choyce of a King.

Inacause of so great consequence and alteration, Samuel sought counsaile from God: which furely he did not for the establishing of his owne Sonnes; who being as they were. God would not have approved his election. Now as it appeares by the Text, this fneech or motion displeasing him, he used his best arguments to dehort them: which when he perceived to be over-feeble, he delivered unto them from Gods revelation, the inconveniences and miseries which should befall them. And yet, all which he foreshewed was not intolerable, but such as hath beene borne, and is so still by free consent of the subjects towards their Princes. For first he makes them know, that the King will use their sonnes in his owne service to make them his Horse-men, Chariotters, and Footmen; which is not onely not grievous, but by the Vassals of all Kings, according to their birth and condition, defired: it being very agreeable to subjects of the best qualitie to command for the King in his Warres; and to till the ground no leffe proper and appertining to those that are thereto bred and brought up: fo are likewise the offices of women-servants to dresse meate, to bake bread, and the like. But whereas immediately it isthreatned, He will take your Feelds and your Vineyards, and your best Olivetrees, and nivethem to his fervants; with other oppressions: this hath given, and gives daily occasionto such as would be ruled by their own discretion, to affirme that Samuel describeth here unto them the power of a King governed by his owne affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others upon further examination confirme this Text farre otherb wife, as teaching us what Subjects ought with patience to bear at their Soveraigns hand. The former opinion is grounded first upon that place of Deuteronomie, where God fore- Deuteronomie, where God foresheweth this change of government from Judges to Kings; and after he had forbidden many things unto the Kings; as many wives, coverousnesse, and the like: he commanderithat the Kings which were to raigne over Ifrael. should write the Law of Deuteronomic, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law headderly. It fall be with him, and be shall reade therein all the dayes of his life; that he may learne to feare the Lord his God and to keepe all the words of this Law and the le ordinances for to doe them : that he may prolong his dayes in his Kingdome, he and his Sonnes. But to takeaway any other mans field, fay they, is contrary to the Lawes 2 3od, in the fame bookewritten. For it is faid, That which is just and right shall thou fower, that thou may t Deut. 6. hve. Now if it be not permitted to carry away grapes more than thou canft eat out of anothermans vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much leffe lawfull to take the vineyard Deut. 23.24. it felfe from the owner, and give it to another. Neither are the words of the Text (fay they) fuch as doe warrant the Kings of Ifrael, or make it proper unto them, to take at will any thing from their vaffals. For it is not faid that it shall be lawfull for the King, or the King may doe this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your formes: and againe, This shall be the manner of the King that shall raigne over you. God thereby foreflewing what power, fevered from pictic (because it is accountable to God onely) will doeinthe future. And hereof we finde the first example in Achab, who tooke from Naboth both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of governing well his people. For God commanded, That his people should be judged with Deutiles righteous judgement. Wherefore, though the King had offered unto Naboth composition, as a Vineyard of better value or the worth in money, which he refused: yet because he was failfly accurred, and unjustly condemned (though by colour of law,) how grievously Achab was punished by God, the Scriptures tell vs. Neither was it a plea fufficient for Achabagainst the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of Ifrael. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a living Law even as David testifieth of himselfe : Poswifti me in caput gentium: For this of S. Augustine is very true: Simulata innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata aquit as non est aquit as: sed duplicatur peccatum in quo est iniquit as & simulatio, Fained innocence, and fained equitie, are neither the one nor the other; but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquitie & dissimulation. Such in effect is their disputation,

who thinke this place to containe the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the

contrary fide, as they are many and forcible, fo are they well knowne to all; being ex-

cellently handled in that Princely discourse of The true Law of free Monarchies: which

Treatife I may not prefume to abridge, much leffe here to infert. Only thus much I will

lay, That if practice doe shew the greatnesse of authoritie, even the best Kings of Juda and Israel were not so tyed by any lawes, but that they did what soever they pleased in [HAP. 16.5.3.

the greatest things; and commanded some of their owne Princes and of their ownebrethrento be flaine without any trial of law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended fometime not. For though David confessed his offence for the death of triah, yetsa. lomon killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed to him as any of

Gen.49.

r Sam.8.

That the state of Ifrael should receive this change of government, it was not onely fore-told by Mofes in Deuteronomie, but perceived by Jacob in this Scripture: The Sceptor shall not depart from Juda, &c. It was also promised by God to Abrabam for a bleffine For it was not onely affured that his iffues should in number equal the starres in heaven. but that Kings should proceed of him: Which state seeing it is framed from the patterned of his fole rule, who is Lord of the Universall; and the excellency thereof in respect of all other governments, hath beene by many judicious men handled and proved, I full not need to over-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, than I can

In the time of the Judges every man hath observed what civill warre Ifrael had: what outragious flaughters they committed upon each other: in what miserable servinde they lived for many yeares and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their owne Territories, or recover some parts thereof formerly lost. The Canaanites dweltin the best vallies of the Countrie. The Ammonites held much of Gilead over Fordan, the Philistims the Sea-coasts; and the Jebusites Hierusalem it selfestill Davids time : all which that King did not onely conquer and establish, but hee mastered and subjected all the neighbour Nations and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vallals. But whether it were for that the Ifraelites were moved by those reasons, which allure the most of all Nations to live under a Monarch, or whether by this meanes they fought to be clered from the fonnes of Samuel, they became deafe to all the perswasions and threats which Samuel used, infisting upon this point, that they would have a King, both to judgethen and defend them: whereunto when Samuel had warrant from God to consent, he fent every man to his owne Citie and abiding.

S.II.
Of the election of Saul.

Fter that Samuel had dismissed the affembly at Mizpah, he forbare the election of a King till fuch time as hee was therein directed by God: who foretoldhim the day before, that he would present unto him a man of the Land of Benjamin, whom he commanded Samuel to annoint. So Samuel went unto Ramath Sophim, to make a feast for the entertainment of Saul (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promifes) and Saulalfo having wandred divers dayes to feeke his fathers Affes, at length, by the advice of his fervant, travelled towards Ramath to find a Seer or Prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to finde his beafts. In which journey is pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages and persons) to elect Saul, who sought an Affe and not a kingdome: like as formerly it had pleased him to call Moses, while he fed the sheepe of Jethro; and after to make choice of David the youngest of eight sons, and by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beafts; and changed his sheephooke into a Scepter, making him of all other the most victorious King of Juda and Ifrael. So John and James were taken from calling their nets, to become fifthers of men, and honoured with the titles of Apostles: a dignitic that died not in the grave, as all worldly Honours doe; but permanent and everlating in Gods everlafting kingdome.

When Samuel was entred into Ramath, hee prepared a banquet for the King, whom hee expected and stayed his arrivall at the gate. Not long after came Saul, whom God shewed to Samuel, and made him know that it was the fame whom hee had forerold him of, that hee should rule the people of God. Saul finding Samuel in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Judge of Ifrael, much leffe knowing the Honour which attended him, asked Samuel in what part of the Citie the Seer dwelt; Samuel answered, that himselfe was the manhee sought, and prayed Saul to goe before him to the high place, where Samuel fetting him according to his degree, above all that were invited, conferred with him afterwards of the affaires of the kingdome, and o

Gods graces to be bestowed on him, and the morning following annointed him King of

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward, that two men hould incounter him by Rabels Sepuichre, who should tell him that his Asses were found, and that his Fathers cares were changed from the feare of losing his beafts, to tound, and the first that he should then meet three other men in the plain of I abore then a companie of Prophets: and that he should be partaker of Gods Spirit, and prophethen and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from thevulgar, into that which became a King elected and favoured by God.

hevingar, and here spoken of, men indued with spirituall gifts, were not of the first and most reverenced number, who by divine revelation foretold things to come, repreand more thout feare the errors of their Kings, and wrought miracles, of which number were Moses, Josua, Samuel, & after them Gad, Nathan, Ahias, Elias, Eliseus, Esay, Jeremie, consints, and and the rest; for these Prophets, saith S. Chrysostome, Omnia tempora percurrent, praierita; pragentia, for futura: but they were of those of whom S. Paul speaketh, 1 Cor. 14. 14. who

inniched with spirituall gifts, expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

At Mispeth Samuelassembled the people, that he might present Saul to them, who as vet knew nothing of his election: neither did Saul acquaint his owne Uncle therewith; when he asked him what had past betweene him and Samuel: for either he thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reveale it, till he were confirmed by generall consent. When the Tribes were affembled at MiZpeth, the generall opinion is that he was chosen by lot. Chimbi thinkes by the answer of * urim and * The vim rall opinion is, that he was chosened to the Prieft, wearing that mysterie upon his breast and Thummin: that is, by the answer of the Prieft, wearing that mysterie upon his breast in the ornawhen he asked counfell of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not only much used a ments of the when he asked counters of the Lords bit of the Land of promife was di-High Prieft, mongthe Jewes, but by many others, if not by all nations. The Land of promife was di-wereinserted wicedby lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goats, which should be facri- within the deficed, and which turned off: a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliverance, for whose Goral, which gaments the Jewes also cast lots. Cicero, Plantus, Pausanias, and others, have remembred duplicatum divers forts of lots, used by the Romanes, Grecians, and other Nations: as in the division they were plan ofgrounds or honours; and in things to be undertaken: the two first kinds were called corallover a Diviforie; the third, Divinatorie; and unto one of these three all may be reduced: all gainst the heart Divitorie; the third, Divinatorie; and introduction of the test ordered & directed by God: of she High which kinds, how foever they may feem chancefull, are yet ordered & directed by God: of she High which kinds, how foever they may feem chancefull, are yet ordered & directed by God: of she High as in the Proverbes : The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord. And that they were in likefort fell the kingdome of Ifrael on Saul, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, nor the preciin like fort refit the king doile of thractoff sand, not by chance, but by Gods of chance, our flones, nor who gave Samuel former knowledge of his election: from which election Sand with anything made drew himselfe in modestie, as both Josephus constreus it, and as it may be gathered by his by the artificers, drew himieire in moderne, as both software confitted it, and as it may be gathered by the see Exad. 38.1 former answers to Samuel, when he acknowledged himselfe the least of the least Tribe. See Exad. 38.1 former answers to Samuel, But Samuel inlightened by God, found where Saul was hidden, and brought him among Paulin Mes. the people, and he was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And Samuel made them knowthat he was the chosen king of Israel, wherupon all the multitude saluted him King; and prayed for him; yet some there were that envied his glorie (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offring him presents, as the maner was: of whom , Samte Saul, to avoyd fedition, tooke no notice.

6. III. of the establishing of Saul by his fir & victorie.

TO fooner was Saul placed in the kingdome, but that he received knowledge that Nahas King of the Ammonites prepared to beliege Jabes Gilead: which nation fince the great overthrow given them by Jephta, never durst attempt any thing upon the Israelites, till the beginning of Saul his rule. And although the Ammomits did alwayes attend upon the advantage of time, to recover those Territories which first the Americe, and then I frael disposses them of; which they made the ground of their invasion in Jephra's time, yet they never perswaded themselves of more advantage than at this present. For first, they knew that there were many of the Israelises that did not willingly submitthemselves to this new King: secondly, they were remembred that the Philiftims had not long before flathe 34000. of their men of Warre: and befides had

1 Sam. 16.

Jud.ara

2 Sau. 11.8.

E Samit 1

¥ Sam.s3.

used great care and policie that they should have no Smithes to make them swords of spears : neither was it long before, that of the Bethshemesites, and places adjoyning, there perished by the hand of God more than 50000 and therefore in these respects, even oc. casion it self invited them to inlarge their Dominions upon their borderers : Jabes Gilead being one of the neerest. Besides, it may further be conjectured, that the Ammonites were imboldened against Jabes Gilead, in respect of their weakenesse: since the Israelites de. stroyed a great part of them for not joyning with them against the Benjamites : at which time they did not only flaughter the men and male-children, but tooke from them their young women, and gave them to the Benjamites: and therefore they were not likely to have been increased to any great numbers: and if they had recovered themselves of this great calamitie, yet the Ammonite might flatter himself with the opinion, that Ifrael, ha. ving for long time been difarmed by the Philistims, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deepely wounded and destroyed. But contrariwise, when the tidings came to Saul of their danger, and that the Ammonites would give them no other conditionto ransome themselves, but by pulling out their righteies, by which they should be utterly disabled for the Warre, as elsewhere hath beene spoken: Saul, both to value himsels in his first yeares reigne, and because perchance he was descended of one of those 400. Maids taken from the Gileadites, and given to the Benjamites, gave order to affemble the forces of Ifrael, hewing a yoake of Oxen into pieces, and fending them by messengers o. verall the coasts, protesting thus: That who seever came not forth after Saul and after Saul muel, so should his oxen be served: threatning the people by their goods, and not by their lives at the first. Seven dayes had Saul to assemble an Armie, by reason that the Gilea. dites had obtained the respite of these seven dayes to give Nabas the Ammonite anan. fwer: who, could they have obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to have severed themselves from Israel, and to become Vassals and Tributaries to the Heathen In the meane while Saul affembled the forces which repaired unto him at Bezec, neer Jardan, that hee might readily passe the river; which done, he might in one day with speedie march arrive at Jabes, under the Hills of Gilead.

The Armie by Saul led, confifting of three hundred and thirtie thousand, he returned an answer to those of Jabes, that they should assure themselves of succour by thenext to day at noon. For asit feemeth, Saul marched away in the latter part of the day, & went on all night; for in the morning watch he furprized the armie of Nahas the Amminic. And to the end that he might fer on them on all fides, he divided his forces into three parts, putting them to the fword untill the heate of the day, and the wearinesse of Sauls troope inforced them to give over the pursuit. Now the Ammonites were become the more carelesse and secure, in that those of Jakes promised the next morning to render themselves and their Citie to their mercie. After this happie successe, the people weeks farre in love with their new King, that they would have flain all those I fraelites that murmured against his election, had not himselfe forbidden and resisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent lovers of the professors, and 4 base Vassals of the time that flourisheth; and as despightfull and cruell without cause against those whom any misadventure, or other worldly accident hath throwne down

After the Armie removed, Samuel fummoned the people to meet at Gilgal, where Saul was now a third time acknowledged, and as fome Commenters affirme, anointed King: and here Samuel used an exhortation to all the Assemblie, containing precepts, and a rehearfall of his owne Justice, during the beginning of his government to that day. After Saul had now raigned one year before he was established in Gilgal, or Galgala, he strenthened himselfe with a good guard of 3000 chosen men, of which he assigned 1000 to attend on Jonathan his some at Gibeah, the Citie of his nativitie: the rest he kept about his owne person in Micmas, and in the Hill of Bethel.

of Sauls disobedience in his proceedings in the Warres with the Philistims and Amalekites, which caused his finall rejection.

Onathan with his small Armie or Regiment that attended him, taking a time of advantage, surprized a Garrison of Philistims: the same, as somethinke, which Saul past by, when he came from Rama, when he was first annointed by Samuel,

which they thinke to have beene Cariath-jearim: because a place where the Philistims had a Garrison. 1. Sam. 10. is called the hill of God, which they understand of Cariathirarim: but Junius understands this Garrison to have beene at Gebah in Benjamin neere Gibha, where Jonathan abode with his thousand followers. Howsoever, by this it appeareth that the Philistims held some strong places, both in the times of Samuel, and of Saul, within the Territorie of Israel: & now being greatly inraged by this furprize, they assembled thirty thousand armed Chariots, & fixe thousand Horse, wherewith they in- 1 Sam 13.5 vaded Judea, and incamped at Machmas or Michmas, a Citie of Benjamin, in the direct way from Samaria to Hierusalem, and in the middest of the Landbetweenethe Sea and Jordan. With this sudden invasion the Israelites were strucken in so great a feare, as fome of them hid themselves in the caves of the mountaines; others fledde over Fordan into Gad and Gilead: Saul himselfe with some 2000. men of ordinarie, and many other people, staid at Galgala in Benjamin, not farre from the passage of Josus when he led Israel over Jordan. Here Saul by Samuels appointment was to attend the comming of Samuel fevendayes: but when the last day was in part spent, and that Saul perceived his forces odiminish greatly, he presumed (as some expound the place 1. Sam. 13.9.) to exercise the office which appertained not unto him, and to offer a burnt offering and a peace of fering unto God, contrary to the Ecclefiaficall Lawes of the Hebrewes, and Gods Commandements: others expound the word, obtulit, in this place, by obtulit per Sacerdotem. and so make the sinne of Saul not to have been any intrusion into the Priests office, but first a disobedience to Gods Commandement, in not staying according to the appointment, 1, Sam, 10.8. fecondly a difference or mistrust in God's helpe, and toogreat relyingupon the strength of the people, whose departing from him he could not beare patiently; and lastly, a Contempt of the holy Prophet Samuel, and of the helpe which the prayers of fo godly a man might procure him. But whatfoever was his finne, not withstanding his excuses, hee was by samuel reprehended most sharply, in termes unficting hiseflate, had not extraordinary warrant beene given to Samuel To to doe, from God himselfe; at which time also Samuel feared not to let him know, that the Kingdome should be conferred to another (a man after Gods owne heart) both from Saul and his yesters. posteritie.

After this, Samuel and Saul returned to Gibeah, where Saul, when hee had taken view of his armie, found it to confift of 600. men: for the most were fled from him and scartered, yea and among those that staid, there was not any that had either sword or speare. but Saul and his fonne Jonathan onely. For the Philiftims had not left them any Smith & Same 3 150 inall Ifrael, that made weapons; befides, they that came to Saul, came haftily, and left fuch weapons and armour as they had behind them in their garrifons for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how Saul should bee able the yeere before, or in fome part of this very yeare to fuccour Jabes Gilead with 300 and thirty thousand men. if there had not now beene any yron weapon to defend themselves withall, save onely in the hand of Saul & Jonathan his sonne. But how soever, all the rest of the people were formerly difarmed by the Philiftims, & all those craftesimen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left unto the Ifraelites only files to sharpen and amend such fuffe as ferved for the Plough, & for nought else: yet that they had some kind of armes, us manifelt, or else they durst not have attempted upon the Philistims as they did. And it is not faid in the Text that there was not any fword in all I frael, but onely that there was not any found among those 600. fouldiers which stayed with Saulafter Samuels de- 1 Sam-13.21 parture: and it seemeth that when Samuel had sharpely reprehended Saul, that his owne gurds for fooke him, having but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinarie fouldiers, & of all the rest that repaired unto him, of which many were stedde from him before Samuel

With this small troope he held himself to his owne citie of Gibeah, as a place of more frength, & better affured unto him, than Gilgal was. Neither is it obscure how it should Ome to passe that the Philistims should thus disarmethe most part of the Israelites. howfoever in the time of Samuel much had beene done against them. For the victories of Samuel were not got by sword or speare, but by thunder from Heaven: and when hele craftesimen were once rooted out of the Cities of Israel, no marvell if they could or in a short peace under Samuel be replanted againe. For this tyrannie of the Philistims to bee understood, rather of the precedent times, than under Samuel: and yet under

CHAP.16. V.A

him is to bee thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policy, not suffering their artificers to teach the Ifraelites, and so even to the times of Saul kept them from ha ving any store of armour. The same policy did Nabuchodono for use after his Conquestin Judea: Dionysius in Sicilie; & many other Princes else-where in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the Israelites might repaire in Gelead, for over Fordan the Philistims had not invaded. The rest of their defences were such as antiquity used and their present not invaded. ceffity ministred unto them; to wit, clubs, bowes, and slings. For the Benjamites excee ded in casting stones in slings: and that these were the naturall weapons, and the first of all nations, it is manifest; and so in the first of Chronicles the 12. Chapter it is writtened those that came to succour David against Saul, while he lurked at Siklag, That they were weaponed with bowes, and could use the right and the left hand with stones; and with a sling it was that David himselfe flew the Gyant Goliah.

While the State of Ifrael flood in these hard termes, the Philistims having parted their army into three troopes, that they might spoile & destroy many parts at once; Jonathan, Arrengthened by God, and followed with his Esquire onely, scaled a mountaine, whereon a company of Philistims were lodged: the rest of their army (as may bee gathered by the successe) being incamped in the plaine adjoyning. And though hee were discovered before he came to the hill top, and in a kinde of derifion, called up by his enemies: yethe fo behaved himselfe, as with the assistance of God he slew 20. of the first Philistins that he encountred. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarme, and being ignorant, of the cause, sled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, feare, and jealouse, they flaughtered one another in stead of enemies: whereupon those Hebrewes which became of their partie, because they feared to be spoiled by them, tooke the advantage of their destruction, and slew of them in great numbers. And lastly, Saul himselfe taking knowledge of the rout and disorder, together with those Israelites that shrouded themselves in mount Ephraim, set upon them, and obtained (contrary to all hope and expediation) most happie and glorious victory over them. Heere was that prophesie in Deuteroname fulfilled by Jonathan, That one of those which feared God, should kill a thousand, and twoof them ten thousand.

This done, the small army of Israel made retrait from the pursuit. And although Saul had bound the people by an oath notto take food til the evening, yet his sonne Jonathan, being infeebled with extreme labour and emptinesse, tasted a drope of hony in his pass fage : for which Saul his father would have put him to death, had not the people delivered him from his crueltie.

The late miraculous victorie of Saul and Jonathan, seemes to have reduced unrothe Philistims remembrance their former overthrow, likewise miraculous in the daves of Samuel 3 fo that for some space of time they held themselves quiet. In the meane while Saul being now greatly encouraged, undertooke by turnes all his bordering enemies; namely, the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, & the Arabians of Zobab, against all which he prevailed. Hethen affembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000, men, and receiving the commandement of God by Samuel, he invaded Amalec, wasting and destroying all that part of Arabia Petras, and the Defart belonging to the Amalekites, from Havilah towards Tigris unto Shur, which bordereth Aegypt, in which warre he tooke Agag their King prisoner. But whereas he was instructed by Samuel to follow this Nation without compassion, because they first of all attempted Israel, when they lest Aegapt in Moses time: he notwithstanding did not only spare the life of Agag, but referved the best of the beasts and spoile of the Countrie, with pretence to offer theminsacrifice to the living God. Thereforedid Samuel now a second time make him know that God would cast him from his royall estate, to which he was raised when he was of base condition, and, as the Text hath it, little in his owne eyes. And though the offence was great in Saul for not obeying the voyce of God by Samuel, had there beene no former precept to that effect: yet seeing Saulcould not bee ignorant how severely it please God to injoyne the Ifraelites to revenge themselves upon that Nation, he was in all w excusable. For God had commanded that the Israelises should put out the remembrand Deut-25, 15. of Amalec from under heaven. For the cruelty which the predecessors of this Agaguia against the Israelites, especially on those which were over-wearied, faint, sicke, and against the Israelites, people, was now to bee revenged on him, and his Nation above 400. yeeres afterward and now hee was to pay the debt of bloud, which his forefathers borrowed from

the innocent: himselfe having also sinned in the same kinde, as these words of Samuel witnesse: As thy sword hath made other women childlesse, so shall thy mother be childlesse a. 1 Samis.33 mong other women; at which time Samuel himselfe (after he had been by many bootlesse intreaties perswaded to stay a while with Sanl) did cut Agag in pieces before the Lord in cilval, and soone after he departed to Ramath, and came no more to see Saul untill the day of his death.

Of the occurrents betweene the rejection of Saul and his death.

TOw while Samuel mourned for Saul, God commanded him to choose a King for Israel, among the sonnes of Ishai: which Samuel (doubting the violent hand of Saul) feared in a fort to performe, till it pleased God to direct him, how hee might avoid both the fulpition, and the danger. And if Samuel knew that it was no way derogating from the providence of God, that by his cautious care and wisedome hee fought to avoid the inconveniences or dangers of this life: then do these men mistake the nature of his divine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that God hathgiven them, do no otherwise avoid the perills and dangers thereof, than as men stupefied in the opinion of fate or destinie, neglecting either to beg counsaile at Gods hands by prayers 0 or to exercise that wisedome or foresight, wherewith God hath enriched the minde of man for his preservation. Neither did the all-powerfull God (who made and could defrom the world in an instant) disdaine here to instruct Samuel, to avoid the fury of Saul. by the accustomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the sonnes of Ishai, Samuel, by God directed, made choice of David, the youngest. having refused Eliab, the first born: who though he were a man of a comely personand great strength; yet unto such outward appearance, the Lord had no respect. For asit is written, God feeth not as man feeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart. He also refusing I Samis. theother fixe brethren, made choice of one whom his father had altogether neglected. and left in the field to attend his flocke; for of him the Lord faid to Samuel, Arife and a-30 noint him, for this is he: which done, Samuel departed and went to Ramath. Neither was it long after this that Saul began to feeke the life of David: in which bloody minde he

continued till he died, overcome in battell by the Philistims.

The Philistims having well confidered (as it feems) the increase of Saul his power through many victories by him obtained, whilft they had fitten still & forborn to give impediment to his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new tryall of their fortune, as justly fearing that the wrongs, which they had done to I frael, might be repaied withadvantage, if ever opportunity should serve their often injured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against Moab, Ammon, and the rest of their ancient enemies Now for the qualitie of their Souldiers, and all warlike provisions, the Philistims had o reason to thinke themselves equall, if not superiour to Ifrael. The successe of their former wars had for the most part been agreeable to their own wishes: as for late disasters. they might, according to humane wisedome, impute them to second causes; as to a tempeft happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarm, whereby their Armie, possessed with aneedlesse feare, had fallen to rout. Having therefore mustered their forces, and taken the field, encamping for neare to the Armie which King Sauldrew forth against them. that they could not eafily depart without the trial of a battel, each part kept their ground of advantage for a while, not joining in groffe, but maintaining fome skirmishes, as refuling both of them to passe the Valley that lay betweene their Camps. Just causes of feare they had on both fides; especially the Philistims, whose late attempts had bin confounded by the angry hand of God. Upon this occasion perhaps it was, that they sought to decide the matter by fingle combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any stroake from heaven were to be feared. Goliah of Gath, a strong Giant, searing neither Godnor Man, undertooke to defiethe whole Hoste of Israel, provoking them with despightfull words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand; offering condition, that the partie vanquished in Champion, should hold it selfe as overcome in grosse, and become vasfall unto the other. This gave occasion to young David, whom Samuel by Gods appointment had annointed, to make a famous entrance into publike notice of the people. For no man durst expose himselfe

T Sam. 14.

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E Sam-16.13.

1 Sam. 24.23

to encounter the great strength of Goliab, untill David (sent by his father of an errand to the campe) accepted the combat, and obtained the victorie, without other armes, offenfive or defensive, than a sling, wherewith he overthrew that haughty Gyant, and after with his owne fword strooke off his head. Hereupon the Philistims, who should have yeelded themselves as subjects to the Conquerour, according to the covenant on their owneside propounded, fled without stay; and were pursued and slaughtered even to their ownegates. By this victory the Philistims were not so broken, that either any of their Townes were loft, ortheir people discouraged from infesting the Territories of Israel. But David, by whom Godhad wrought this victorie, fell into the grievous indignation of his Master Saul, through the honour purchased by his well-deserving. For af- to ter fuch time as the spirit of God departed from Saul, and came upon David, hee then became a cruell Tyrant, faithlesse, and irreligious. Because the high Priest Abimilech fedde David in his necessitie with hallowed bread, and armed him with a sword of his owne conquest, taken from Goliab; Saul not only by his wicked Edomite Doeg murthered this Abimelech and 85. Priests of Nob, but also hee destroyed the Citic, and smote with the edge of the sword both man and woman, both childe and suckling, both Oxe and Affe, and sheepe. And he that had compassion on Agag the Amalekite, who was anene. E Sam. 22.18. mie to God and his people, and also spared and preserved the best of his Cattell, contrarie to the Commandement and Ordinance of God, both by Moses and Samuel, had not now any mercie in store for the innocent, for the Lords servants, the Priests of 10 Israel. Yea, hee would have flaine his owne sonne Jonathan, for pitying and pleading Davids innocencie; as also once before for tasting the hony, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers unreasonable commination. The companions of cruelie are breach of faith towards men, and impiety towards God. The former hee shewedin denying David his daughter, whom he had promifed him: and againe in taking heraway from him to whom hee had given her; also in that when as David had twice spared his life in the Territory of Ziph, and Saultwice fworn to do him no hurt, and confessed his errours, yethe fought still to destroy him, by all the meanes he could. His impietienwards God he shewed, in that hee fought counsell of the Witch of Endor, which was the last preparative for his destruction. For whereas when he fought counsell from Godile to had bin alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of the Divel this successe followed, that both himselfe, and his three sons, with his nearest & faithfull servants, were all slaughteredby the Philistims: his bodie with the bodies of his sons (as a speciacle of shame and dishonour) were hung over the walles of Bethsan: and there had remained till they had found buriall in the bowels of ravenous birds, had not the gratefull Gileadites of Jabes stolke their carcasses thence, and interred them. This was the end of Saul, after he had governed Israel, together with Samuel, 40. yeares, & by himselfe after Samuel 20. years, according to Cedrenus, Theophilus and Josephus. But yet it seemeth to me, that after the death of Samuel, Saul did not rule very long: For in the beginning of the 25 chapter, it is written, that Samuel died: and in the rest of the same chapter the passages are written of David, Na- 40

The Jecond Booke of the first part CHAP. 16.5.5.6.

bal, and Abigail, after which the death of Saul quickly enfued. An exceeding valiant man he was, and gave a faire entrance to all those victories which David afterward obtained; for he had beaten the Ammonites with their neighbouring Nations; crush the Syrians, and their adherents; broken the strength of the Amalekires; and greatly wasted the power and pride of the Philistims.

§. VI.

Of fuch as lived with Samuel and Saul; of Hellen and Hercules, and of their iffues: upon of casion of the Dores, with the Heraclida, entring Peloponnesus about this time.

TN the second yeare of Samuel, according to Eusebius, was David borne : after Codoman, later, and in the ninth yeare : after Bunting in the tenth. For David, faith hee, was thirtie yeares old when hee began to reigne: whence it followeth, that hee was borne in the tenth of the fortie yeares, which are given to Samuel and Saul. About the eleventh yeare of Samuel, Aneas Silvius the fonne of Posthumus beganne his reigne over the Latines in Alba, who governed that State one and thirtie years. There are who place before him Latinus Silvius, as brother to Posthumus, calling him the fifth

from Aneas, and fourth King of Alba, whereof I will not stand to dispute. In theeleventh of Samuel, Dercilas fate in the Throne of Affyria, being the one and thirtieth King: heruled that Empire fortie yeares. In this age of Samuel the Dores obtained Pelovonnefus, and at once with the Heraclida, who then led and commanded the Nation, possess agreat part thereof 328. years before the first Olympiad, according to Diodorus and Eratofthenes. For all Greece was anciently possessed by three Tribes or Kindreds, viz. the Tonians, Dorians, and Aolians: at length it was called Hellas, and the people Hellenes of Hellen the sonne of Deucalion, Lord of the Countrie of Pthistis in Thessalie. But before the time of this Hellen, yea and long after, Greece had no name common to all the inhabitants, neither were the people called Hellenes, till fuch time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the plantation of many Colonies, and fundry great victor ries obtained, the issues of Hellen had reduced much of the Countrie under their obedience, calling themselves generally by one name, and yet every severall Nation after some one of the posteritie of Hellen, who had raigned over it. And because this is the farthest antiquitie of Greece, it will not be amisse to recount the Pedigree of her first planters.

Japetus (as the Poets fable) was the fon of Heaven and Earth, so accounted, either because the names of his Parents had in the Greeke tongue such fignification: or perhaps

for his knowledge in Aftronomie and Philosophie.

o Japetus begat Prometheus, and Ephimetheus: of whom all men have read that have read Poets. Prometheus begat Deucalion: and Epimetheus, Pyrrha; Deucalion & his wife Pyrrha reigned in I heffalie, which was then called Pyrrha (as Cretenfis Rhianus affirmeth) of Pyrthathe Queene. In Deucalions time was that great floud, of which we have spokenelsewhere Deucalion begat Hellen : whose sonnes were Xuthus, Derus, and Alus : of Dorus and Rolus, the Dores and Eolians had name. The Aoles inhabited Beotia. The Dores having first inhabited sundrie parts of The sale, did afterward seat themselves about Parmallus, and finally became Lords of the Countries about Laced amon: Xuthus the eldeft fome of Hellen, being banished by his brethren, for having diverted from them to his owncuse some part of their Fathers goods, came to Athens: where marrying the Daughter of King Eritheus, he begat on her two sonnes, Achaus and Ion. Of these two, Acheus, for a flaughter by him committed, fledde into Peloponnefus: and feating himselfe in Laconia, gave name to that region: from whence (as some write) he afterwards departed; and levying an Armie, recovered the Kingdome of his Grandfather in The false.

Ion being Generall for the Athenians when Eumolpus the Thracian invaded Attica, did obtained great victorie, and thereby fuch love and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. He divided the Citizens into Tribes. appointing every one to fome occupation, or good course of life. When the people multiplied he planted Colonies in Sycionia, then called Agialos or Agialia: In which 40 Countrie Solimus then reigning, thought it fafer to give his Daughter Helice in mariage to lon, and make him his Heire, than to contend with him. So Ion married Helice, and builta Towne called by his Wives name in Ægialia, where he and his posterity reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gave to that Land denomination. But in after times the Dores affifting the Nephewes of Hercules, invaded Peloponnefus, and overcomming the Acheans, possessed Laconia, and all those parts which the Achei had formerly occupied. Hereupon the Achei driven to seeke a new seat, came unto the Iones, defiring to inhabit Agialia with them, and alledged in vaine that Ion and Achaus had beene brethren. When this request could not be obtained, they fought by force to expell the Ionians, which they performed; but they loft their King Tilamenes, the fon of Orestes in that warre.

Thus were the Iones driven out of Peloponnesus, and compelled to remove into Artica, from whence after a while they failed into Asia, and peopled the Westerne coast thereof; on which they built twelve Cities, inhabited by them, evento this day, at the least without any universall or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the Iones into Asia hath beene mentioned of all which have written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. yeares after the warre of Troy, and 60. yeares after the descent of the Heraclida into Peloponnesus. These Heraclida were they of whom the Kings of Sparta issued; which race held that Kingdome about 700. yeares. Of their Father

PP3

Hercules

Acts-13.21. Cedren.pa.69. Theophol.3.p.3. Fosephol.28. NAP.16.5.7.

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Hercules many strange things are delivered unto us by the Poets, of which some are like to have beene true, others perhaps must be allegorically understood. But the most approved Writers thinke that there were many called Hercules, all whose exploits were by the Greeks ascribed to the sonne of Alemena, who is said to have performed these 12.

great labours. First, he slew the Nemaan Lyon: secondly, he slew the serpent Hydra, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: the third was the overtaking a very fwift Hare: the fourth was the taking of a wild Bore alive, which hanted mount Erymanthus in Arcadia: the fift was the cleanfing of Augias his Oxe-stall in one day. which he performed by turning the River Alpheus into it: the fixt was the chafing awav of the Birds from the Lake Stymphalis: the feventh was the fetching a Bull from Crute. the eight was the taking of the Mares which Diomedes King of Thrace fed with humane flesh : the ninth was to fetcha Girdle of the Queen of the AmaZons : the three last were to fetch Gerions Beeves from Gades; the golden Apples of the Hesperides; and Cerbern from Hell. The Mythologicall interpretation of these I purposely omit, as both over. long to bee here set downe, and no lesse perplexed than the labours themselves. For forne by Hercules understand Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancy, interpreting the Monsters, Vices. Others make Hercules the Sunne, and his travailes to beethe twelve fignes of the Zodiac. There are others who apply his workes historically to their owne conceits; as well assured, that the exposition cannot have more unlikelihood, than the to fables: that hee tooke Elis, Pylus, O Echalia, and other Townes, being assisted by such as either admired his vertues, or were beholding unto him. Also that hee slew many Theeves and Tyrants, I take to be truely written, without addition of Poeticall vanitie. His travailes through most part of the world, are, or may sceme, borrowed from Hercules Libyeus. But fure it is that many Cities of Greece were greatly bound to him: for that hee (bending all his indeavours to the common good) delivered the Land from much oppression. But after his death, no citie of Greece (Athens excepted) requited the vertue and deferts of Hercules, with constant protection of his Children, persecuted by the King Eurystheus. This Eurystheus was Sonne of Sthenelus, and grand-childe of Perseus; hee reigned in Mycena, the mightiest City then in Greece. He it was that imposed those hard tasks upon Hercules, who was bound to obey him (s Poets report) for expiation of that Murther, which in his madness he had committed upon his own children; but as others fay, because he was his Subject and Servant: wherefore there are who commend Eurysthew for employing the strength of Herculestolo good a purpose. But it is so generally agreed by the best Writers, that Hercules was also of the stocke of Perseus, and holden in great jealousie by Eurystheus because of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous fervices, wherein heews imployed, so that he grew great in reputation and power through all Greece; and had by many Wives and Concubines above threefcore Children. Thefe Children Eury Abeus would faine have got into his power, when Hercules was dead: but they fled unto Cerx 40 King of Thracinia, and from him (for he durft not withft and Eurystheus) to Athens. The Athenians not onely gave them entertainment, but lent them aid, wherewith they encountred Eury shews. Iolaus the brothers fon of Hercules, who had assisted him in many of his travels, was captaine of the Heraclida. It is faid of him, that being dead hee obtain ned leave of Pluto to live againe till hee might revenge the injuries done by Eurysthem: whom when he had slaine in battell, hee died againe. It seemes to me, that whereas he had led Colonies into Sicily, and abode there along time forgotten: he came against into Greece to assist his cousins, and afterwards returned backe. When the Peloponnessans understood that Eurystheus was flaine, they tooke Aireus the Sonne of Pelops to their King: for he was rich, mighty, and favoured of the People. Against him the so Heraclida marched under Hyllus, the sonne of Hercules. But to avoid effusion of blood, it was agreed, that Hyllus should fight with Echenus King of the Tegease, a people of Arcadia, who affifted Atrens; with condition, that if Hyllus were victor, he should peaceably enjoy what he challenged as his right: other wife the Heraclida should not enter Pe-Loponnesus in an hundred yeares. In that combat Hyllus was slaine, and the Heraclida compelled to forbeare their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned under Aristodemus (as the best authority doth shew, though some have said that they came under the conduct of his children) and brought with them the Dores, whom

whom they planted in that countrey, as is before shewed, having expelled the Achai. over whom the issue of Pelaps had reigned after the death of Eurystheus foure generations.

5. VII. of Homer and Hesiod, and many changes in the world, that happened about this age.

Bout this time that excellent learned Poet Homer lived as many of the best Chronologers affirme. He was by race of the Maones, descended (as Functius imagineth) of Berofus his Anamaon, who gave name to that people. But this Functions Functions for imagineth Homer the Poet to have beene long after these times, rashly framing his Æra 11.00LD. according to a Archilochus in the tract, or rather fragment de temporibus; and makes se- fer our with venmore of this name to have flourished in divers Cities in Greece. Whence, perhaps, Berosus andofprang the diversitie of opinions, both of the time and of the native Citie of Homer. Act hers, first at Basiliand after cording to this Archilochus, Functius finds Homer about the time of Manasse King of Ju- with Fryer Anda, and Numa of Rome. He was called Melesigenes from the place of his birth, and at nius his Comlenoth Homer, because blinde men follow a guide, which signification among others, is mentat antinthe verbe oumper : for this Homer in his latter time was blinde. * Clemens Alexandrinus fidei. o recites many different opinions touching the question of the time when Homer lived. So placeth Homer allo Aulus Gellius, and Tatianus Alfyrius in his Oration ad gentes. Paterculus reckons in the 22. general that Homer flourished 950-yeares before the Confulship of Marcus Vinutius: which Mer-ration in the sator casteth up in the worlds yeare 3046. and after Troy taken, about 260-yeares: and 'Stomatum's. about 250. yeares before the building of Rome; making him to have flourished about b Nat. Attic. 13. thetime of Jehosaphat King of Juda. But Clemens Alexandrinus and Tatianus above na-611.8 med, mention Authors that make him much ancienter. The difference of which authors in this point is not unworthy the Readers confideration, that by this one instance hee may gheffe of the difficultie, and so pardon the errours in the computations of ancient time: feeing in fuch diverfitie of opinions a man may hardly finde out what to follow. For Crates the Grammarian (as Clemens Alexandrinus reports) gave being to Homer about 80. yeares after Troy taken, neere the time that the Heraclida returned into Peloponnelius : and * Bratostenes after Troy 100. yeares. Theopompus 500. yeares after the armie * Asboth Cle. of Greece, sailed into Phrygia for the warre of Troy. Euphorion makes him contemporarie Alexand Tai-with Gyger, who began to raigne in the 18.0 lympiad (which was 45. yeares after Rome hisopinion rewasbuilt) and Sofibius faith, that he was 90 yeares before the first Olympiad: which hee rum Philaskeekes to prove by the times of Charillus and his fonne Nicander; Philochorus placeth him 180. after Troy: Aristarchus 140. in the time of the seating of the Colonies in Ionia. comin Archilog. Apollodorus affirmes that he lived while Agefilaus governed Lacedamon, and that Lyourgus in his young yeares, about 100. years after the Ionian plantations, came to yifit him. necre 240 yeares after Troy taken. Herodotus findes Homer flourishing 622. yeares before Heringila Ho. Nerves enterprise against the Grecians: which Beroaldus accounteth at 168. yeares after the Trojan war. Eulebius feems to make him to have beene about the time of Joas King of Juda, 124. yeares before Rome built: though elsewhere in his Chronologie hee notes that some place him in the time of Samuel, and others in the end of David, and others in other ages. In his Evangelical Preparation, where out of Tatianus Affrius he citeth findry opinions touching the time when Homer lived, he reckoneth many other Greeke Writers more ancient than Homer; as Linus, Philammon, Epimenides, Phemius, Aristaus, Orpheus, Mufaus, Thamyras, Amphion, and others.

Now whether Homer or Hesiodus were the elder, it is also much disputed. Aulus Gel-Nott Autich 3. hus reports that Philochorus and Xenophanes affirme, that Homer preceded Hesiod: and continuous on the contrary, that Luc. Accius the Poet, and Ephorus the Historian, make Hesiod Nepinchron. of an elder time than Homer. Varro leaves it uncertaine which of these learned fablers call is annual. Was first borne: but he findes that they lived together some certaine yeares, where a This number in L. Mercator corinhee confirmes himselfe by an Epigram, written upon a Trevit, and lest by Hesiad in rects and reads Helicon.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both lived 160. yeares before Rome built: while the Silvii reigned in Alba, about 2 140. yeares after the fall of Troy. b Euthymenes finds b Euthy. in Chr. them both 200. yeares after Troy taken, in the time of Acastus the sonne of Pelius, King upud Clem. Alex.

of Theffaly. For my selfe, I am not much troubled when this Poet live d; neither would I offend the Reader with these opinions, but only to shew the uncertainty and disagreement of Historians, aswell in this particular, as in all other questions and dispute of time. For, the curiofitie of this mans age is no leffe ridiculous, than the inquifition why he he. gan his Iliads with the word Menin, as perhaps containing some great mysterie. Inderision whereof Lucian faining himselfe to have beene in Hell, and to have spoken with Homer, there asked him the cause why he began his booke with that word: who answered, That he began in that fort, because it came in his head so to doe.

It seemeth that Senges, or, after Macrobius, Senemires ruled Egypt at this time : for Tanephersobris was his successour, who preceded Vaphres, father in law to Salemon.

Enfeb.& Caff.

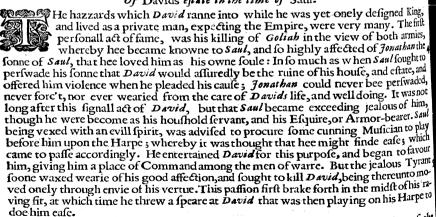
About the end of Sauls government, or in the beginning of Davids time, according to Cassiodorus, the Amazones with the Cymmerians invaded Asia, Latinus Sylvius then rulino in Italy. And besides the overthrow of that famous state of Troy (which fell 103, yeares before Davids time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not onely by reason of those Northerne Nations: but there sprung up somewhat nearly together, fixe Kingdomes into greatnesse, not before erected. In Italy that of the Latinum the South part of Greece, those of Laced amon, Corinth, and the Achai. In Arabia, Snia Soba, and Damascus, the Adads made themselves Princes, of which there were ten Kines. which began and ended with the Kings of Israel in effect: and somewhat before these. the State of the Israelises having now altered the forme of government, began to flourish in under Kings, of which David, in a few yeares, became mafter of all those neighbouring nations, who by enterchange of times had subjected the Indeans, corrupted their religion, and held them under in a most abject and grievous slavery; to wit, the Edumeans, Moabites Ammonites, Midianites, Ituraans, and the rest of the Arabians, with the Philistims, Jebusites, Geshurites, Machathites; all which acknowledged David for their Soveraigne Lord, and paid him tribute.

CHAP. XVII.

Of David.

6. I.

of Davids effate in the time of Saul.



Censorinus remembreth one Asclepius a Physician, who practifed the curing of the Frenzie, by the like Musicke: and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That Pythagoras did also the like by such a kinde of harmony, Seneca in his third booke of anger witnesseth. But the madnesseof Saul came from the cause of causes

and was thereby incurable, howfoever it formetimes left him, and yeelded unto that Musicke, which God had ordained to be a meane of more good to the Musician than to the King.

saul having failed in such open attempts, gave unto David the Command over 1000, fouldiers to confront the Philistims withall. For he durst not trust him as before. about his person, fearing his revenge. Now the better to cover his hatred towards him, hee promised him his daughter Merab to wife: but having married her to Adriel. he gave to David his yonger daughter Michol, but with a condition, to prefent him with an hundred foreskins of the Philistims: hoping rather (in respect of the valour of that Nation) that the Philistims would take Davids head, than hee their foreskinnes. This hopefailing, when as now Davids victories begat new feares and jealousies in Saul, hee practifed with Jonathan, and afterwards with his owne hands attempted his life, but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this he sought to murther him in his owne house. but Michol his wife delivered him. So David fought Samuel at Ramah, and being purfued by Saul, fled thence unto Nob in Benjamin, to Abimeleck, then to Achis the Philiftim, Prince 1 Sam. 19. of Guh: where to obscure himselfe, he was forc't to counterfeit both simplicitie and difraction. But being ill affured among the Philiftims, he covered himselfe in the Cave of A. I Sam. 21. dullam: and after conveying fuch of his kinsfolkes as were not fit to follow him, into Moab he hid himselfe in the defares of Ziph, Maon, and the hils of Engaddi, where hee cut off same the lapof Sauls garment, and spared his life : as he did a second time in the defart of Ziph. after his passage with Nabal and Abigail. After which hee repaired to Achis of Gash the 1. Sam. 29. fecond time, and was kindly entertained, in regard of the harred with which his mafter fangen in Plat. Saulwas knowne to profecute him.

Of Achis David Obtained * Siglag in Simeon, pretending to invade Judæa: but he bent *Itseemeth his forces another way, and strooke the Amalekites, with other enemies of Israel, letting verobrained nonelive to complaine upon him. Achis supposing that David had drawne bloud of his siglag till this owne Nation, thought himselfe affured of him : and therefore preparing to invade II- time for it is faid in the 1 of Sam. rael fummoneth David to affift him, who diffembling his intent, feemeth very willing c.27.v.6.therethereto. But the rest of the Philistim Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his dispo-fore Siglag per-tainethung the stition liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himselfe to Siglag. At his re- King of Jula turn he found the towne burnt, his two wives, with the wives and children of his people, unto this day. taken by the Amalekites: Hereupon his followers mutined, but God gave him comfort.

and affurance to recover all againe: which he did.

This armie of the Philiftims commanded by Achis, encountred Saular Gilbon, in which he and his three fonnes were flaine. The newes, with Sauls Crowne and bracelets, were broughtto David at Siglag, in his return from being victorious over Amaleck, by a man 2 Samus. of the fame Nation, who avowed (though falfly) that himselfe at Sauls request had slaine him. David, because he had accused himselfe, made no scruple to cause him to bee slaine at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gave strong evidence withall. Otherwise it followeth not that every man ought to be beleeved of himselfe to his owne Prejudice. For it is held in the law : Confessio reorum non habenda est pro explorato cri- Inf. de qualiti. mine, nil approbatio alia instruit religionem cognoscentis. The prisoners confession must not be taken for an exidence of the crime, unlesse some other proofe informe the conscience of the Judge. For a manmay confesse those things of himselfe, that the Judge by examination may know to bee impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title de custodia reorum l.si confessus, de in cap. de pænis l. qui sententiam, therefore doth the Glosse reconcile these two places in this sort: Si quis in judicio sponte de seipso confiteatur, o posseà maneat in confessione, id est satis. If any man in judgement doe confesse of himselfe, of his owne accord, and after doth perseverein his confession, it is enough. That David greatly bewailed Saul, it is not improbable; for death cutteth afunderall competition: and the lamentable end that befell him being a King, with whom in effect the strength of Ifraelalfo fell, could not but stirre up forrow, and move compassion in the heart of

. The victorie which the Philistims had gotten, was so great, that some Townes of the Mraelites, even beyond the river of Jordan, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left unto the enemie, who tooke possession of them without any resistance made. Whereforeit may seem strange, that a Nation so warlike and ambitious as were the Philistims, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and seeke to make the Conquest entire.

Most

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Most like it seemes, that the civill warre immediately breaking out between *David* and the house of *Saul*, wherein *Juda* was divided from the rest of *Israel*, gave them hope of an easie victory over both; and thereby caused them to attempt nothing at the present, lest by so doing they should ensore their disagreeing enemies to a necessary reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which meanes both the victors, and the vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were united.

6. II.

of the beginning of Davids reigne, and the warre made by Abner for Isboseth.

Fter the death of Saul, Abner, who commanded for Saul in the warre, fought to advance Isboseth (or Jebostus, according to Josephus) though he had no right to the Kingdome of Ifrael: for Mephiboseth the first son of Jonathan lived. Against this Abner and Isboseth, David made a defensive warre, till Abner past Jordan, and entred the border of Juda; at which time he fent Joab with fuch forces as he had, to refift Abner. Isboseth remaining in Gilead, and David in Hebren. The armies encountred each other neere Gibeon, where it feemeth that Abner made the offer to trie the quarrell by the hands of a few; like to that Combate betweene the Laced amonians and the Argives, no. membred by Herodotus, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three per. 10 fons were onely left unflaine. The like tryall by a farre leffe number was performed by the Horatii and Curiatii, for the Romans and Latines. The same challenge Goliah the Phi. listim made, whom David flew: a custome very ancient. Edward the third offeredthe like tryall in his own person to the French King; and Francis the French King to Charles the Emperour. There were twelve chosen of each part, in this warre of David with the house of Sauls to wit, so many of Benjamin, and as many of Juda: whose force and valour was so equall, as there survived not any one to challenge the victory. But the quanell staid not here; for the Army of Juda prest Abner in groffe, and brake him. Threehim. dreth and fixty men of Abners companions were flaine, and but twenty of Juda; where of Afahel the brother of Joab was one: who when he would needs pursue Abner, and by Abners perswasions could not be moved to quit him, he was forced to turne upon him, wounded him to death with the stroake of his speare. For though Afahel were an excellent foot-man, and, as it is written in the Text, as light as a wilde Roe, and, as Josephus reporteth, contended not onely with men, but with horses; and hoped to have gotten great fame if hee could have mastered Abner (who, as Asahel perswaded himselfe, had by being overthrowne, and flying away, lost his courage) yet here it fell out true, That the race is not to the swift.

That this civill warre lasted two yeares, we finde it writtenin the second of Samuel, the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the thirdit is againe made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the Rabbines conceive that Isboseth had then raigned two yeares, when this was written; the Warre as yet continuing a longer time. For Abner held for the party of Isboseth after this, and till such time as there grew jealousse between him and Isboseth for Sauls Concubine: neither did the death of Isboseth instanty sollow; but how long after the murther of Abner it happened, the same doth not certainly appeare.

6. III.

of the death of Abner flaineby Joah, and of Isboseth by Rechab and Baanah.

Bner, reconciled to David, was anon by Joah murdered; for Joah could notendure a companion in Davids Favour, and in the commandement of his forces; by which he was growne so powerfull, as David forbare to call him to account for thus much he confesseth of himselse; I am this day weake, and these men, the son of Zerviah, be too hard for me. In this fort David complained after Abners death; and to make it cleare that he hated this fact of Joah, hee followed him with this publike inprecation; Let the bloud fall on the head of Joah, and on all his fathers house: and let them

be subject to ulcers, to the leprose, to lamenesse, to the sword, and to povertie, &c. For could any thing have withstood the ordinance of God, this murther committed by Joab might greatly have indangered Davids estate, Abner being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischance therefore David openly bewailed, fo that all Ifrael perceived him to be innocent of that fact. The place which Abner held. heing Generall of the men of warre, was of fuch importance, that the Kings themselves were faine to give them great respect, as hath beene already shewed more at large. This office Toab held in the armie of Juda, and thought himselfe worthy to hold the place enrire, if once his Lord might obtaine the whole Kingdome. For he was neere to David in tings and had beene partaker of all his adversitie; wherefore hee did not thinke it meete, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeede hee was by nature so jealous of his dignity and place, that hee afterward slew Amala his owne kinfman and the Kings, upon the fame quarrell, taking it in high disdaine rosee him joyned with himselfe as captaine of the hoste of Juda; much lesse could hee brooke a superiour; and such a one as had slaine his brother, and beene beaten himselfe in battell. But how soever Joab did hate or despise Abner, David esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in Israel, excusing the overfight by which he might feeme to have perished, by affirming that he died not like a foole, nor a man vanquished, But as 2 Sam. 2. a man falleth before wicked men, fo (faid he) diddest thou fall. And certainly it is no error Verse 34. of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him whom a stronger hand destroyed unawares. or whom subtilty in free trust bringeth to consusion. For all under the Sunne are subject to worldly miseries and misadventures. Howsoever Isboseth meant to have dealt with Abner, yet when he heard of his death, hee despaired greatly of his estate, and with him all theel were possest with great feare: insomuch as two of Isboseths own Captaines. Rethis band Baanah, murthered Isbofeth, and prefenting his head to David, received the 2 Sam.4. famereward that the Amalekite lately did, for pretending to the have flaine Saul. Isbofeth being dead, all the Elders of Ifrael repaired to David at Hebron, where hee was he third and last time annointed by generall consent.

6. IV.

Of the flourishing time of Davids Kingdome, the taking of Jerusalem, with two overthrowes given to the Philistims, and the conduction of the Arke to the City of David.

THen David was now established in the Kingdome, his first enterprise was upon the Jebusites, who in derision of his force, & confident in the strength of the place (as is thought) manned their wals with the blinde and lame of their Citie; which David soone after entred, all their other forces not with standing. For 2 Sam- 50 having mastered the fort of Zion (which was afterward the Citie of David) hee became Lord of Hierusalem, without any great danger, expelling thence the Jebusites, who had heldit from the foundation, to the times of Moses and Josua, and after them almost 400. yeares. There are who expound this place otherwise: Except thou take away the blind & the lame, thou shalt not come in hither. For some think that it was meant by the Idols of the Jebufites: others, that it had reference to the Covenant made long before with I face, and Jacob: the one blinde by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the Angel, and that therefore till those (that is, till that Covenant) be broken, David ought notto molest them. But for my selfe, I take it with Josephus, that they armed their wals with certaine impotent people at first, in scorne of Davids attempt. For they that had held their Citie about 400. yeares against all the children of Israel, Josua, the Judges, and Saul, did not doubt but to defend it also against David.

When he had now posses himselse of the very heart and Center of the Kingdome, and received congratulatory Embassadours and presents from Hiram King of Tyre: he entertained divers other concubines, and married moe wives, by whom he had ten sons in Jeruslem, and by his former wives, he had sixe in Hebron where he reigned 7, yeares.

The Philistums hearing that David was now annointed King, as well of Juda as of Israel, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warm in his seat. And being encountred by David at two severall times in the Valley of Rephaim, or of the Giants, 2 Sam. 5. they were at both times overthrowne. After which he called the place Baalpera Zim.

Then David affembled 30000.choice Ifraelites to conduct the Arke of God from the house

2 Sam. 2.

Ecclef.9.

Verfe 10.

2 .Sam-3-27-

2 Sam 3.39.

Verfe 29.

1 Chro.c.3.

house of Abinadab in Gibea to the Citie of David; which businesse was interrupted ho the death of uzzah the sonne of Abinadab, whom the Lord slew for presuming to touch the Arke, though it were with intent to stay it from taking harme, when it was sha ken. But after three yeers it was with great folemnity brought into the Citie with facil. fices, musicke, dances, and all fignes of joy fulnesse, in which David himselfe gladly bare a part. Hereupon Michol derided him for dancing before the Arke, & afterward told him in scorne. That he was uncovered as a foole in the eyes of the maidens his servants; namely that hee forgat his regall dignity both in apparell and behaviour; and mixed himfelfer. mong the base multitude, dancing as sooles doe in the wayes and streetes: not that shee disliked Davids behaviour (as Itake it) though she made it the colour of her derision; but in rather the aboundant griefe, which this spectacle stirred up, beholding the glory of her husband to whom she was delivered lastly by force, and remembring the miserable end of her father and brethren, out of whose ruines she conceived that the sonne of Ishai had built this his greatnesse: together with the many new wives and concubines imbraced fince his possession of Jerusalem, made her breake out in those despitefull tearmes, for which she remained barren to her death.

This done, David confulted with the Prophet Nathan for the building of the Temple or house of God: but was sorbidden it, because he was a man of warre, and had shed bloud. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all detest homicide; having threatned, not in vaine, that he would require the bloud of man, at the hand of man and beast. Thewars, which David had made were just, and the bloud therein shed was of the enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cause it was not permitted that his hands should lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appeares how greatly those Princes deceive themselves, who thinke by bloud-shed & terrour of their warres, to make themselves in greatness like to the Almghty, which is a damnable pride; not caring to interest his mercy & goodnesse, or seeke the blessednesse promised by our Saviour unto the peace-makers.

Now although it was not pleafing to the Lord to accept a Temple of Davids fourding, yet was his religious intent so well accepted, that hereupon he received both a confirmation of the Kingdome to him and his heires, and that happie promise of the ever-30 lasting Throne, that should be established in his seede.

b. V. The overthrow of the Philistims and Moabites.

Some after this David overthrew the Philistims, which made them altogether powerlesse, and unable to make any invasion upon Israel in haste. For it is written, Accepts franum Amgaris è manu Philistheorum; which place our English Geneva converts in these words, And David tooke the bridle of bandage out of the hand of the Philistims. The Latine of Janius giveth another and a better sense; for by that bridle of Amgar was meant the strong Citie of Gath, or Gath, and so the Geneva hathit inthe marginall note. This Citie of Gath was the same which was afterward Dio-Casara, set on the frontier of Palestina at the entrance into Judea and Ephraim. From thence they made their incursions, and thereinto their retrait in all their invassions; which being taken by David and demolished, there was lest no such frontier towne of equal functions. In the Philistims on that part. The hill whereon Gath stood, the Hebrews call Amma, whereof & of the word Gar is made Amgar, of which Plinie in his sirst book, and chap. 13. This exposition is made plaine and constrained in the first of Chros. the 18.

There was no nation bordering the Jewes that so greatly afflicted them as the Philiflims did, who before the time of Saul, (to the end they might not sharpen any weapon so against them) did not leave one Smith in all their Cities and Villages of that kinde, but inforc'd them to come downe into their territorie, for all yron worke whatsoever they needed; so as the Ifraelites till this time of David were seldome free from paying tribute to the Philistims.

After this he gave them foure other overthrowes: but the war of the Moabites and Arabians came betweene. In the first of which he was indangered by Ishbi-benob, the head of whose speare weighed 300. shekles of brasse, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time Abishai succoured David & slew the Philistim, whereupon he

the Counfellors and Captaines of David (left the light of Ifrael might by his loffe be quenched) vowed that he should not thenceforth hazzard himselfe in any battaile. The 2 Samaliant fecond and third incounter and overthrow of the Philistims was at Gob, a place neere Gesa, and the last at Gath or Geth. And being now better affured of the Philistims by the taking of Geth, he invaded Moah, from whom notwithstanding in his adversitie hee sought succour, and left his parents with him in trust. But whether it were the same King or no, it is not knowne.

The Rabbines faine that Moab flew those kinsfolkes of David, which lived under his protection in Sauls time; but questionlesse David well knew how that Nation had bin alwayes enemies to Israel, and tooke all the occasions to vexe them that were offered. It And he also remembred that in the 23. of Dew. God commanded Israel not to seek the peace or prosperity of the Moabites; which David well observed, for he destroyed two parts of the people, leaving a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, hee led his army by the border of Ammon towards Syria Zobah, the region of AdadeZer the son of Ribib King thereof. The place is set down in the description of the holy Land: to which Ireservethe Reader.

6. VI.

The warre which David made upon the Syrians.

Tiswritten in the Text: David smote also Hadadezer, &c. as hee went to recover his border at the river Euphrates. Now whether the words (as hee went to recover his border) bee referred to David or Hadadezer, it is not agreed upon. Junius thinkes that the article (hee) hath relation to David, who finding Tohu oppress by Hadadzer, overthrew the one, and succoured the other. But the ancient and most received opinion, that this recovery hath reference to the Syrian, is more probable. For if David had intended any such enterprize towards Euphrates, he was infarred better case to have proceeded after his victory than before: seeing that (Adadezer being taken) hee had now left no enemie on his back, either to pursue him, to take victuals and supplies from him, or to stop the passages of the mountaines upon him at his returne.

Againe, seeing David was either to passe through a part of Arabia the desart, or by the plaines of Palmyrena, his army consisting of sootmen, for the most, if not all: He had now both horse and chariots good store to carry his provisions through those uncultived places, by which hee was to have marched before hee could have reached Emphrates or any part thereof. But wee finde that David returned to Jerusalem, after hehad twice overthrowne the Syrian army, not bending his course towards the river Emphrates, but seeking to establish his purchases already made. Whereby it may appeare, that it was the Syrian, and not King David, that was going to inlarge his border, as afore is said.

The King of Syria, Damascena, & of Damascus, whereof that region is so called, heaung that AdadeZer was overthrown by the Ifraelites, fearing his own estate, & the losse of hisown country which adjoined to Syria Zoba of HadadeZer, fent for an Army of Amintes or Syrians to his fuccour: but these, as it appeareth, came too late for AdadeZer, and too foone for themselves: for there perished of those supplies 22000. This King of Damascus, Fosephus (out of Nicholaus an ancient Historian) calleth Adad, who was also of the same name and family as all those other Adads were: which now began to grow up in greatnesse, and so continued for ten descents, till they were extinguished by the Aslyrans, as is shewed heretofore. David having now reduced Damascus under his obedience, left a garrison therein, as he did in Edom : having also sackt the adjoyning Cities of Betah, & Berathi, belonging to Adadezer, of which cities Prolomie calleth Betah, Tauba: and Berathi he nameth Barathena. Tohu or Thoi, whose country of Hamath joyned to Adadager (as in the description of the holy Land the Reader may perceive) fent his fon 70-2 Sam & 74m to congratulate this successe of David: partly because he had war with AdadeZer, &c. Partly because he feared David now victorious. He also presented David with vessels of gold, filver, and braffe; all which, together with the golden shields of the Aramites, and

g Sam. 13.

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the best of all the spoiles of other Nations, David dedicated unto God at his returne. Junius translated the words (Clypeos aureos) by umbones, as if all the parts of the targete were not of gold, but the boffes only. The Septuagint call them bracelets: Aquila, golden chains. But because Roboam made shields of brasse in place of these of Adadezer, at such time as Shicab the Egyptian fackt the Temple of Jerusalem, it may be gathered thereby that those of AdadeZer were golden shields.

The second Booke of the first part

z Sam I.

This done, David sent Embassadours to Hanum King of the Ammonites, to congratulate his establishment in his fathers Kingdome: for David, in the time of his affliction under Saul, had beene relieved by Nuhash, the father of Hanum, But this Ammonite being ill advised, and over-jealous of his estate, used Davids mes. fengers fo barbaroufly, and contemptuoufly (by curtailing their beardes, and their garments) as hee thereby drew a warre upon himselfe, which neither his owne strength, nor all the aydes purchased, could put off or sustaine. For notwithstanding that hee had waged three and thirtie thousand Souldiers of the Amalekites, and their confederates; to wit, of the vasfalls of AdadeZer twentie thousand, and of Mas. Maachab the chab and Ishtob thirteene thousand (for which hee disbursed a thousand talents
North part of Glaces) were all these great Armies together with the Greath of the Armonius North part of of filver) yet all these great Armies, together with the strength of the Ammonites, Traconitis remembered in were by Joab and his brother Abishai easily broken and put to ruine : and that without Deut.3.14. Deut.3.14 any great losse or slaughter at that time. And it is written, that when the Aramites acountry neere fled, the Ammonites also retraited into their Cities, the one holding themselves to Gad under the within the walles, the other in their defarts adjoyning, till Joab was returned to Jerockes of Arnon. rufalem. HadadeZer hearing that Josb had dismissed his Armie, assembled his forces againg,

2 Ŝam.10

a Sam. 10.

and fent all the Companies that hee could levie out of Mejopotamia; who under the command of Shobach passed Euphrates, and incamped at Helam, on the South side Helam or the. David hearing of this new preparation, affembled all the ablest men of Illong calleth 4- rael, and marched towards the Syrian Armie in Palmyrena, not yet entred into Arabia; to wir, at Helam, a place no lesse distant from Damascus, towards the Nontheast, than Jerusalem was towards the Southwest. Now David (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence goe on towards Euphrates (which was the far-tothest-off journey that ever hee had) because hee was now Lord of Damascus, which "See c.18. S.2. lay in the midway. Hee also possest himselfe of * Thadmor or Palmyrena, which Salomon afterward strongly fortified; and this Citie was but one dayes journey from Helam, and the river Euphrates. So had hee two fafe retraites, the one to Thadmor, and the next from thence to Damascus. In this encounter betweene David and the Syrians, they loft 40000. horsemen, and 700. chariots, together with Shohuh Generall of their armie. The Chronicles call these 40000. Souldiers footmen, and fo Junius converts it, and so is it very probable. For the Armie of Israel consisting of footmen, could hardly have flaughtered 40000 horsemen, except they quitted their horse and fought on soore. So are the chariors taken in this battell, numbred at 7000. in the first of Chronicles the ninth; in which number, as I conceive, all the Souldiers that ferved in them, with the conductors, are included: fo as there dyed of the Syrians in this warre against David, before hee forc'd them to tribute, 100000 footmen, besides all their horsemen and waggoners, and besides all those that Joab slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the Ammonites, before Rabbis. Notwithstanding all which, the Adads in following ages gathered strength againe, and afflicted the Kings of Juda often: but the Kings of Israel they impoverished even with last end of that State.

David having now beaten the Arabians and Mesopotamians, from the partie and confederacy of Ammon: He fent out Joab the Lievtenant of his Armies to forrage andde stroy their territorie, & to be siege Rabbah, atterward Philadelphia, which after a while the Ifraelites mattered and possess. The Kings Crowne which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, David set on his owne head, and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoile of the Citie. And though David staved at Jerusalem following the war of writh his wife, till fuch time as the Citie was brought to extremity and ready to be entred : yet Joab in honour of David forbare the last affault, & entrante thereof, till his masters arrivall. To the people heused extreme rigour (if wee may to call it being exercised against heathen Idolaters,) for some of them hee tare with har

rowes, fome he fawed afunder, others he cast into burning kills, in which he baked tyle and bricke.

6. VII.

of Davids troubles in his reigne, and of his forces.

. Ut as victory begetteth securitie, and our present wordly felicity a forgetfulnesse of our former miseries, and many times of God himselfe the giver of all goodnesse: so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly hee had to please God in the precise observation of his Lawes and Commandements. For having now no dangerous apnarent enemie (against whom hee was wont to aske counsaile from the Lord) hee began to bee advised by his owne humane affections and vaine defires. For hee was not onely fatisfied to take uriahs wife from him, and to use her by stealth; but hee imbrodered his adultery with uriahs flaughter, giving order to his trustie fervant Joab to 2 Sam 11.16 marshall him in the front or point of those Israelites, which gave an affault upon the fiburbs of Rabba, when there was not as yet any possibility of prevailing. And that which could no leffe displease God than the rest, hee was content that many others of his best servants and fouldiers should perish together with uriah, hoping thereby to cover his particular ill intent against him. After which hee began by degrees to fall from the highest of happinesse, and his dayes then to come were filled with joyes and wors interchangeable, his troden-downe forrowes began againe to fpring, and those perils which he had pulled up by the rootes (as hee hoped) gave him an after-harvest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased GOD to take the witnesse of Davids own mouth against him, as David himself did against the Amalekite, which pretended to have flain Saul, hee had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death hee fuffered. For when Nathan the Prophet propounded unto him his owne errour in the person of another, to wit, of him that tooke the poore mans sheepe that had none elfe, the bereaver being Lord of many: Hee then vowed it to the living Lord, that fuch a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon David for his life, which remission the Prophet Nathan pronounced: yet hee deliveredhim Gods justice together with his mercy in the tenour following; Now there- 2 Sam. 12.9.10 forethe food shall never depart from thy house, &c. because thou hast taken his wife to be the wife, & half flaine Uriah with the fword of the children of Ammon. Soone after this, David loft the childe of adulteric which be begot on Bersheba. Secondly, his own some Amnon, being in love with his halfe fifter Thamar, by the advice of his coufin-german the some of Shimeah Davids brother, possest her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a carelesse and despitefull manner. Two yeares after which foule and incessious act, Absalom caused him to be murthered, at the feast of his sheepeshearing: not perchance in revenge of Thamars ravishment alone; but having it in his heart to usurpe the Kingdome, in which, because hee could not in any fort bee assured of Amnon, he thought his affaires greatly advanced by his destruction. So the one brother having ravished his owne fifter, and then despised her; the other after a long dissembled malice first made his owne brother drunken, and then slaughtered him, which done, he fled away, and lived under the fafeguard of Talmai King of Geffur, necre Da- 2 Samas mascus, who was his grandsather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when Absalom by the invention of Joab (but chiefly because of the great affection of David lowards his fonne) was brought againe, first to the Kings favour, and then to his prelence; he began instantly to practise against David his father, seeking by the pretence of 2 Sam. 142 common justice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equitie, to win unto himselfe a popular reputation. Here began the great affiction, threatned by the Lord as a punishment of Davids sinne.

The company which Absalow gathered at the first were but 200 men : which he car- 25am.s. ied with him from Jerusalem to Hebron, pretending, though impiously, the perforhance of a vow to God. There when Achtrophel repaired unto him, & many troupes of

2 58m-15.

2 Sam. 16.

2 Sam.17-

people from all places, he proclaimed himself King, & was by the people (whose hears) God had turned from their lawfull Prince) accepted so readily, that David doubting to be set upon on the suddaine, durst not trust himselfe in his owne Citie of Jerusalem, nor in any other walled towne for feare of surprise: but incamped in the fields and defare with some 600. of his guard, and few else. The Priests hee left in Jerusalem with the Arke of God, from whom hee defired to bee advertised of those things that chanced to whom he directed Hulhai his trustie friend, & fervant, praying him to make himselfe in all his outward actions and counfells of Absaloms party and confederacy, thereby the better to discover noto him the purposes of Achitophel, a revolting Counsailor, whose practices he greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, Ziba also sought betray his master Mephiboseth the sonne of Jonathan: And Shimes of the house of Saul (the fire of whose harred Davids prosperity had smothered, but his adversity illightned) holding himselfe upon the advantage of a mountaine side, cast stones at David, and most despightfully cursed him to his face : but David attending no private revenges, forbad "Abifhai to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the roll of his re. venge, to his sonne Salomon. Absalom being now possest of Jerusalem, was advised by Achitophel to use his fathers concubines in some such plublique place, as all Israel might affure themselves, that hee was irreconcilable to his father : whereof being perswaded they would then resolvedly adhere to Absalom and his cause, without feare of being given up upon a reconciliation betweene them. This falvage and impious (though craft ty counfaile) Achitophel indeede urged for his owne respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction; who most of all other inflamed Abjalom against his father. And now was it fulfilled that Nathan had directly foretold David: I willraife up evill against thee out of thine owne house, and will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour, and hee shall lye with thy wives in the sight of the Sunne for 2 Sam. c. 12. thou diddelt it secretly, but I will doe this thing before all I stael, and before the Sunne. He also gave advice to Absalom, that himselfe with an armie of 12000 men might beeim ployed at the instant for the surprizing of David; which had willingly beene imbraced; by Absalom, had not Hushai Davids Faithfull servant given counter-advice, and swaved it: perswading Absalom that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strengthos Israel to pursue his father, than by such a troope, which Davids valour and those of his attendans might either indanger or refift. This delay in Absalom, and advantage of time gained by David, was indeede, after God, the loffe of the one, and delivery of the other. Whereupon Achitophel rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the success which followed, disposed of his owne estate, and then for sooke both the party and the care of Absalom, and of his ownelife. David being advertised of this enterprize against him, marched away all night, and

The second Booke of the first part

past Jordan, possessing himself of Mahanaim in the Tribe of Gad: the same whereins boseth himself in the war against David after Sauls death seated himself. To which place there repaired unto him Shobi the fonne of Nahash the Ammonite, whom David loved, a the same which Fosephus calleth Shiphar. And though it beegreatly disputed, what this Shobi was , yet the most generall and propable opinion makes him a second brother 10 Hanum, whom David for his fathers sake established in the Kingdome, after Hanum overthrow: in thankfulnesse whereof hee relieved David in this his extremity. There came also to Davids affistance Machir of Lodabar, Guardian in former times to Mephi boseth, and among others Bar llai the Gileadite, who willingly fed David and all his

In the meane time both the King and Absalom prepared to fight; Absalom made Antifa Commander of the armie of Ifrael, the same place which Joab held with David; an office next the King himselfe, like unto that of the Majors of the Palace anciently in France. David, perswaded by his company, stayed in Mahanaim, & disposed the forces he had to Joab, Abishai, and Ittai, giving them charge in the hearing of all that iffued out of the port of Mahanaim, that they should spare the life of Absalom. But Joab, besides that hee was very cruell by nature, remembred that Absalom had lately disposed of his government to Amafa, and therfore the victory being obtained and newes brought him that Absalom hung by the haire of his head on a tree, when hee could not perswade the messenger to returne and kill him, hee himselfe with his owne servants dispatcht him

Itappeared also by the sequell that Joab affected Adonijah whom he afterward acknowledged, David yet living; and fearing the disposition of Absalom, he imbraced the prefent advantage offered.

Hereof, together with newes of the victorie, when knowledge was brought to David: hee mourned and forrowed, not only as a man that had loft a fonne, but as one that had out-lived all his worldly joyes, and feene every delight of life interred. For hee so hid himselfe from his people, as those which hoped for honour and reward after so great a victorie, covered themselves also in the citie, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserved death than recompence. Whereupon Joab presenting himselfe before David, perswaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to thew himselfe to the armie. For first, he told him that he had discountenanced his faithfill fervants, who had that day preferved his life; inferring that nothing could bee more dangerous to a King, than not onely not to acknowledge fo great a love and conflancie in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resolvedly expose themfelves to great perils for his fake: but on the contrarie, grieve and lament at their good finceeffe. For, no doubt, they might all have bought their peace of Absalom at an easie rate. Secondly, he urged that it was generally believed, that he loved his enemies & hatedhis friends; and that hee witneffed by this his mourning, that he had not any respect of his Princes, and others his faithfull fervants, but would more have joved if they had all perished, and Absalom lived, than in the victory by their faithfulnesse and approved

Lastly, he used this prevalent argument, That if the King came not out and shewed himselfe publickly to his men of warre, that they would all that very night abandon him, and returne : concluding with this fearefull threatning, And that will bee worfe unto 2 Sam 15 thuthan all the evill that fell on thee from thy youth hitberto. By these over-bold and arrogant speeches (though perchance uttered with a good intent) Joab raised David from his bed of forrow, and brought him to the gates of the citie among the people, whom he affired of his love and affection, especially Amasa, who commanded the armie of Absalom, to whom he promised the office of Lievtenantship; the same which Absalom o had given him, and which Joab now enjoyed. For David doubted, that if Amafa were notfaisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the strength of Israel, now under

his commandement.

This done, the King marched towards Jordan homeward, where in his paffage hee 2 Sam 19.25. pardoned Shimei, who had lately reviled him to his face: but this remission was but extemall, as appeared afterward. Hee also accepted of Mephibosheth his excuse, whom Ziba had falfly accused and betrayed.

Healfointreated Barxillas the Gileadite, his late liberall Oast, to follow him to Jeru- 2 Sam 1938 falem, that hee might reward his fervice done him; who excusing himselfe by his age.

appointed his sonne Chimbam to attend the King.

At Gilgal on this fide Jordan, all the Tribes affembled, and after some contention which of them ought to have most interest in David, the Armie brake, and David returnedto Jerusalem. But Sheba the son of Bichri, a Benjamite, of the faction of the house of Saul, finding some discontent among the Ifraelites, withdrew them from David, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest, and it seemeth that many of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but Juda, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first King. David imployed his reconciled Captaine Amasa, to give him contentment, and to witnesse his trust, as also because hee conceived that Amasa had interest inthose revolts of Israel more than Joab had. Hee received commandement from David to affemble the Armie within three dayes, which hee foreflowed: but being onward on his way, Abishai, Joabs brother, was sent after him, with Davids guard and best Souldiers, whom also Joab accompanied: and overtaking Amasa neere Gibeon, Pretending to imbrace him, gave him a wound, whereof hee fell dead, being no leffe jealous of Amasa than he was of Abner, whom he murdered in the same manner, and Out of the same impatient ambition. This done, hee pursued Sheba; and finding him inclosed in Abel, assaulted the citie with that furie, that the citizens by the perswasions : Sam 20.10. of a wife woman there inhabiting, cut off Sheba his head, and flung it to Joab over the walls: which done, he retraited his Armie to Jerusalem, and commanded, as before, all 2 Sam 20.22. the Host of Ifrael.

2 Sam.21,

The next act of David, was the delivery of Sauls fons or kinsmen to the Gibeonites, whom those citizens hung up in revenge of their fathers crueltie. David had knowledge from the Oracle of God, that a famin which had continued on the land three yeers came by reason of Saul and his house, to wit, for the slaughter of the Gibeonites: and therefore hee willingly yeelded to give them this satisfaction, both because he had wartnerfrom God himselfe, as also, if wee may judge humanely, to rid himselfe of Sauls line, by whom he and his might, as well in the present as in the suture, bee greatly molestically himselfe and indangered; only he spared Mephibosheth the some of Jonathan, both for the love he bare to his father, and for his oath and you to God.

Now whereas it is written in the Text, The Ring took the two somes of Rispah, whom she to bare unto Saul, and the five somes of Micholthe daughter of Saul, whom she bare to Adriel, and delivered them to the Gibtonites: Junius calls this Michol the fifter of her that was and delivered them to the Gibtonites: Junius calls this Michol here named, had Adriel Davids wise, shee whom Saul married to Phaltiel: but Michol here named, had Adriel to her husband; the same which is named Merab in the first of Samuel the eighteenth, who was first promised to David when hee slew Goliah in the valley of Raphain: and because it is written that Michol loved David, which perchance Merab did not, whether David had any humane respect in the delivery of her children, it is onely knowned.

Now where the Geneva nameth Michol for Merab the wife of Adriel: the better translation were out of the Hebrew word here used, having an eclipsis or defect, and signal nifieth, as I am informed, one of the same kinred, as in the 19. verse of the same one and twentieth chapter it is said of Goliah; whose speare was weighte as a Weavers beam, when as by the same eclipsis it must bee understood by the brother of Goliah; Goliah himselfe being formerly staine.

As by the death of Saulschildren God secured the house of David, leaving no head unto rebellion: fo did hee strenghthen both the King and Nation against forreine enmies by the valour of many brave Commanders, the like of whom, for number & qualitie, that people of Ifrael is not knowne to have had at any time before or after. Think Captaines of thousands there were, all men of marke, and great reputation in warre Overthese were fixe Coronels, whose valour was so extraordinarie, that it might be well 33 held as miraculous. These Coronels had some difference of place and honour, which feemeth to have beene given upon meere consideration of their vertue. For Abishaithe brother of Joab, who in the warre against the Ammonites & Aramites was Lievtennt, and commanded halfethe armie, could not attaine to the honour of the first ranke, but was faine to rest contented with being principall of the three Coronels of the second order, notwithstanding his neernesse of bloud unto the King, the sourishing estate of his owne house, and his well approved services. All these Coronels and Captaines, with the Companies belonging to them, may feeme to have beene fuch as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readines for any occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawne out, if need required, into the field, very farreexcededthirtie thousand, year or thirty times as many. They were most of them such as had followed the King in Sauls time, and been hardred with his advertities. Others there were very many, and principall men in their feverall Tribes, that repaired into him after the death of Saul; but these Captaines and Coronels, (who with Joab, that was General of all the Kings forces, make up the number of 37.) were the special men of warre, and reckoned as Davids Worthies. The long reigne of David, as it is knowned to have confumed many of these excellent men of watre, so may it probably be ghessed to have wasted the most of those whose deaths we finde no-where mentioned. For the formes of Zervia, who had beene too hard for David, were worne away, and only Joah left in the beginning of Salomon, who wanted his brother Abishairo stand by his side! in his last extremity.

By the actions forepassed in the time of David, it is gathered, that hee had reigned how 33 years or thereabours, when the posterity of Saul was rooted our, so that he enjoyed about seven yeares of centire quiet and securitie, wherein it pleased God to remove all impediments that might have troubled the succession of Salomon in his fathers through this time also David having established all things in Juda and Israel, and the bottlers thereof, he againe displeased God by numbring the people, as in often action of his power: in which hee employed Joab, with other Captaines of his Armie, who after

nine moneths and twentie dayes travell, returned with the account & register of all the people, able and fit to be are Armes, and they amounted to the number of thirteen hun-2 Sam. 24. dred thousand, be fides Levi and Benjamin, whereof in Juda and the cities thereof five third.

For this, when by the Prophet Gad he was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himselfe to which he pleased; to wit, seven yeeres submit three moneths warre, wherein he should be unprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a generall pestilence to last three daies: David made choice to bow himself under the hand of God only, and lest himselfe subject to that cruell disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished 70. thousand. And hereby hee hath taught all that live, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; whereof he given this divine reason, For his mercies are great.

Sam.IA

6. VII. of the last acts of David; Adonijahs faction; the revenge upon Joah and Shimei.

Aftly, when he grew weake and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of women, hee was yet advised to lie in the armes of a young and well complexioned maiden, to keepe him warme. In this his weake estate of bodie, when hee was oinamanner bed-rid, Adonijah his eldeft fonne (Ammon and Abfalom being now dead) having drawn unto his partie that invincible, renowned and feared Joab, with Abiathar the Priest, began manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdome after his father. For being the eldest now living of Davids sonnes, and a man of goodly persomge, Salomon yet young, and borne of a mother formerly attainted with adulterie, for whichher name was omitted by S. Matthew (as Beda, Hugo, Thomas, and others suppole) hee prefumed to carrie the matter without reliffance. Hereof when David had knowledge by Berfabe the mother of Salomon, who did put him in minde of his faithfull promise, that Salomon her son should reigne after him (Nathan the Prophet affirming the fame thing unto the King, and feconding her report of Adonijah his prefumption) the King calling unto him Zadoc the Priest, Nathan the Prophet, and Benajah the Captaine of his guard, gave charge and commission to anoint Salomon, and to set him on the Mule whereon himselfe used to ride in his greatest state: which done, Salomon, attended, and strongly guarded by the ordinarie and choice men of warre, the Cherethires and Pelethites, shewed himselfe to the people. These tidings being reported to Adonijah, he prefently abandoned his affiftants, and for the fafety of his life, he held by the horns of the Altar, whom for the present Salomon pardoned. After this, David had remaining two especiall cares, whereof hee was desirous to discharge his thoughts; the 1 Reg. 3; one concerning the peace of the land, which might bee disturbed by some rebellion against Salomon; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he fought by o all meanes to advance, and make the businesse publick. To bring these intentions to good effect, he summoned a Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of Tsrael, the Princes of the leverall Tribes, all the Captaines and Officers, with all the mightie, and men of 1 chr. 28, 13, power; who did repaire unto Jerufalem.

In this affembly the King stood up, and signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approved the motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open his owne title to the Crowne; shewing that the Kingdome was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of Juda (as Jacob in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himselfe was pleased to make choyce of him among all his fathers sonnes. In the same the said that God himselfe had appointed Salomon by name to bee his successful whereupon hee earnestly charged both the people and his sonne to conforme themselves unto all that God had commanded, and particularly to goe forward in this worke of the Lords house, which Salomon was chosen to build. Then produced he is the patterne of the worke, according to the forme which God himselfe had appointed; and to laying open his owne preparations, hee exhorted all others to a voluntarie constitution.

The Kings proposition was so well approved by the Princes and people, that whereas hee himselfe had given three thousand talents of gold, and seven thousand of silver, they added unto it seven thousand of gold, & ten thousand of silver, besides brasse, iron,

Sam.23.39.

2 King . 2 . 3 .

I King 2"

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2 King, 2.

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time Salomon was againe anointed King, and received fealtie of all the Princes & people of the Land, & of all the Princes his brethren, the foanes of King David. Salamon being thus chablished King, his Father David finding himselfe even in the hands of death, first exhorted his sonne to exercise the same courage and strength of minde, which him. felfe had done in all his attempts: and to the end that a happy end might follow the beginning of all his enterprizes, hee uttered these mighty words, Take heed to the charge of the Lord thy God, to walke in his wayes, and keepe his farutes, and his commandements, and bis judgements, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moses, or to the per- lo formance of which, GoD fastened the succession, and prosperity of his issues. For this done (faith Go D himselfe) Thou shalt not want one of thy posterity to sit upon the Throne

nesse being so well dispatched, a solemne feast with great facrifice was made, at which

1 King, 1,10.

Secondly, hee advised him concerning 30ab, who out of doubt had ferved Davidfrom the first assault of Jerufalem to the last of his warres, with incomparable valour and fide. litie, faving that he fastened himselfe to Adonijah (his master yet living) & thereby vexed him in his feeble age. But as God hath never left cruelty unrevenged, so was it his will that Joab should drinke of the same cup, whereof he hath enforced other men to taste,& fuffer the fame violence which himselfe had unjustly strooken others withall, Quigladio percutit gladio peribit: for he had bereaved Abner & Amasa of their lives, having against to the one the pretence onely of his brothers flaughter, whom Abner had flaine in the time of warre, and could not avoid him against the other but a meere jealousie of his growing great in the favour of David. And though Josh affured himfelfe that Abner & Amala being dead, there was none left either to equall him or supplant him, yet God (deriding the policies of wicked men) raised up Benhajah the sonne of Jehojadah, to pull him from the Sanctuary, and to cut him in peeces. For David giveth this cause to Salomen against Joab, that he flwe the Captaines of the hofte of Ifrael, and shedbloud of battellinperce, and to this apparent & just cause, it is not improbable but that David remembred theil affection of Jeab towards Salomon, which Joab made manifest by the untimely settingup of Adonijah, David yet living. Some other offence Joab had committed against David 19 which in these words he put his some Salomon in minde; Thou knowest also what Joabite Conne of Serviah didto me, &c. Now whether this were meant by the killing of Abfalom, contrary to the King's defire, or by the proud words used to him when hee mournedin Mahanaim for Absalim; or whether it were the publishing of Davids letter unto himfor the killing of Uriah, thereby to difgrace Salomon as descended of such a mother, the Scriptures are silent. True it is, that those great men of warre doe oftentimes behave themselves exceeding insolently towards their Princes, both in respect of their service done, as also because they flatter themselves with an opinion, that either their masters cannot missethem, or that they dare not offend them. But this kinde of pride hath overthrowne many a worthy man otherwise deserving great honour and respect.

He also gave order to Salomon to rid himself of Shimei, who not long before had call stones at David, and curfed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and promise David spared Shimei all the time himselfe lived, yet being dust and in the grave, he flew him by the hand of Salomon his sonne. Hence it seemeth that King Henry theseventh of England had his patterne, when he gave order to Henry the Eight to execute Pool as sonne as himselfe was buried, having made promise to the King of Spaine when he delivered Pool unto him, that while hee lived hee would never put him to death, not

fuffer violent hands to bee laid upon him.

And yet did not the execution of Joab yeeld unto Salomon any fuch great profit or alfurance as he hoped for. For he found a young Adad of Idumaa, and Refin of Damalous to vexe him: who, as the Scriptures witnesse, were emboldened to enterprize upon Selomon, hearing that David flept with his fathers, and that Josb the Captaine of the Hoft was dead. Now when David had reigned in all fortie yeares, to wit, in Hebron 7. yeers, and in Jerusalem three and thirty, he died.

For his person, he was of small stature, but exceeding strong. For his internal gifts and graces, hee so farre exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailtie apart, hee was faid by God himselfe to bee a man according to his owne heart. The Plalmos which hee wrote witnesse his pietie and his excellent learning: of whom Hierometo PANLIAM

raulinus: David Simonides noster, Pindarus, & Alcæus, Flaccus, quoque Catullus, & Serenus, Christum lyra personat, & in dechachordo Psalterio abinferis suscitat resurventeme David (faith he) our Simonides, Pindarus, Alcæus, Horace, Catullus and Screnus, bee playeth Christ on his harpe, and one a ten stringed Pfalter bee raiseth him up rising from the dead, And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth Christ more lightsomly and lively than all the rest.

The booke of the Pfalmes, faith Glycas, was divided, ordered and diffinguished by Exchias: but whether all the Pfalmes were written by David, it is diverfly disputed. For Athanasius, Cyprian, Lyranus, and others conceive divers Authors answering the titles Athanin sinos. of the feverall Pfalmes, as Mofes, Salomon, and the rest hereafter named; and that only Hierepistas 73. Pfalmes were composed by David himselfe, namely, those which are intituled ipsius Lyran. in exp. navid. For the 50. and the 72. with the ten that follow, are bestowed on Asaph the son of Barachia, eleven other on the fonnes of Korath; and eleven are ascribed to Moses, to wit, the 89 and the ten following, and fothey are intituled in the old Hebrew Copies. though the vulgar and Septuagint (three excepted) stile them otherwise. The supposed nine Authors of these Pfalms which David wrote not, Sixe. Senensis nameth as followeth; Salomon, Moses, (whom Aben Ezra, contrary to Hierome, maketh one of Davids fingers) Afaph, Ethan-EZiachi, Eman-EZiaira, Iditham, and the three fonnes of Chore. But Billand Liv. S. Chrisoftome makes David the fole Author of all the Pfalmes, & fo doth S. Angustine, fol. 10. 0 11. reasoning in this manner: Although (faith hee) some there are that ascribe those Pfalms Aug de Civil, Del onely to David, which are over-written ipfius David, and the rest intituled ipsi David, to others, this opinion (faith he) Voce Evangelica Salvatoris ipfius refut atur, ubi ait quod ipfe Davidin pirttu Christum dixerit effe suum Dominum, quoniam Psalmus 109. sic incipit, Dixit Dominus Domino mee, Sede a dextris meis, &c. The voyce of the Gospell refutes this opinion, where it faith, that David himselfe in the spirit called Christ his Lord's becausette 109. Pfalme begins thus: The Lord faid unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, Laftly, his testimonies are used both by Christ and the Apostles, and hee was as a patterne to all the Kings and Princes that succeeded him.

His Story and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, Samuel, Naother and Gad, as it is in the first of Chron. 29. verf. 19. For the severall parts of the books of Samuel which intreat chiefly of David, were as it feemes, written by these three

holy men.

Constantine Manasses hath an opinion, that the Trojans during the time of the siege caption 7. foughtfor fuccour from David, and that hee stayed neuter in that warre. But it feemeth In his Annales that Manafles did miscast the time twixt David & the Trojan warre. For it is generally of Greeke into received that Troy fell between the times of Abdon and Samfon Judges of Ifrael, about Latin by Frames the worlds veere 2848. and David died in the veere 2991.

6. IX. of the treasures of David and Salomon.

Is treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the first of Chro- Verlit nicles , that he left Salomon for the building of the Temple a hundred thousand talents of gold; and a thousand thousand talents of filver, and of braffe and yron paffing all weight, which is more than any King in the world possest besides himselfe, and his fonne to whom hee left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred thirty &three carrioad, & a third of a carrioad of filver, allowing two thousand weight offilver or fixe thousand pound sterling to every cartload, besides threescore and seventeene millions of French Crownes, or of our money twenty three millions and a thoufand pound: a matter, but for the testimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all beleefe. For that any riches were left him, it doth not appeare, feeing that the Judges had not any treasure, nor any soveraign power to make levies: but when they went to the wars they were followed by furh voluntaries as the feverall tribes by turns gave them: feeing alfo that Saul who was of a meane parentage, & perpetually vexed and invaded by the Philiftims, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories being exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part possess by his enemies.

Therfore it were not amisse to consider how David within the space of not very ma ly yeeres, might amasse up such mighty treasures. For though parsimony be it selfe a

great

great revenue, yet needs there must have been some other great meanes. It seemes that he made the uttermost profit of all that he had, that was profitable. Eusebim in his 9. booke and last chapter de Praparatione Evangelica, citethen words of Eupolemus, who reporteth that David, among other preparations for the Temple, built a Navie in Mela. nis (or, as Villalpandus corrects it, Achanis) a citie of Arabia, and from thence fent mento digge for gold in the Iland Urphe, which Ortelius thinks was Ophir, though Eupolema in this place of Eusebius (erring perhaps in this circumstance) faith that this llandisin the red Sea: from whence, saith this Eupolemus, they brought gold into Jury . Pinedal. 4. de Rebus Salomonis,c. 1. thinkes that David did this way alfoenrich himfelie, and citeth this testimonie of Eupolen us: & yet certainly David had many other wayes to gather riches. Much land doubtleffe he gained by conquest from the Canaanites & Philistims, besides those fruit full vallies neere Jordan in Trachonitis and Basan, and the best of Syria, and other countries bordering the Ifraelites. These demaines belike hee kept in his own hands, and with his infinite number of captives, which he took in his warres, which were not able to redeeme themselves, husbanded those grounds for his greatest advantage. For it is written, 1. Chro. 17. that Jehonathan was over his treatures in the fieldin the villages, in the cities, in the townes, that EZri was over the labourers that tilled his ground; Simei over the vineyards, and Sabdi over the store of the wine; Baal Hanan over the olive trees, and Joash over the store of the oyle : also that hee had heards-men that had charge over his cattell, both in the high lands and in the plaines, over his Sheepe, Camels and Asses. And this custome of enriching themselves by husbanderic and cat. tell, the ancient Kings every where held, both before and after Davids time. For wee reade of Pl. araoh, that hee spake to Joseph to appoint some of his brethrenor of their servants, to be rulers over his cattell. Wee reade of uzzia, that hee loved husbandine, had much cattell, and plough-men, and dreffers of Vines: likewife wee reade it in all Greeke Poets, that the wealth of the ancient Kings did specially consist in their Hers and Flocks; whereof it were needleffe to cite Augus and Admerus, or any other fores amples, the rule holding true in all. Now concerning David it is not unlikely, buttur, those captives which were not imployed in husbandrie, were many of them used by him in all forts of gainfull professions, as the ancient Romanes in like manner used that

To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions, which doubtlesse were gree, and besides the innumerable presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinrily sent him, by Tohu and others) wee may adde the great spoiles which hee found in the Cities and Countries which hee conquered: also the head money which was gathered per legem capitationis ; By the law of capitation, or head money, every man ichor poore paying halfe a fickle of the Sanctuary, which is about as much as fouretene pence, and fo in all it amounted to a wondrous fumme in that Kingdome: whereinon thousand thousand five hundred and seventie thousand fighting men were numbredby Joab. Now although this law of capitation bee thought by some verie learned, not to have beene perpetuall (which opinion of theirs neverthelesse they confesse is against the Hebrew expositions) yet David upon this occasion is not unlikely to have put ith practife. And by these meanes might hee bee able to leave those huge treasures tosale mon. Yet it may seeme that this great masse of gold and filver left by David, theless part was his owne in private; and fo will it appeare the leffe wonderfull that heeleft fo much. Of his owneliberalitie we finde, that hee gave to the building of the Temple three thousand talents of gold, and seven thousand talents of silver : a great summe, but holding a very small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the Sanctuarie it selfe were exceeding great, as needs they must have been, having received continuall encrease, without any losse or diminution ever fince the time of Mofes and Josuah. The revenues of the Sanctuarie (besides all manner of tithes and oblations, which defrayed the daily expences, and maintained the Priests and Levits) were partly raised out of the head money before mentioned; partly out of the spoils gotten in warre. For all the bootie was divided into two parts, whereof the Souldier bad one, and the people which remained at home, had the other halfe; whereby all the countries received benefit of the victory was for about the people which remained at home, had the other halfe; whereby all the countries received benefit of the victory was for about the people which remained at home, had the other halfe; whereby all the countries received benefit of the victory. countrey received benefit of the victory, yet so, that the Souldiers had a farre gree ter proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiving more for every fingle share.

Gen. 47. 2. Chron. 26.

: Chron. 21.

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fiftie, of that which the people received, and one in five hundred, of that which was given to the Souldiers; namely, one hundred and one thousand part of the whole bootie. So in the fooile of Midian, thirty two thousand woman being taken, the armie had fixteene thousand of them for flaves, and the Congregation had other fixteene thousand; but Num 31. 49 out of the fixteene thousand given to the Armie, were exempted two and thirty for the Lordstribute. Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twenty. By this meanes, the leffer that the Armie was which had exposed it selfe to danger, the greater profit had every Souldier; but when it confifted of many hands, they who remaining at home were faine to undergoe more than ordinarie travaile in domesticall affaires, did receive by fo much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was alwayes certaine, vea many times it was increased, either by some especiall commandement, as when all the gold, and filver, and other metralls tound in Fericho, were confecrated unto God; or by 10.6.19. thankefulneffe of the Rulers and People, as when after the victorie obtained against the Midianites without the loffe of one man , all Jewells, Bracelets, Earerings, and the like, Num 31-509 were offered up, as voluntarie presents.

Now howfoever the Israelites were many times oppressed, & troden down by other Nations, yet were not these treasures robbed or spoiled; for the enemies never gat possession of the Tabernacle that was in Shilo. Wherefore it cannot otherwise bee, than that the wealth of the Sanctuarie must have bin exceeding great; as containing above one hundreth part of all the money and other goods found by the Ifraelites in the whole Land of Canaan; and of all that was purchased by so many victories, as they obtained a- 1 Chronic. 26. gainst the bordering Nations. For that this treasurie was not defrauded of the due por- v.27. & 28. tion, it is evident; feeing that before the time of David and his Lievtenant Joab, it is recorrect that Saul and Abner, and before them Samuel, had used to dedicate of the spoiles obtained in war, to maintaine the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well prefumed of the former Judges and Captaines of other Ages. Certaine it is, that the Conquelt of David brought into the Land far greater abundance of riches, than any former victories had purchased, those of Josua perhaps excepted: but these vast summes of an numbered thousand Talents of filver, may feeme rather to have bin made up, by the addition of his winnings and liberalitie, to the treasures laid up in many former Ages, than to

have beene the meere fruits of his owne industrie. Nowconcerning the riches of Salomon, it is more manifest how he gathered them; for A Talenr of received of yearely revenues with his tributes 666. Talents of gold, befides the Cu-

flomes of Spices. He had also fix rich Returnes from the East India, which greatly in- 1 King 10.14. treased his store. For his ships performed that voyage every three yeeres, and he began that trade in the two and twentieth yeere of his reigne, and ruled fortie yeeres. Befides this, all Judge and I frael were now mastered to his hands, all the Arabians his borderers, hesyriam of Zobah, of Damascena, of Palmyrena, of Ituræa; all of Idumæa, Moab, and 1 King. c.9. Ammon, paid him tribute; as likewise did the Hittites, who with the Perizzites, Hevites, v. 20. & 10. ebusites, and other races of the Canaanites, were not as yet extinguished, though v. 29.

iubjected. Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdome of Israel reduced by David, who after 1 Chro. 29. 28, o yeers reigne, and 70 yeers of life, dyed in a good age, full of dayes, riches, & honour, ndwas buried in the Citie of David. It is written by Josephus that there was hid in Da-Id Tombea maryailous quantitie of treasures, insomuch as Hyrcanus (who first of the 10sp, Antib 7. hafmanai, or race of Maccabees, called himselfe King) one thousand and three hundred

ters after, drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himself of Antiochus then besieing Jerusalem, & afterward Herod opening another Cell, had also an exceeding masse of old and filver therein. And it was an ancient custome to burie treasure with the dead. othe Peruvians and other Americans did the like, which being discovered by the Spaands, they inriched themselves by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That Samm did burie so much treasure in his fathers grave, it would hardly be beleeved, in reand of the great exactions with which hee was faine to burthen the people, not withanding all the riches which hee got otherwise, or which were left unto him: were it

or withall confidered that his want of mony grew from fuch magnificent imployents. Particularly of the Sepulchre of David the Scriptures have no mention, but lely the Sepulchres of the Kings of Juda, as of an honourable place of buriall. Yet the Monuments THAP.17.5.8.

CHAP.17.6.

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Monuments of these Kings, as (by relation of the Duke of ulika) they remained within these thirty yeeres, and are like to remaine still, are able to make report credible of the ch.Radz. Epifl.2. cost bestowed upon them.

6. X.
Of the Philistims, whom David absolutely mastered: and of sundry other contemporaria

F the Philistims, whose pride David was the first that absolutely mastered in this conclusion of Davids time somewhat heere may bee spoken.

They descended of Cassoim, who, according to Isidor and Josephus, was one of the sonnes of Misraim, and was surnamed Philistim, as Esau was surnamed Edom, and Faceb I frael. There were of them five Cities or pettie principalities, namely, A columnia Aldod, Gaza or Aczaph, Ascalon, Geth or Gath, and Accaron. It feemeth that Casion was the first founder of this nation, because of his kindred on either hand, the Cana. nites and the Egyptians.

Gen. 20.

The first King of these Philistims, which the Scriptures have named, was that Ahi. melech which loved Sara, Abrabams wife.

The second Abimelech lived at once with Isaac, to whom Isaac repaired in the time of famine, Abimelech then residing at Gerar in the border of Idum &a; which Abimelech far

cied Isaac his wife, as his father haddone Sara.

After Abimelech the second, the Philistims Kings are not remembred in the Scripture till Davids time: perhaps the government was turned into Arifocraticall. For they are afterwards named Princes of the Philistims, howfoever Achis be named King of Gath. the fame to whom David fled, and who againe gave him Siklag to inhabit in Saulting.

After him we reade of another Achis who lived with Salomon, to whom Shimei ma velled to fetch backe his fugitive fervant, what time the feeking of his fervant wastle losse of his life. Ferenie the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of Palastin or Phillim, Amos nameth the King of Ascalon: Zacharias, a King of Gaza. The rest of the warresof the Philistims are remembred in the Catalogue of the Judges, of Saul and David, and therefore I shall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

There lived at once with David, the third of the Silvii King of Alba, called Latinu Silving, who is faid to have ruled that part of Italy fiftie yeers. And about his fourteenth veere Codrus the last King of the Athenians died, to whom succeeded the first Prince of those, who being called after Medon, Medontida, without regall name governed Alhan during their life.

The reasons which moved the Athenians to change their government, were not drawn from any inconvenience found in the rule of foveraignty, but in honor of Codrus only. For when the Gracians of Doris, a region between Phocis, & the mountainofort, fought counsaile from the Oracle, for their successe in the warres against the Athenian, it was answered, that then undoubtedly they should prevaile and become Lords of that State, when they could obtain any victorie against the Nation, and yet preserve the Athenian King living. Codrus by some intelligence being informed of this answer, with drew himselfe from his owne forces, and putting on the habit of a common souldier, entred the Campe of the Dorians, and killing the first hee encountred, was himlest Forthwith cut in pieces

Eupales the 31. King of Affiria, which others account but the 30. began to ruleihat

Empire, about the 13. yeere of David, and held it 38. yeeres.

Neere the fame time began Ixion the fecond King of the Heraclida, the fonne of En rifthenes in Corinth; and Agis the second of the Heraclida in Lacedamon: in honour of which Agis, his fuccessours were called Agide, for many yeeres after. Hee restored the Laconians to their former libertie : hee overcame the Citizens of Helos in Laconia, who had refused to pay him tribute: hee condemned them and theirs to perpetual slavene whereof it came, that all the Messenians, whom at length they brought into the like bondage, were after called Helots.

In like fort from the Sclavi came the world Slave. For when that Nation iffuing out Sarmatia, now called Russia, had seized upon the country of Illyria, & made it their own by conquest, their victory pleased them so highly, that therupon they called themselve

by a new name, Slavos, which is in their language glorions. But in after times (that warmer Climate having thawed their northerne hardiness, and not ripened their wits) when they were trodden down, and made fervants with their neighbours; the Italians which kent many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen slaves, using the word as a name of reproach: in which sense it is now current through many countries.

Other Chronologers make this Agis, the third King of Sparta, and somewhat later, ahout the 23 yeare of David, and Tay, that Achefratus was the fourth King of this race. the same whom Eusebius calls Labores, and sets him in the thirteenth yeare of Salomon. Eusebinchro,

Inthe tenth yeare of Acheftraine, Androclus the third some of Codrus, affisted by the Imes, built Ephefus in Caria, who after the adjoyning of the Ile of Sames to his territorie. was flaine by the Carians, whose countrie he usurped. He was buried (faith Pausanias) The East gate o inone of the gates of Ephelus called Magnetes, his armed Statua being fet over him. Stra. of Ephelus to breports that after Androelus had subdued the Ionians (the next province to Ephesis on ward Magnessa the lea coast of Alia the lesse) he inlarged his Dominions upon the Boles, which joyneth Mander. to Jonia: and that his posteritie governed the Cities of Ephesus and Erythra by the name of Ballide in Strato his own time. Of the expedition of the Iones how they came hither arilles soles. out of Pelapannestis, I have * spoken already upon occasion of the return of the Heraclidento Peleponnefus, wherein, with the Dores, they expelled the Achai, and inhabited See Ch. in this ther places in that land : though this of the Iones succeeded that of the Heraclida 100. medium.

The Citie of Ephisis became exceeding famous: first, for the Temple of Dianathere-Plinteres inbuilt, which had in length 425-foot, and 220. in breadth, sustained with 127. pillars & 17.0.37. of marble, of 70. foot high: whereof 27. were most curiously graven, and all the rest of chovcemarble polishe, the workebeing first set out by Cresiphon of Gnossos. Secondly. it became renowned by being one of the first that received the Christian faith, of which Timilitie was Bishop to whom, and to the Ephesians, Saint Paul wrote his Epistles so inrinled. The other Citie possess by Androclus in Alolis, was also universally spoken of by reasonof sibylla, furnamed Erythrea: who lived 740. yeares before Christ was born. S. Angustine avoweth that a Roman Proconful shewed him in an ancient Greeke copie certaine verses of this Prophetesse: which began (as S. Augustine changed them into Latine in these words: Jesus Christus Dei Filius, Salvator , Jesus Christ Son of God, the Savieur.

About the time that Josb befieged Rabba in Moab, Vaphres began to govern in Egypt. the fame that was father in law to Salomon, whose Epistles to Salomon, and his to Vaphres. are remembred by Eusebius out of Polemon. In the 21. of David, was the Citie of Magnessain Asia the lesse founded, the same which is seated upon the river Maander, where Scipio gave the great overthrow to Antiochus. In this territorie are the best horses of the leffer Afia bred, whereof Lucan:

Et Magnetis equis, Miny agens cognita remis.

About the fame time Cuma in Campania was built by the inhabitants of Chalcis in Eu- Serv. in Acreid. bas, according to Servius, with whom Strabo joyneth the Cumaans of Rolis, faying, 3-Strabol.s. that to the one of these people the government was given, with condition that the other should give name to the citie. Of this Cuma was Ephorus the famous scholler of Isocrates. Exception and Cassiodor finde the building of Carebage at this time, to wit, in the 21.

yeare of David, but much mistaken. For the father of Dido was Metinos the son of Badezor, brother to Jezabel, who married Achab King of Ifrael; and between the death of David, and the first of Achab, there were wasted about 95 years.

In this time also Meastus lived, the second of the Athenian Princes after Codrus, of Eustin Cho. which there were thirteen in descent before the State changed into a Magistracie of ten Hend in vis. years. Some writers make it probable, that the Æolians, led by Graus, the grand nephew 1.14. of Orefles, possest the Citie and Iland of Thebes about this time. In the 32. yeare of Da. And Ser com. vid, Hiram began to reigne in Tyre, according to Josephus, who faith that in his twelfth yeare Salomon began the worke of the Temple. But it is a familiar errour in Josephus, to mifreckon times, which in this point he doth fo strangely, as if hee knew not how at all to cast any accompt. For it is manifest, that Hiram sent messengers, and Cedars unto David, soone after his taking of Jerusalem, which was in the very beginning of Davids reigne over Israel, when as yethee had reigned onely seven yeares in Hebron over the house of Juda. Wherefore it must needs be that Hiram had reigned above 30. 2 Sams.

lof, l.1. Ant. 17.

1 Sam. 6.

Gen. 26.

Tud. 16. I Sam. 18-29. # Sam. 21. 1 to

King, 2.

yeares before Salomon; unlesse more credit should bee given to those Tyrian records which are cited by Josephus, than to the plaine words of Scripture contradicting them. For, that it was the same Hiram which lived both with David and with Salemon, the Scriptures make it plainely manifest.

The second Booke of the first part

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CHAP. XVIII. OF SALOMON.

Of the establishing of Salomon : of birthright, and the cause of Adonijah's death, and of Sa. lomons wisedome.

ALOMON, who was brought up under the Prophet Nathanbe. gan to reigne over Juda and Ifrael, in the yeare of the World 2991. He was called Salemen by the appoyntment of God: hee was allo He was called Salomon by the appoyntment of the Lordloved called Jediddia, or Theophilus by Nathan, because the Lordloved him.

Hiram King of Tyre, after Salamons anounting, dispatched Embaffadors toward him, congratulating his establishment: a custome between Princes very ancient. Whence we reade that David did in like fort falutells.

num King of the Ammonites, after his obraining the Kingdome.

The beginning of Salomon was in blood, though his reigne were peaceable. For foom after Davids death, he caused his brother Adonijah to be flaine by Benarah the some of Jehojada, taking occasion from Adonijah his desiring by Berfheba, that the young made Abilbag (which lay in Davids bosome in his latter dayes, to keep him warme) might be given to him. Whatfoever hee pretended, it was enough that Adonijah was his elder brother, and fought the Kingdome contrary to the will of David, whom Godenclind towards Salomon. And yet it is faid that a word is enough to the wife, and he that feesbut the claw may know whether it be a Lion or no : fo it may feeme that to the quick-fighted wisedome of Salomon, this motion of Adonijabs, was a demonstration of a new trefon. For they which had bin Concubines to a King, might not after be touched butby a King: whence Achitophel wished Absalom to take his fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. And David after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, didnot give them to any other, but thur them up, and they remained widowed until their death-And this it feernes was the depth of Isbofheths quarrell against Abner, for having hishthers Concubine. And some fignification of this custome may seeme too in the words of God by Nathan to David; I have given thee thy Masters house, and thy Masters wives, to And in the words of Saul upbraiding Jenathan, that he had chosen David to the shame of the nakednesse of his Mother. Hereupon perhaps was some reference to this purpose of Adonijah, to marrie with her that was alwaies present with David in his latter daies, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conveying of the Kingdome to Salmin. There may be divers further occasions; as either that he would learn such things by her as might be for the advantage of his ambition, or that he would perswade her to sorge fome strange tale about Davids last Testament, or any thing else that might prejudicethe title of Salomon.

greed both with the law of Nations, & with the customes of the Jewes : yet the kings of Deuter, 24, 15, the Jewes were fo absolute, as they did therin, & in all elfe, what they pleased. Some ex-Pilium exole as amples alfothey had (though not of Kings) which taught them to use this paternall au nogito, dando a portionen during thority in transferring the birthright to a younger fonne: namely of Jacobs disheriting nam upfus of jus Ruben, and giving the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of theorimogenium. ther brethren) to Joseph: of whom he made two tribes. And that it was generally ac-

As for the right of an elder brother which Adonijah pretended, though generally ita knowledged that this power was in David, it appeareth by the words of Berfahe & Na. than to David, and of Jonathan to Adonijah. For, as for popular election, that it was necessary to confirme, or that the refusall of the people had authority to frustrate the

elder brothers right to the Kingdome, it now here appeares in the stories of the Jewes. It is faid indeed that the people made Saul King at Galgal: that is, they acknowledged x Samarias and established him. For that he was King long before, no man can doubt. In like manner elsewhere the phrase of chusing or making their King, is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselves a King, it is said, Thou shalt make Dent. 17.304 him King whom the Lord Shall chafe.

But to proceed with the acts of Salomon: at the same time that hee put Adonijah to death, he rid himselfe also of Joab, and three years after of shimei, as David had advised him: he displaced also the Priest Abiathar, who tooke part with Adonijah against him: but in respect of his office, and that he followed David in all his afflictions, and because 1 King 24 he had borne the Arke of God before his Father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his Kingdome, he tooke the daughter of Vaphres King of Egypt to Wife: for To Eulebius out of Eupolemus cals him. He offered a thousand facrifices at Gibcon, where God appearing unto him in a dreame, bade him aske what he would at his hands · Salonon choo (eth Wisedome, which pleased God. And God said unto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy self long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy selfe, nor half asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I have done according to thy words: by which weemay informe our felves, what defires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the covering after long life in respect of our selves, cannot but proceede of selfe-love, which is the root of all impiety: the defire of private riches is an affection of coverousneffe, which God abhorreth; to affect revenge, is as much as to take the fword out of Gods hand, and to distrust his justice. And in that it pleased God to make Salomon know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in minde of his brothers flaughter, for which he had not any warrant either from David or from the Law of God; but because Salomon defired wisedome onely, which taught himboth to obey God, and to rule men, it pleafed God to give him withall that which hedefired not. And I have also given thee (faith God) that which thou hast not asked both riches and honour. This gift of wisedome our Commentators stretch to almost allkindes ofleaming: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and lio ving creatures, the Scripture testifieth; though no doubt the chiefe excellencie of salo- 1 King 4:33. wing trained, was in the knowledge of governing his Kingdome: whence, as it were a King 3.9. for an example of his wisedome, the Scripture telleth how soone he judged the controversie between the two harlots.

> 6: II. Of Salomons building and glorie.

TEe then entred into league with Hiram King of Tyre, from whom he had much of his materials for the Kings parace and the Temple of whereof he had received a double charge, one from his father David, and another than the called Salomon his sonne, and of his materials for the Kings palace and the Temple of God: for the building ther from God. For like as it is written of David, that He called Salomon his sonne, and 1 Chr. 22.6. charged him to build a house for the Lord God of Israel: so doth Toftatus give the force of a 1 Chron. divine precept to these words, Behold, 4 son is born unto thee for. He shall build an bouse for my Name.

He began the worke of the Temple in the beginning of the fourth yeare of his reigne, *King & at which time also he prepared his fleete at Fsiongaber to trade for gold in the East Indies, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a worke. For, that the Temple was in building while his fleets were passing to and fro, it is manifest. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the Almaggim trees brought from Ophir. Of thismost glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the forme and example was I Chr. 28.29, given by God himfelf)many learned men have written; as Salmeron, Montanus, Ribera, Barradas, Azorius, Villalpandus, Pineda, and others, to whom I refer the Reader.

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which served that building, Salomon employed 30. thousand Carpenters, 10. thousand every month by course: he also used 80. thousand Masons in the mountain, and 70 thousand labourers that bare burdens, which tisconceived, he felected out of the Profelites, befides three thousand three hundred t King ? malters of his worke; so as he paid and imployed in all, one hundred eighty three thouland and three hundred men; in which number the Sidonians, which were farre more skilfull

£ Sam. 10.

2 Sam.16.21.

2 Sam. 2.3.

1 Sam 20.30.

1 Kings 2.15.

1 Reg.1.17.& I Kin.I.I.V.20.

* King.5.9.

* King.5.11.

skilfull in hewing timber than the Ifraclites, may (as I thinke) be included. For Hiram caused his servants to bring downethe Cedars and Firres from Libanon to thesea, and thence sent them in raffes to Joppe, or the next port to Jerusalem. For in the second of Chronicles the second Chapter, it is plaine, that all but the thirtie thousand Carpenters, and the over-feers, were strangers, and as it seemeth the vassals of Hiram, and of Vaphres King of Egypt. In recompence of all this timber and stone, Salomon gave Hiram twenty thousand measures of wheate, and twenty measures of pure oyle yearely. Enseine out of Eupolemus in the ninth booke of his preparation, the last Chapter, hath lest us a Copie of Salomons Letterto Suron (which was the same as Huram and Hiram) King of Tyre in these words:

R Ex Salomon Suroni, Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phænecia regi, Amico paterno falutem. Scial li me à Deo magno David patris mei regnum accepisse, cumque mihi pater pracepit tem. plum Deo qui terram creavit, condere ut etiam ad te feriberem pracepit: Scribo igitur, de peto ate ut artifices at que fabros ad edificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.

King Salomon to King Suron, of Tyre, Sydon, & Phanicia King, and my fathers friend, fendeth greeting. You may understand that I have received of the great God of my father David, the Kingdome: and when my father commanded mee to build a Temple to Godwhich created heaven and earth, hee commanded also that I should write to you: I write therefore to 16 you, and befeech you that you would bee pleased to send mee Artificers and Carpenters to build the Temple of God.

Towhich the King Swes made this answer.

OUron, Tyri, Sydonis, & Phænicia Rex, Salomoni Regi falutem. Lettis literis gratian Deo quitibiregnum patris tradidit : & quoniam scribis fabros, ministrosq; ad condendum Templume fetibi mittendos, misi ad te millia hominum octaginta & Architectum Iy. rium hominemex matre Judaa, virumin rebus architectura mirabilem. Curabis igiturum. cessariis non egeant & Templo Dei condito, ad nos redeant.

Uron of Tyre, Sydon and Phænicia King, to King Salomon creeting: When I readyour Dletters I gave Godthankes who hath installed you in your fathers kingdome. Andbicanse you write that Carpenters and Workmen may bee fent to build Gods Temple, I have fent you fourescore thousand men, and a Master builder a Tyrian, borne of a Tewish woman, a man admirable in building. Youwill becarefull that all necessaries be provided for them, and when Josanil 8,c.2. the Temple of God is built that they come home tous.

The Copies of these letters were extant in Josephus time, as himselfe affirmeth, and to be feene (faith he) Tam in no ftris quam in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our owne as in the Tyrian annals. But he delivereth them somewhat in different termes, as the Readermay finde in his Antiquities. But were this intercourse betweene Salomon and Hirameither 40 by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise delivered in the Scriptures, thanei-1 King, s. from ther Eupolemus or Josephus set it downe, but so, that in substance there is little difference

the 1.v. to the 9. betweene the one and the other.

The like letter in effect Salomon is faid to have written to Vaphres King of Egypt, and was answered as from Hiram.

But whereas some Commentersupon Salomon, find that Hiram King of Tyre, and The phres King of Egypt, gave Salomon the title of Rex magnus, and cite Eupolemon in Eugebius, I do not finde any fuch addition of magnus in Eulebius, in the last chapter of that ninth book ; neither is it in Josephus in the eighth book and second chapter of the Jewes Antiquities: it being a vaine title used by some of the Assyrian and Persian Kings, and used so likewise by the Parthians, and many other after them, insomuch as in later times it grew common, and was usurped by meane persons in respect of the great Hermes the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, Salomon fortified Jerusalem with a treble wall, and repaired Hazor which had beene the ancient Metropolis of the Canaanites, before Jofna's time: fo did he Gaza of the Philiftims: he built Berothon, Gerar, & the Millo or munition of Jerufalem. For Pharach as it feemeth

infavour of Salomon) came up into the edge of Ephraim, and took Gerar, which place the Canaanites yet held, and put them to the fword, and burnt their Citie. The place and Territory he gave Salomons wife for a dowrie. And it is probable, that because Salomon then busied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, that he enwas the the rested his father in law to rid him of these neighbours, which Pharaoh performed. But hethereby taught the Egyptians to visit those parts againe before they were sent for: and in his fon Rehoboams time Shefback this mans fuccessor did fack Jerusalem it selfe.

Salomon also built Megiddo in Manasse, on this side Jordan, and Balah in Dan: also Thadmor, which may be either Ptolomies Thamoron in the defart of Juda, or (as Fosephus Foses and care thinks) Palmira in the defart of Syria; which Palmyra; because instood on the utmost horder of Salomons dominion to the northeast of Libanus, and was of Davids conquest when he wan Damascus ; it may feem that Salomon therfore bestowed thereon the most coff, and fortified it with the best Art that that age had. Josephus calsthis place Thadamoraby which name (faith he) given by Salomon, the Syrians as yet call it. Hierom in his hooke of Hebrew places, cals it Thermeth. In after times, when it was rebuilt by Adrianthe Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called Adrianopolis. In respect of this great charge of building, Salomon raised tribute through all his Dominions. befides an hundred and twenty talents of gold received from Hirams fervants; Salomen offered Hiram twenty townes in or neare the upper Galilee, but because they stood in an unfruitfull and marish ground, Hiram refused them, and therefore was the territory cal-

These townes, as it is supposed, lay in Galilee of the Gentiles, Non quod Gentes ibi ha bitarent: sed qui a sub distinue regis Gentilis erat. Not that it was possess by the Gentiles (sairly Nauchrus) but because it was under the rule of a King that was a Gentile. Howsoever it were it is true that Salomon in the 21. yeare fortified those places which Hiram refused. Further he made a journey into Syria Zobah; and established his tributes; the first & last warre (if in that expedition he were driven to fight) that he made in person in all his life. He then visited the border of all his dominions, passing from Thadmor to the North of Palmyrena, and so to the Defarts of Idumæa, from whence he visited Eziongaber and Floth the uttermost place of the South of all his Territories, bordering to the red sea: which Cities I have described in the Story of Moles.

6. III.

of Salomons fending to Ophir, and of some seeming contradictions about Sasomons riches and of Pineda's conceit of two strange passages about Affricke.

TEre Salomon prepared his Fleet of ships for India, with whom Hiram joyned in that voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the Tyrians being of all other the most expert sea-men. From this part of Arabia which at this time belonged to Edom, and was conquered by David, did the Fleet passe to the East India, which was not farre off, namely, to Ophir, one of the Islands of the Molucca's, a place exceeding rich in gold: witnesse the Spaniards, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in Peru, doe yet plant in those Islands of the East at Manilia, and recover a great quantity from thence, and with leffe labour than they do in any one part of Peru, or new Spaine.

The returne which was made by these Ships amounted to source hundred and twenty talents, but in the second of Chronicles the eighth, it is written 450 talents: whereof 30. talents went in expence for the charge of the Fleet, and wages of men; and 420. talents, which makes five and twenty hundred and twenty thousand Crownes, came cleere. And thus must those two places bee reconciled. As for the place 1. Reg. 10. 14. which speaketh of fixe hundred fixty and fixe talents of gold; that fumme, as I take it, is of other receipts of Salomons which were yearely, and which came to him befides those profits from Ophir.

My opinion of the land of Ophir, that it is not Peru in America (as divers have thought) but a Countrey in the East Indies; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedy returne to Jerusalem from the East Indies, than in three C.S. 5.9.10. 3 Years; and that Tharfis in Scripture is divers times taken for the Ocean, hath been alreaSalomonis c. G. dy declared in the first booke.

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426 Only it remainerh that I should speake somewhat of Pineda his strange conceits, who being a Spaniard of Bætica, would faine have Gades or Calis-malis, in old times called Tartessus, which is the Southwest corner of that Province, to bee the Tharss from whence Salemen fetcht his gold; for no other reason, as it seemes, but for love of his own countrey, and because of some affinity of sound betweene Tharfis and Tarteflus. For whereas it may feeme strange that it should be three years ere they that took ship in the red fea, should return from the East Indies to Jerusalem, this hath been in part answered already. And further the intelligent may conceive of fundry lets, in the digging and re fining of the metall, and in their other trafficke, and in their land-carriages between Je. rufalem and the red sea, and perhaps also elsewhere: so that wee have no need to make Salomons men to goe many thousand miles out of their way to Gades, round about all Affrick, that so they might be long a comming home.

For the direct way to Gades (which if Salomon and the Ifraelites knew not, the Tyrians which went with them, could not have been ignorant of) was along the Mediterran fea, and to (befides many wonderfull inconveniences, and terrible navigation in rounding Affrica) they should have escaped the troublesomeland-carriage betweene Jensalem and the red sea, through dry, desart, and the theevish Countryes: and within 30 mileof Jerusalemat Joppe, or some other haven in Salomons own Country, have laden and un-

laden their ships.

But this direct course they could not hold (faith Pineda) because the huge Island of At. lantis, in largenesse greater than all Affrick and Asia, being swallowed up in the Atlantick Ocean, hindred Salomons thips from patting through the straits of Gibraltarsforthis hee alledgeth Plato in Timeo. But that this calamity happened about Salomons time, orthat thereby the Straits of Gades were filled with mud, and made unpaffable, thatthere could be no comming to Gades by the Mediterran sea: or that this indraught wherethe fea runneth most violently, and most easily scoureth his channell, should be filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Hand is supposed to have food: or that Salomons ships being inthe red sea. should negle the golden Mins of the East Indies (which were infinitely better and nearer to the red sea, than any in Spain) to feeke gold at Cadyz by the way of compassing Affrica; it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the Spaniard him selfe that hath also the rich Peru in the West, sortised in the East Indies, and inhabites some part thereof, as in Manilia, finding in those parism leffe quantity of gold (the finall territory which hee there possessed than

The fame Pinede hath another strange passage round about all Affrica, which elswhere in Peru. he dreames of: supposing whereas Jonas failing to Tharsisthe Citie of Cicilia, wascast out in the Mediterran sea, and taken up there by a Whale, that this Whale in three days herooke a flip fivimming above twelve thousand English miles along the Mediterran seas, and so through the straights of Gades, and along all the huge seas round about Affrica, castup Jonas upon the shore of the Red Sea, that so he might have perhaps some fixemiles the shorter (though much the worse) way to Ninive. This conceit he grounds onely upon the ambiguity of the word suph, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the Red fealassi we should call it mare algosum, the sea full of weeds for the red sea. But in Jonas c.2. 5. it's generally taken in the proper fignification for weeds, and not as Pineda would have it, who in this place against his owne rule which elsewhere he giveth us) supposed strange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the Whale, finished in three dates, is a greater miracle, than the very prefervation of Janus in the belly of the Whale: and therefore feeing there is no necessity of this miracle, we fend it back unto him, keeping his owne rule, which in this place hee forgets; Meracula non fune multiplicanda. Andagaine, Non funs miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio nova fingenda; Miracles are not us be multiplied without necessitie nor delivered without cause, nor fained at pleasure. Therefore we leave this man in his dreames, which (were hee not otherwise very learned and judicious) might be thought unworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our florit of Salomon.

The Queene of Saba's comming from farre to Salemon, (as it seemes, from Arabia foelix, & not, as fome think, from Ethiopia) and her rich prefents, and Salamons reciprocall magnificence, and his resolving of her difficult questions; those are set downess large in the Text. But herein Josephus is greatly mistaken, who calls this Queen of Sale

Nicaules, the successor (faith hee out of Herodotus) of those thirty and eight Egyptian 70/411.8.13 Kings which succeeded Meneus the founder of Memphis; adding, that after this Egyptish, and the father in law of Salomon, the name of Pharaoh was left off in Egypt. For as it is elfewhere proved that the Queene was of Arabia, not of Egypt and Ethiopia; fo 2 Kinge 22. were there other Pharaobs after the father in law of Salomon. Yea, above three hundred 2 Chro .25. veates after Salomon, Pharaoh Necho flew Josias King of Juda.

It is also written of Salomon, that he kept in garrisons fourteene thousand Chariots. and twelve thousand horsemen; that hee spent in Court every day thirty measures of fine flower, threefcore measures of wheate, one hundred sheepe, besides stags and fallow deare, bugles and fowle; foure thousand stalles of horses he had for his chariots and otherules, and for the twelve thousand horsemen of his guard. For, the ten thousand falles in the first of Kings the fourth, are to bee taken but for so many horses, whence in 1 King 431. the second of Chronicles the ninth, it is written but foure thousand stals or teemes, and in every teeme ten horles, as Junius and the Geneva understand it. He was said to be wifer than any man, yea than were Ethan the Ezrahite, than Heman, Chaleal, or than Darda; to which Junius addeth a fift, to wit, Ezrack. For the Geneva maketh Ethan an Ezrahite by Nation. Josephus writes them, Athan, Aman, Chalceus and Donan the sonnes of Hemon. Hee spake three thousand Proverbes, and his songs were one thousand and five, whereof either the most part perished in the Captivity of Babylon, or else because many acts of Salamons were written and kept among the publike Records of Civill causes, and not Ecclesiasticall, therefore they were not thought necessary to bee inserted into Gods Booke.

6. IIII.

Of the fall of Salomon, and how long he lived.

Towashe had plenty of all other things, so had hee no scarcity of women. For besides his seven hundred Wives, hee kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people should accompany the daughters of Idolaters) he tooke Wives out of Egypt, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Zidon and Heth: and when hee fell a doting, his Wives turned his heart after other gods, as Afteroth of the Zidonians, Milcom or Molech of the Ammonites, and Chemoth of Moab.

These things God punished by Adad of Idumaa, Rezin of Damascus, and by Feroboam his owne fervant, and one of the masters of his workes, who by the ordinance of God tare from his fonne Roboam, ten of the twelve parts of all the territory he had. Deus dum in peccatores animadvertit, alierum peccatis utitur, que ipfe non fecti. God in punshing p. Martinreg.

finners, useth the fins of others, which he himselfe wrought nor.

In the reigne of Salomon (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other workes of magnificence, and that great Indian voyage already mentioned. Fortie yeeres he raigned; how many he lived, it is not written, and must therefore be found only by conjecture. The most likely way to gheffe at the truth in this case is, by considering the actions of David before and after, the Salomons birth, whereby we may belt make est mation of the yeers which they confabt med, and consequently learne the true, or most likely yeere of his nativity. Seaven yeeres David reigned in Hebron: in his eighth yeere he tooke Jerusalem, and warred with the Philliftims, who also troubled him in the yeere following. The bringing home 2 King 7.0.2. of the Arke seemes to have been in the tenth yeere of David, and his intention to build the Temple in the yeere ensuing , at which time hee had sufficient leisure, living in rest. After this he had warres with the Philistims, Moabites, Aramites and Edomites, which must needs have held him five yeeres, considering that the Aramites of Damasco raised warreagainst him, after such time as hee had beaten HadadeZar; and that in every of usame 11.0.2. these warres, he had the entire victorie. Neither is it likely, that these services occupied any longer time, because in those dayes and places there were no wintering campes in the but at convenient seasons of the yeare Kings went forth to warre, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their armies, partly upon the spoyle of the enemies countrey, partly upon the private provision which every soulder made for himselfe. The 17-yeare of David, in which he tooke Mephibosheth the son 6-18.

2 Sam.15.7.

of Jonathan into his Court, appeareth to have passed away in quiet; and the yeare sollowing to have begun the warre with Ammon; but somewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to tryall of a battell (for Joab after the victorie, returned immediately to Jerusalem) the causes and preparations for that warre, taking up all the Summer. Davids personall expedition against the Aramites, wherein he brought all the timer. Davids personall expedition against the Aramites, wherein he brought all the timer. Davids personall expedition against the Aramites, wherein he brought all the timer. Davids personal expedition against the Aramites, wherein he brought all the timer. Davids personal expedition against the Aramites, wherein he butaries of Acadezer under his owne allegeance, appeares manifestly to have beene the butaries of Acadezer under his owne allegeance of succour from the Ammonites; all Syria, Moab and Idumæa being now at his owne devotion. By this reckoning it all Syria, Moab and Idumæa being now at his owne devotion. By this reckoning it must have been the 20. yeare of Davids reigne, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which he sent forth Joab to besiege Rabba, and finished the warre of Ammon: wherein also he fell out the matter of Uriabs wise. So one halfe of Davids reigne was very prospessed of the matter of Uriabs wise. So one halfe of Davids reigne was very prospessed in the other halfe hee felt great forrow, by the expectation, execution, and lad rous: in the other halfe hee felt great forrow, by the expectation, execution, and lad rous: in the other halfe hee felt great forrow, by the expectation, execution, and lad rous: in the other halfe hee felt great forrow, by the expectation, execution, and lad rous: in the other halfe hee felt great forrow, by the expectation, execution, and lad rous: in the other halfe hee felt great forrow, by the expectation of the halfe hee felt great for own by the expectation of the halfe hee felt great for own by the expectation.

Now very manifest it is, that in the yeare after the death of that child which was being gotten in adultery, Salemon was borne, who must needes therefore have beene nineteene years old or thereabout when he began to reign at the decease of his father, as being beyons old or thereabout when he began to reigned in all forty.

gotten in the 21. year of his fathers reigne, who reigned in all forty.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of David, as may be collected out of ensuing Actions: for two years passed ere Absolute she his brother Am. 30 three yeares ere his father pardoned him, and two years more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seemes to have been one years work. So the rebellion it selfe, with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by Sheba, the death of Amasa and the rest,

may well seeme to have been in the 30. year of Davids reigne.

Whether the three yeares of famine should be reckoned apart from the last years of war with the Philistims, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needfull conjecture. Plaine enough it is, that in the ten remaining years of David there was une sufficient, and to spare, both for the three yeares of famine, for foure yeares of warn, and for numbring the people, with the petitlence ensuing; as also for his ownells in significant, and disposing of the Kingdome. Yet indeed it seemes that the warre with the Philistims was but one yeares worke, and ended in three or foure fights, of which the two or three former were at Gob or Nob neare unto Gezer, and the last at Gath. This warre the Philistims undertooke, as it seemeth, upon considence gathered out of the mults in Israel, and perhaps emboldened by Davids old age: for he fainted now in the battell, and was afterwards hindered by his men from exposing himselfe unto dager any more. So David had sixe or seven yeares of rest, in which time it is likely that many of his great men of Warre dyed (being of his owne age) whereby the stiming spirit of Adonijab found little succour in the broken party of Joab the some of

At this time it might both truly be said by David to Salomon, Thou art a wise man; and 1 Kin.2.9.83.7. by Salomon to God, I am but a yound childe: for nineteene years of age might well agree

with either of these two speeches. Deverthelesse there are some that gather out of Salomons professing himselfe achild, that he was but eleven yeares old when he began to reigne. Of these Rebbi Salmen feems the first Author, whom other of great learning and judgement have hereinfollowed: grounding themselves perhaps upon that which is said of Absolous rebellion, that it was after forty yeares, which they understood as yeares of Davids reigne. But whereas Rehoboam the fonne of Salomon was 41- yeares old when he began to reigne, it would follow hereby that his father had begotten him, being himselfe but achildeofs nine or ten yeares old; the difference betweenetheir ages, being no greater, if Salomon (who reigned 40 yeares) were but eleven yeares old when his reigne began. To avoyd this inconvenience, Josephus allowes 80 yeares of reigne to Solomon; a report sodilagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needes no confutation. Some indeed have in favour of this opinion, conftrued the words of Josephus, as if they included all the years of Salomons life. But by fuch reckoning he should have beene 40. yeares old at his Fathers death 5 and consequently should have beene borne long before his Father had worne Jerusalem; which is a manifest untruth. Wherefore the 40. years

remembred in Absolons rebellion, may either seeme to have reference to the space betweene Davids first anoynument, and the trouble which God brought upon him for his wickednesse, or perhaps be read (according to Fosephus, 7 heodoret, and the Latine translation) foure yeares; which passed between the returne of Absolon to Jerusalem, and his breaking out.

of Salomons writings.

Here remaine of Salomons workes, the Proverbs, the Preacher, and the fone of Salomon. In the first hee teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the fecond, the vanity of humane nature; in the third, he fingeth as it were the Epithalamion of Christ and his Church. For the Book intituled, The wifedome of Saloman, (which some give unto Salomon, and some make the elder Philo the Author therof) Hierome and many others of the best learned make us thinke it was not Salomon that wroteit. Stylus libri sapienti a (saith Hierome) qui Salomonis inscribitur, Gracamredolet Hierad Crome elequentiam; The Stile of the Booke of wisedome, which is ascribed to Salomon, savoureth sum. of the Gracian eloquence; and of the same opinion was S. Augustine, and yet he confesseth in the nineteenth Booke and twentieth Chapter of the Citie of God, that the Authour of that Booke hath a direct foretelling of the passion of Christ in these words: o Circumveniamus justum, quoniam insuavis oft nobis, &c. Let us circumvent the righteous, Sap. 23 for he is unpleasing to us, he is contrary to our doings, he checketh us for offending against the Law, he makes his boast to have the knowledge of God, and he calleth himselfe the sonne of the Lond, Ge. and so doth the course of all the following words point directly at Christ. s. sen following The Books of Ecclesiastes, Proverbs and Cantica Canticorum, Rabbi Moses Kimchi ascribethto Isay the Prophet. Suidas & Cedrenus report, that Salomon wrote of the remedies ofalldifeafes, and graved the fame on the fides of the Porch of the Temple, which (they Reineccin Tul.) fay) Exchas pulled downe, because the people, neglecting helpe from God by prayer, Hift. repaired thither for their recoveries.

Of Salomons Bookes of Invocations, and Inchantments to cure diseases, and expell of salomons hath written at large, though (as I conceive) rather out of his owner invention, or from fome uncertaine report, than truly.

Healfo speaketh of one Elia Zarus, who by the reote in Salomons ring disposses divers persons of evill spirits in the presence of Vespasian, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainely fo strange an example of humane frailtie hath never been read of as this King: who having received wifedome from God himfelfe, in honour of whom, and for his onely fervice, he built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of Ifrael and Judæa, not by the law of Nature, but by the love of God, and became the wifest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perswafion ofafew weake and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and for fake the Lord of all the world, and the giver of all goodnesse, of which hee was more liberall to this King. than to any that ever the world had. Of whom Syracides writeth in this manner: Salomon reigned in a peaceable time, & was glorious for God made all quiet round about that he might build a house to his Name, and prepare the Sanctuary for ever; How wise wast thou in the jouth, and wast filled with understanding, as with a floud? Thy minde covered the whole tarth, and bath filled it with grave and darke sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Iles. and for thy peace thou wast beloved, &c. but thus hee concludeth: Thou didst bow thy bynesto Women, and wast overcome by thy body; thou didst staine thine honour, and half defiled thy posteritie, and hast brought wrath upon thy children, and felt sorrow for the folly, cap. 27.

& VI. of the Contemporaries of Salomon.

Eare the beginning of Salomons reigne, Agefilaus the third of the Beraclide in Corinth; Labotes in Lacedæmon; and soon after Silvius Alba the fourth of the Silvii, swayed those Kingdomes: Laosthenes then governing Assyria: Agastus and Archippus the second and third Princes after Codrus, ruling the Athenians.

In the fixe and twentieth of Salemons reigne, Hiram of Tyre dyed, to whom Baliastrus fucceeded, and reigned sevence years, after Mercasors account; who reckons the time such by the age of his sons. Josephus gives him sewer years. The sphilus Antiochems of his rule by the age of his sons. Josephus gives him sewer years. The sphilus Antiochems against Antolicus sinds Bozorius the next after Hiram, if there be not some Kings omitted between the death of Hiram and the reigne of Bozorius.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of Salomon, Sefac or Shishak (as our English Geneva termes him) began to govern in Egypt, being the same with him whom Diods. Geneva termes him) began to govern in Egypt, being the same with him whom Diods. Tus calleth Sosachis; Josephus, Susac; Cedrenus, Suselinus; Eusebius in the colume of the rus calleth Sosachis; and in that of the Hebrewes, Susac. Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptian Kings, Smemdes; and in that of the Hebrewes, Susac. Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptian Kings, Smemdes; and in that of the Hebrewes, Susac. Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptian Kings, Smemdes; and in that of the Hebrewes, Susac. Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptian Kings, Smemdes; and in that of the Hebrewes, Susac. Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptian Kings, Smemdes; and in that of the Hebrewes, Susac. Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Smemdes; and in that of the Hebrewes, Susac. Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Smemdes; and in that of the Hebrewes, Susac. Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Smemdes; and in that of the Hebrewes, Susac. Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Smemdes; and in that of the Hebrewes, Susac. Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Smemdes; and in that of the Hebrewes, Susac. Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Smemdes; and in that of the Hebrewes, Susac. Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Susac Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Susac Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Susac Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Susac Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Susac Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Susac Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Susac Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Susac Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Susac Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Susac Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Susac Josephus in the eighth of his Egyptins Kings, Susac Josephus in the eighth of

Of the great acts and vertues of King Sefostris I have spoken already in the story of the Egyptian Princes: onely in this hee was reproved, that hee caused foure of his captive Egyptian Princes: onely in this hee was disposed to be seene, and to ride in triumph: Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was disposed to be seene, and to ride in triumph: one of which source, saith Eutropius, at such time as Sefostris was carried out to take the airce, cast his head continually backe upon the two soremost wheeles next him; which sefostris perceiving, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion: to whom the captive King answered, that in those he beheld the instability of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheele was suddenly carryed about, and became the highest, and the upmost part was as suddenly turned downward, and under became the highest, and the upmost part was as fuddenly turned downward, and under other from the like servitude in the future. Of this Sesostris, and that hee could not be taken for Sesac, I have spoken at large in that part of the Egyptian Kings preceding.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Salomons Successors untill the end of Jehosaphat.

6. I.

of Rehoboam his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes, and Jeroboams Idolatrie.



Eboboam the Sonne of Salomon by Nahama an Ammonitess, now for ty yeares old, succeeded his Father Salomon, and was annointed a Sichem, where the ten Tribes of Israel were assembled: who attended a while the returne of Jeroboam as yet in Egypt, since he sledthisher to fearing Salomon. After his arrivall the people presented a Petition to Rehoboam, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his father. Sic enim sirmius ei fore Imperium, si amari mallet quam metui; so

should his Empire (faith Josephus) bee more assured, if hee desired rather to bee beloved than feared: whereof hee tooke three dayes to deliberate before his answer; of whom therefore it could not be said as of David, that hee was wiser than all his Teachers. For as of himselfe he knew not how to resolve, so had hee not the judgement to discensed counsels; which is the very test of wisedome in Princes, and in all men else. But not withstanding that hee had consulted with those grave and advised men, that served his Father, who perswaded him by all meanes to satisfie the multitude: hee was transported by his familiars and savourities, not onely to continue on the backes of his subject those burdens which greatly crusht them; but (vaunting fally of greatnesse exceeding his Fathers) he threatned in sharpe, or rather in terrible termes, to lay yet heavier, and more unsupportable loades on them. But as it appeared in the successe, those younger advisors greatly mistooke the nature of severity, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it selfe: they also were ignorant that it ought to bee used for the helpe, and not for the harme of subjects. For what is the strength of a King lest by his people: and what cords or fetters have ever lasted long, but those which have been

rwifted and forged by love onely . His witleffe parafites could well judge of the Kings diffoolition: and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all things elfe; it fufficed and enabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of Rehoboamdid not a little advance Jeroboams defignes. For being fore-told by the Prophet A. chiah of his future advancement, these the Kings threats (changing the peoples love into furie) confirmed and gave courage to his hopes. For he was no fooner arrived, than elected King of Israel: the people cryed out, What portion have we in David? wee haveno inheritance in the Sonne of ishai. Now though themselves, even all the Tribes 2 Sam. 5.10 of Iffael, had consented to Davids anointing at Hebron the second time, acknowledgeing that they were his bones and his flesh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgatboth the bands of nature, and their dutie to God; and, as all alienate refolved hearts doe, they ferved themselves for the present, with impudent excuses. And now over-late. and after time, Rehoboam fent Adoram, one of the Taxers of the people, a man most hatefull to all his Subjects, to pacifie them: whom they instantly beare to death with Hones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from Sichem with all speede, and re- 1 King, 12.22. covered Jerusalem, where preparing to invade Israel, with an hundred and fourescore thouland chosen men, Shimei in the person of God commanding to the contrary, all was flayed for the present. In the meane time Jeroboam the new King fortified Sechem onthis fide, and Penuel on the other fide of Jordan; and fearing that the Union and exoercise of one Religion would also joyne the peoples hearts againe to the House of David, and having in all likelihood also promised the Egyptians to follow their Idolatry, heesetup two Calves of gold for the children of Israel to worship, impiously perswadine them that those were the Gods, or at least by these hee represented those Gods which delivered them out of Egypt: and refuling the service of the Levites, hee made Priefls fit for fuch gods. It must needes bee that by banishing the Levites which served Davidand Salomon through all Ifrael, Jeroboam greatly enriched himselfe: as taking into hishands all those Cities which were given them by Moles and Josua, for as it is written. The Levites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Juda, &c. This irreligious policie of Jeroboam (which was the foundation of an Idolatry that never could be rootedout untill Ifrael for it was rooted out of the Land) was by prophecy and miracles impuened sufficiently when it first began; but the affections maintaining it, were fo frong, that neither Prophecie nor Miracle could make them yeeld. Jeropoum could not 1 Kin, 13.4. bemoved now by the Authority of Ahia, who from the Lord had first promised unto him the Kingdome; nor by the withering of his owne hand as hee stretched it over the Altar, which also clave asunder according to the figne, which the man of God had given him by the commandement of God, who againe recovered and cured him of Verles. that defect; vet he continued as obstinate an Idolater as before, for he held it the safest Verse 6. course in policie to proceed as he had begun. This impious invention of Feroboam, who forfooke God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a moderne Historian compared with the policies of late Ages; observing well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian borne. Sie qui hodie (faith hee) politici vocantur & propria commoda prasentesq; utilitates sibitanquamultimum finem constituunt causam quam vocant status in capite omnium ponunt:pro ipsa tuenda, promovenda, conservanda,amplianda, nibil non faciendum putant. Si injuria proximo irroganda, si justitia bonestissificates subvertenda, si religio ipsa pessundanda, si deniq comniajura divina de humana violanda, nibil intentatum, nil per fas nefafq; relinquendum cenfent; cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil ad ipsos, modoid, quod è resua esse sibi persuadent, obtineant, ac si nullus sit quitalia curet, castigareve possis Deus: Sothey who are now called Polititians, propounding to themselves, as their utmost end and scope, their owne commoditie and present profit, trement to alledge the case of state for sooth, as the principall point to beeregarded: for the good of the state, for advancing, preserving, or encreasing of the state, they thinke that they may doe any thing. If they meane to oppresse their neighbour, to overturne all lanes of justice and honestie, if Religion it selfe must goe to wracke, yea if all rights of God andman must be violated, they will try all courses, be it right, bee it wrong, they will doe any thing; let all zoe to roine, what care they, so long as they may have what they would; as who hould say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to cor-

Indeede this allegation of raggione del stato, did serve as well to uphold, as at the

first

Ant.1.8.0.3.

432 Amos 7.13.

2 King 10.16.

2 Kings 10.20.

first it had done to bring in this vile Idolatry of the ten Tribes. Upon this ground And. Zin the Priest of Bethel counselled the Prophet Amos not to prophecie at Bethel; For (faith hee) it is the Kings Court. Upon this ground even Jehu that had massacred the Priests of Baal, in zeale for the Lord, yet would not in any wife depart from that poli. tique sinne of Jeroboam the sonne of Nebat, which made Israel to sinne. It was reason of state that perswaded the last famous French King Henry the fourth to change his Religi. on, yet the Protestants whom he forsooke, obeyed him, but some of the Papists whom hee followed, murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizzor of wise proceeding delude even those that know the foule face of impietie lurking under it: and behold the wretched ends that have ever followed it; whereof Jehn and all the Kings of Ifraelhad and were themselves very great examples.

5. II.

of Rehoboam his impietie; for which he was punished by Sefac: of his end and Contemporaries.

Hile Jeroboam was occupied in ferting up his new Religion, Rehaboamon the other fide, having now little hope to recover the Provinces lost, strengthened the principall places remaining with all endeavour; for he formed and victualled fifteene Cities of Juda and Benjamin: not that he feared Jeroboam alone, it but the Egyptians, to whom Jereboam had not only fastned himselfe, but with all invited them to invade Judæa: laying perchance before them the uncountable riches of David and Salomon, which might now be easily had, seeing ten of the twelve Tribes were Rvolted, and become enemies to the Judzans. So as by those two waies (of late yearsoften trodden) to wir, change of Religion, and invitation of forraigne force, Jeroboamhoped to settle himselfe in the seate of strael, whom yet the powerfull God for his life. larry in few yeares after rooted out, with all his. Rehoboars having also, as hethough, by fortifying divers places, affured his estate, for sooke the law of the living God, and made high Places, and Images, and Groves on every high Hill, and under every geen

2 Chro.IZ.

2 Chro.12.3.

2 Chro.12. 2 King 14. Annat. in 12. Plin.lib.6.6.29. Prol. Afia tab. 3.

C4 47.0.13.

And therefore in the fifth yeare of his reigne, Sefac or Shifhac before spoken of, being now King of Egypt, and with whom, as well Adad of Idum 22, as Jerobeam, were familiar, and his instruments; entred Jugaa with twelve thousand Chariots, and threeson thousand Hotse, besides foot men, which Josephus numbers at foure hundred thousand This Armie was compounded of foure Nations: Egyptians, Lubæans, Succeans, and Cusites. The Lubæans were Lybæans, the next bordering Region to Egypt, on the wellfide. The Cufires were of Petræa, and of the defart Arabia, which afterward followed Zerah against Asa King of Juda. The Succeans according to Junion, were of Succoth, which fignifieth Tents: he doth suppose that they were the Troglodia, mentioned often in Plane, Prolomie, and other Authors. The Troglodites inhabited not fund from the bankes of the red Sea, in 22 degrees from the line Northward, about fixe hundred english miles from the best and Maritimate part of Egypt: and therefore I doeng thinke that the Succims or Succei were those Trogloditæ, but rather those Arabians which Prolomie cals Arabes Ægypiii, or Ichthyophagi, which poffesse that part of Egypt between the mountaines called Alabastrini, and the red Sea, far nearer Egypt, and realist to be levied than those removed Savages of the Trogloditæ.

With this great and powerfull Army, Sefac invaded Judæa, and (befides many other strong Cities) wan Jerusalem it selfe; of which, and of the Temple, and Kings house, he took the spoyle, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shields which men had made, in imitation of those which David recovered from Adadezer, in the Syrian war:these Rehobeam supplyed with Targets of braffe, which were fit enough to guard a King of his quality: whom Syracides calleth, The foolishnesse of the people.

From this time forward the Kings of Egypt claimed the foveraignty of Judges, and heldthe Jewes as their Tributaries: Sefac, as it seemes, rendring up to Rehoboam his plant ces on that condition. So much may be gathered out of the Word of God, where premi fing the deliverance of Juda after their humiliation, he doth not with standing leave the under the yoke of Egypt, in these words: Neveribelesse they (to wit, the Judzans) beth his servants, that is the servants of Sesac.

After this overthrow and dishonour, Rehoboam reigned twelve yeeres, and his losses received by selae , notwithstanding , he continued the watre against Jeroboam all his life time. After his death Jeroboam governed Ifrael foure yeeres.

Rehoboam lived 5 8. yeers, and reigned 17. his story was written at large by Shemeialo and Hidden the Prophets, but the same perished with that of Nathan, and the rest.

With Rehoboam, Archippus, & Tersippus, the third and fourth Archontes or Governors for lifeafter Codrus, governed in Athens. Abdastrartus, or Abstrartus, in Tvre. Doriabouthe fift of the Heraclidae in Sparta, according to Eusebius (others make him the Euseb. Chronic fix and Priminas the fourth in Corinth. Over the Latines reigned Sylvius Alba, Sylvius Ary, the fourth and fift of the Sylvii.

About the 12.0f Rehoboam, Abdastrartus King of Tyre was murthered by his Nurses forts, or foster-brethren, the elder of which usurped the Kingdome twelve yeeres. Towards his latter times Periciades, or Pyrethiades, began to govern Affyria, the 34. King thereof: and not long after Aftartus, the son of Baleastartus, recovered the King-

dome of Tyre from the Usurpers.

6. III.

of the great battaile betweene Jeroboam and Abia, with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods judgements.

Bijabthe some of Rehoboam, inherited his Fathers Kingdome, and his vices. He raifed an Armie of foure hundred thousand, with which hee invaded Jeroboam, who encountred him with a double number of eight hundred housand: Both Amies joyned neere to the Mount Ephraim, where Jeroboam was utterly overthrowne. and the strength of Israel broken: for there fell of that side five hundred thousand; the greatest overthrow that ever was given or received of those Nations. Abijah being now mafter of the field, recovered Bethel, Jeshanah, and Ephron. Soon after which discomfiure, Jeroboam died: who reigned in all 22. yeers. Abijab, the better to strengthen himfelfe, entred into league with Hefion, the third of the Adads of Syria; as may bee ga- a Chron 16.22. theredout of the 2. of Chren. he raigned but three yeeres, and then died : the particulars of his acts were written by Iddo the Prophet, as some part of his Fathers were.

Herewee fee how it pleased God to punish the sinnes of Salomon in his son Rehoboam: first, by an Idolator and Traitor: and then by the successor of that Egyptian, whose daughter Salomon had maried, therby the better to affure his estate, which while he ferved God, was by God affured against all and the greatest neighbouring Kings; and when he for fooke him, it was torne a funder by his meanest Vassals. Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the Egyptian Sefac; For the son Abijah was able to levie foure hundred thou fand men, and with the fame number he overthrew eight hundred thousand Israelites, and slew of them five hundred thousand; God giving spirit, courage, and invention, when, and where it pleafeth him. And as in those times the cases were exprest, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their People: the fame being both before, and at the instant delivered by Prophets; so the same just God, who liveth and governeth all things for ever, doth in these our times give victory, courage, and discourage, raise, and throw downe Kings, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the present: for which reason, in these and other the afflictions of Israel, alwayes the causes are set downe, that they might be as prefidents to fucceeding ages. They were punished with famine in Davids time for three yeeres, For Saul and by bloudy bouse, egc. And David 2 Sam 21, 1. towards his latter end suffered all forts of afflictions, and forrowes in effect, for uriah. Salomon had ten Tribes of twelve torne from his son for his Idolatrie. Rehoboam was spoiled of his riches and honour by sefac of Egypt, because the people of Juda mades images, high places, and groves, &c. and because they suffered Sodomites in the Land. Jeroboam was punished in himselfe and his posterity, for the golden Calves that hee erected. Joram had all his fonnes flaine by the Philiftims, and his very bowels torne out of his body by an excoriating flixe, for murthering his brethren. Ahab and Jezebel were flaine, the bloud of the one, the body of the other caten with dogges. for the false accusing and killing of Naboth. So also hath God punished the same and

the like finnes in all after-times, and in these our dayes by the same famine, plagues, warre, losse, vexation, death, sicknesse, and calamities; howsoever the wife men of the world raife these effects no higher than to second causes, and such other accidents. which, as being next their eyes and eares, feeme to them to worke every alteration than happeneth.

6. I V. of Asa and his Contemporaries.

Abijah succeeded Asa, who enjoyed peace for his first ten yeeres, in which time hee established the Church of God, breaking downe the altars dedicated to strange gods, with their images, cutting downether groves, and taking away their high places. He also spared not his owne mother, who was an Idolatres 2 Chro 15.16 but deposing her from her regency, brake her Idoll, stampt it, and burnt it. Hee also fortified many Cities, and other places, providing (as provident Kings do) for the tronbles of war in the leasure of peace. For not long after hee was invaded by Zerab, who then commanded all the Arabians bordering Judæa, and with fuch a multitude entred the territorie of Asa, as (for any thing that I have read) were never assembled of that Chron 14.9. Nation, either before or fince. For it is written, that there came against the Judains. Zerab of Æthiopia, with an hoste of ten hundred thousand, and three hundred Chart. ots, which Asa encountred with an Armie of five hundred and sourcescore thousand levied out of those two Tribes of Juda and Benjamin, which obeyed him, and with which hee overthrew this fearefull multitude, and had the spoile both of their Cities and Campes.

2 Chron. 14.

That this Zerah was not an Æthiopian, I have * proved already, and were it butthe books, 4.4. length betweene Æthiopia and Judæa, and the strong flourishing Regions of Egypt in item, 68. \$.10. terjacent (who would not fuffer a million of strangers to pass through them) it were file ficient to make it appeare how foolish the opinion is, that these invaders were Æthionans. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that Gerar was belonging to Zerah, andthe cities thereabouts were spoiled by the Judæans, in following their victory, as places be longing to Zerab, and that all men know that Gerar standeth upon the torrent of Beson which David past over when he surprized the Amalekites or Arabians; this provether ficiently, that Zerah was leader of the Arabians, & that Gerar was a frontier township ding on the uttermost South-border of all Judæa, from all parts of Æthiopia sixehundred miles. Also the spoiles which As tooke, as the cattell, camels, and sheepe, whereof he facrificed five thousand, shew them to be Arabians adjoyning, and not far off and not unknown Æthiopians. And if it bee objected that these desart countries canhardly yeeld a million of men fit for the wars, I answer, that it is as like that Arabia Petranand the Defart, which compasse two parts of the holy Land, should yeeld ten hundred thou-Sand as that two Tribes of the twelve, should arme five hundred & fourescore thousand. Besides, it answereth to the promise of Godto Abraham, that these Nations shouldesceede in number; for God spake it of Ismael, that hee would make him fruitfull, and multiply him exceedingly, that hee should beget twelve Princes, &c.

Baalha a King of Israel began to reigne in the third of Asa, and fearing the greatness of Afa after his great victory, entertained Benhadad King of Syria, of the race of Adadely, z Chro. 16. v.t. to joyne with him against Asa; and to the end to block him up, he fortified Rama, which

lieth in the way from Jerusalem towards Samaria.

This warre began according to the letter of the Scriptures in the 26. veere of Afahis reigne: but because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that Baasha died in the 26. yeeres of Afa: therefore could not Baasha begin this war in the 35 of Afa his reign, but in the 35. veer of the division of Juda & Israel; for so many yeers it was from the first of Rehibiam, who reigned 17. yeers, to the 16. of Asa. It may seeme strange, that Asa being able to bring into the field an Army of five hundred & fourescore thousand good Souldiers, did not eafily drive away Baasha, and defeat him of his purposes, the victories of Abia against Jeroboam, and of Afa himselse against Zerah, being yet freshin minde, which might well have emboldened the men of Juda, and asmuch disheartened the enemies Questionlesse there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the Text, which

caused Asa to fight at this time with money. It may be that the imployment of so many hundred thousands of hands, in the late service against Zerah, had caused many mens private businesses to lye undispatched, whereby the people being now intentive to the culoure of their lands & other trades, might be unwilling to ftir against the Israelites, choofing rather to winke at apparent inconvenience, which the building of Rama would hring upon them in after-times. Such backwardnesse of the people might have deterred Ala from adventuring himself with the least part of his forces, & committing the success into the hands of God. Howfoever it were, he took the treasures remaining in the temple, with which he waged Benhadad the Syrian against Baa/ha, whose employments Benhadad readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with Baalha. For the Israelites were hisborderers and next neighbours, whom neither himselfe (after his invasion) nor his fincessfors after him ever gave over, till they had made themselves masters of that Kingdome. So Benhadad being now entred into Nepthalim, without refistance, hee spoyled 2 Chron. 16. 47 divers principall Cities thereof, & inforced Baasha to quit Rama, & to leave the same to As with all the materials which hee had brought thither, to fortifie the same: which King 15 done, Benhadad, who loved neither party, being loden with the spoiles of Israel, and the reasures of Juda, returned to Damascus. After this, when Hanani the Prophet reprehended Afa, in that he now relyed on the strength of Syria, and did not rest himselfe on the favour and affiftance of God, he not only caused Hanani to be imprisoned, but he began toburden and oppresse his people, and was therefore strooken with the grievous paines ofthe gout in his feet, wherewith after he had been two yeeres continually tormented, 2 Chron 16, hegaveup the ghost when he had reigned 41. yeeres.

There lived with Afa, Agefilam the fixt of the Heraclida, & Bacis the fift King of the famerace in Corinth, of whom his fucceffors were afterward called Bacidæ: Aftartus, & Astarimus were Kings in Tyre. Astarimus took revenge on his brother Phelletes, for the Euges. in the case murther of Ithobalus Priest of the goodeste Astarta, whom Salomon in dotage worshipped. Mys and Capys ruled the Latines: Pirithiades & Ophrateus the Affvrians: Tersippus and Phorbas the Athenians : Chemmis reigned in Egypt; who dying in the 36. yeere of A/a, left Cheops his successour, that reigned fifty fixe yeeres, even to the 16. of

of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reigne of Afa.

TN the reigne of Asa the Kingdome of Israel felt great and violent commotions which might have reduced the ten Tribes unto their former allegeance to the house of David, if the wisedome of God had not otherwise determined. The wickednesse of Jeroboam had, in his latter dayes, the sentence of heavie vengeance laid uponit, by the mouth of Ahia, the same Prophet which had foretold the division of Ha rael, for the finne of Salomon, and his reigne over the ten Tribes. One fon Jerobo-4m hadamong others, in whom onely God found so much piety, as (though it sufficed not to with-holde his wrath from that Family) it procured unto him a peaceable ends an honourable testimony of the peoples love, by their generall mourning and lamentationathis death, and (wherein he was most happy) the favourable approbation of God himselfe.

After the losse of this good son, the ungodly father was soon taken away: a misetable creature, so conscious of his vile unthanke sulnesse to God, that he durst not sufferhis owne name to bee used in consulting with an holy Prophet, affured of the ruine hanging over him and his, yea of Gods extreme harred; yet forbearing to destroy those acturfed Idols that wrought his confusion. So loath he was to forfake his worldly wifedome, when the world was ready to forfake him, and all belonging to him, his hatefull memory excepted.

Nadab the fon of Jeroboam, reigned in the second and third yeeres of Asa, which are teckoned as two yeeres, though indeed his fathers last yeere of two and twenty did run along (how farre is uncertaine) with the second of Asa, whose third yeere was the first of Baasha, so that perhaps this Nadab enjoyed not his Kingdome one whole yeere. Hee King 15.25. ddnot alter his fathers courses, neither did God alter his sentence. It seemes that hee little feared the judgements denounced against his fathers house for as a Prince that

was secure of his owne estate, he armed all Israel against the Philistims, & besieged one was secure or mis owne citate, it arms and the people were offended with his ill of their Townes. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill or their 1 ownes. There (whether a west of the five hundred thousand under Jers. fuccesse, and recalled to mind their grievous losse of five hundred thousand under Jers. nuccene, and recance to mind the family to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, he exasperated them) saine he was by Baasha, whom the Army did willingly ancretion, ne exampliated them. Manual of the proclaimed King, than hee began to accept for King in his ftead. Baasha was no sooner proclaimed King, than hee began to accept for Aing in his fical. Design was no tooned from might molest him, putting all take order with the house of Jerobeam, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the sword. That he did this for private respects, & not in regard of Gods will to have it so, it is evident by his continuing in the same form of Ido. gard of Gods will to have it to the Sevice the fame fentence from God. Tatry which Jeroboam had begun. Wherefore he received the fame fentence from God. that had been laid upon Jeroboam; which was executed upon him also in the same son. that had been and upon Jerovani, while was diverted from thence by the Sy. He began to infest Asa, by fortifying Ramah; but wast diverted from thence by the Sy. rian Benhadad, who did wast his Countrie, destroying all the Land of Nepthalim. Four rian bennuaua, who the wait his country years hee raigned, and then dying, left the Crowne to Elahis fon who and twenty yeares hee raigned, and then dying, left the Crowne to Elahis fon who enjoyed it, as Nadab the fon of Jeroboam had done, two yeeres current, perhaps not

Ela was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous person. Heesenan one compleat. Army against Gibbethon, the same town of the Philistims, before with Nadab the son of Jerobeam perished; but he sate at home the whilest, feasting & drinking with his Mi. nions, whereby hee gave such advantage against himselfe, as was not neglected. Zimi, an ambitious man, remaining with the King at Tirza, finding his Master so dissolute, and his behaviour so contemptible, conceived hope of the like fortune as Baasha hadfound, by doing as Baasha had done. Wherefore he did set upon Ela in his drunkennesse, and flew him. Prefently upon which fact, hee stiled himselfe King of Israel: and beganing reigne with massacring all the house of Baasha; extending his cruelty not onely to his children, and kinsfolke, but unto all his friends in Tirza. These newes were quickly blowne to the Campe at Gibbethon, where they were not welcommed according Zimri his expectation. For the Souldiers in stead of proclaiming him King, proclaiming med him Traitor : and being led by Omri, whom they faluted King, they (quittingthe fiege of Gibbethon) presented themselves before Tirza; which in short space they may feeme to have forced. Zimri wanting strength to defend the City, not courage tokens himselfe from falling alive into his enemies hands, did set fire on the Palace, consuming it and himselfetogether to ashes. Seven dayes he is said to have reigned: accounting to is most likely) to the time that Omri was proclaimed in the Campe. For Zimri was allo an idolater, Walking in the way of Jeroboam; & therfore is likely to have had more ime wherein to declare himselfe, than the reigne of seven dayes, and those consumed purly in murthering the friends of Baasha, partly in seeking to have defended his ownlike 1 King. 16.19. After the death of Ela, there arose another King to oppose the faction of Omri; where by it may seeme, that Zimri had made his party strong, as being able to set upance head, who doubtleffe would never have appeared, if there had not beene ready to is hand, some strength, not unlikely to resist and vanquish the Army, which maintained Omri. How long this Tibni, the new Competitor of Omri, held out, I doe not finds onely it appeares that his fide was decayed, and so he died, leaving no other Successia than his concurrent.

5. VI.

A conjecture of the causes hindering the re-union of Israel with Juda, which might have beene effected by these troubles.

Nie manthat shall consider the state of Israel in those times, may justly words how it came to passe, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamitis A salready suffered under these unfortunate Princes, and with the present civil warres, did not returne to their ancient Kings, and re-unite themselves with the might of yeelding, or burning numeric, the other to languilla way, and so honourable. To say the recurring the had yet committed any offence, as appeares by his confictor have recourse unto a remedy, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say the recurring out of Egypt, like one that was known to have endpred wrong, having to offered any.

the cause of all things) unlesse it could be proved, that he had forbidden Asa to deale in that businesse, as he forbad Rehoboam to force the rebellious people to obedience. That the restraint laid by God upon Rehoboam, did only binde his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appeares by the Warre continued betweene Ifrael and Juda, so many years following: wherein Abia so farre prevailed, that he wan agreat bataile, and recovered fome Townes belonging to the other Tribes, which hee annexed to his own Dominion. Wherefore we may boldly look into the fecond causes. moving the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing under new upflants, rather than to cast their eyes upon that Royall house of David, from which the fuccession of five Kings in lineal defeent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly have beene laid upon the meane beginnings thereof. To thinke that omre had prevented his Competitors in making peace with Ash, were a conjecture more bold than probable. For omri was not onely an Idolater, but did worfe than all that were be- 1. King, 16.25; forehim; which as it might ferve alone to prove, that Afa, being a godly King, would not adhere to him, so the course which he prosessed to take at the very first, of revenging the massacre committed upon the family and friends of Bassha, (Afa his mortall enemy) gives manifest reason, why Zimri, who had wrought that great execution, should more juffly than he have expected the friendship of Juda in that quarrel. Wherfore, in fearching out the reason of this backwardnes in the ten Tribes (which was such that they may feemeto have never thought upon the matter) to fubmit themselves to their true Princes; it were not amiss to examine the causes, moving the people to revenge the death of Ela anidle drunkard, rather than of Nadab the for of Jeroboam, who followed the wars in person, as a man of spirit & courage. Surely it is apparent, that the very first defection of the ren Tribes, was (if we look upon humane reason) occasioned by desire of breaking that heavie yoke of bondage where with Salomon had galled their neckes. Their defire wasto have a King that should not oppresse them; not to have no King at all. And therforewhen the arrogant follie of Reheboam had caused them to renounce him, they did immediatlychoofe Jeroboam in his fread, as a man likely to afford that liberty unto thems for which he had contended in their behalfe. Neither were they (as it feemes) herein altogether deceived. For his affectation of popularity appears in his building of decayed Towers, and in the institution of his new devised idolatry; where he told the people, that it was too much for them, to travaile fo far as to Jerusalem. But whether it were so that his moderation, being voluntary, began to cease, towards the latter end of his reign, and in the reigne of his fon, when long time of possession had confirmed his title, which at the first was onely good by courtesse of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in fuch cases) were more offended by some prerogatives of a King, that hee still realned in his owne hands, than pleased with his remission of other burdens: it is cleerly apparent, that the whole army of all Ifrael joyned with Baasha, taking in good part the death of Nadab, and eradication of Jeroboams house.

Now the reign of Baaha himfelf, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) every way unfortunate; his labour and cost at Rama was cast away; the other side of his Kingdom harried by the Syrians; neither did he win that one town of Gibbethon from the Philistims, but left that businesse to his son, who likewise appeares an unprofitable luggard. Wherefore it must needs bee, that the favour of the people toward the house of Baasha grew from his good forme of Civill government, which happely he reduced Damore temperate method than Jeroboam ever meant to doe. And furely he that shalf ake pains to look into those examples, which are extant of the different courses, held by he Kings of Ifrael and Juda, in administration of justice, will finde it most probable, that ponthis ground it was that the ten Tribes continued to averfe from the line of David; stothinke all adversity more tolerable, than the weighty Scepter of that house. For hedeath of Josb and Shimes was indeede by them deferved; yet in that they suffered it thour forme of judgement, they fuffered like unto men innocent. The death of A-

2 King. 6.31.

on his brethren, & upon fundry of his greatest men; as also Joash did so put to death Za. 2 Chron, 24.21, chariah the fon of Jehojada, who had made him King, even in the court of the house of the Lord: and Manasses did shed innocent blond exceeding much, till hee replenished ferufalem from corner to corner : and this was imputed to him as another fault; befides his 2 King-21. 16.

sinne, wherewith he made Juda to sinne. Contrariwise, among the Kingsof Israel we finde no monument of fuch arbitrary proceeding, unlesse perhaps the words of Jehoram the Tonne of Abab (which were but words) may be taken for an instance, when he said, God doe so mee, and more also, if the head of Elisha the sonne of Shaphat shall stand on him this day: whereby it is not plaine whether hee meant to kill him without more adoe, orto have him condemned as a false Prophet, that had made them hold out against the Aramites, till they were faine to eate their owne children; which he thought a fufficientar. gument to prove, that it was not Gods purpose to deliver them. The death of Nabuh Theweth rather the liberty which the Ifrael ites enjoyed, than any peremptory execution of the Kings will. For Naboth did not feare to frand upon his owne right, though 1. hab were even ficke for anger; neither was hee for that cause put to death, as uponcommandement, but made away by conspiracie, the matter being handled after a judiciall forme, which might give fatisfaction to the people, ignorant of the device, though to

The second Booke of the first part

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law, Jehoram did up-

God it could not.

The murther of the Prophet is continually ascribed to Jezabel, an impudent woman, 10 and not unto the King her husband. Neither is it certaine, that there was no Law made whereby their lives were taken from them; but certaine it is, that the people being idolaters, were both pleased with their death, & laboured in the execution. So that thedoings of the Kings of Juda (fuch as are registred) prove them to use a more absolute maner of command, than the Kings of the ten Tribes. Neither doe their sufferings witnessethe contrary. For of those which reigned over Juda, from the division of the Kingdome, to the captivity of the ten Tribes, three were flaine by the people, and two weredenieds buriall amongst their ancestors. Yea, the death of Ahazia and his brethren, slaineby it bu, with the destruction of all that Royall seed of Athalia, did not (for ought that we can 3 read) stirre up in the people any such thirst of revenge, as might by the suddennesseand uniformity testifiethe affection to bee generall, and proceeding from a loving remembrance of their Princes: unlesse we should thinke that the death of Athalia, after seven yeeres reigne, were occasioned rather by the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the present sense of her tyrannical abusing the government, whereon she had seised, Onthe other fide, fuch of the Kings of Ifrael as perished by treason (which were seven of the twenty) were all flaine by conspiracie of the great men, who aspired by treason whe Crowne: the people being so far from embruing their hands in the bloud of their Soveraignes, that (after Nadab) they did never forbeare to revenge the death of their Kings, when it lay in their power; nor approve the good successe of treason, unless feare compelled them. So that the death of two Kings, being throughly revenged upon the other two, namely the death of Ela and Zacharia, upon Zimri and Shallum, who traite roully got and uturped, for a little while, their places; onely three of the seven remaine, whose ends how the people tooke, it may be doubtfull. Though indeede it is precisely faid of the flaughter, committed on Ababs children by Jehu, that the people durftnot 2 King .10.4. fight with him that did it , because they were exceedingly affraid: and the same scare might be in them at the death of Peka, whose history (as others of that time) is cursorily passed over. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the Kings of Eng. land, that never any of them perished by fury of the people, but by treason of such as did

fucceed them; neither was there any motive urging fo forcibly the death of King Edward and King Richard when they were in prison, as feare lest the people should stime

in their quarrell. And certainly (howfoever all that the Law cals treason, bee inter-

preted, as tending finally to the Kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections

of the yulgar, which have here most prevailed, the fury of the multitude hath quench

ed it selfe with the bloud of some great Officers; no such rebellions; howsoe

ver wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruine of their natural So

veraigne, but rather forbearing the advantages gotten upon his Royall perfon which

if any man impute unto groffe ignorance, another may more charitably, and

thinke, more truely, ascribe to a reverent affection. Wherefore that fable of Briares,

who, being loofened by Pallas, did with his 100. hands give affiftance to Jupiter, when all the rest of the gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir Francis Racon, as fignifying that Monarches need not to feare any curbing of their abfolutenes by mighty subjects, as long as by wisedome they keep the hearts of the people, who will bee fure to come in on their fide. Though indeed the Storie might very well have home the fame interpretation, as it is rehearfed by Homer, who tells us that Pallus was one of the conspiracie, and that Thetis alone did marre all their practice, by loosening Briareus. For a good forme of government sufficeth by it selfe to retaine the people, not onely without affiftance of a laborious Wit, but even against all devices of the greatest and threwdest Politicians: every Sheriffe and Constable, being sooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalfe, than any over-weening Rebell, how mighty foever, can against him.

This declaration of the peoples love, being seldome found in Juda, makes it very likely, that the rule it selfe of government there was such, as neither gave occasion of contentment unto the subjects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the Kings. Upon which reasons it may feem that the multitude was kept usually disarmed. For otherwife it would have been ealmost impossible, that Athalia the sister of Ahab, a stranger to the Royall bloud of Juda, should by the onely authority of a Queene-mother have de-Aroyed all the feed of David, and usurped the Kingdome very neere 7. veeres, without finding any resistance. Yea when Jehojada the high Priest had agreed with the Captains and principall men of the Land to fet up Joash their lawfull King, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected; hee was faine to give to these Captaines and their men, the speares and the shields that were King Davids, & were in the house of the Lord. But we need not enter into fuch particulars. Questionlesse, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their duty toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their owne choice or admission, holding the Crowne by a more uncertaine tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the ten Tribes did never seeke to returne totheir ancient Lords: but after the destruction of their fixe first Kings, which died in the reigne of Afa, admitted a seventh of a new family, rather than they would consubect themselves with those of Juda and Benjamin, under a more honourable, but more

heavie yoke.

So Asa having seen the death of 7. Kings of Israel, died himselfe after one and fortie yeeres reigne, leaving Jehosaphat his sonne to deale with Ahab the sonne of omri, who was the eighth King over the ten Tribes.

§. VII. of Jehosaphat and his contemporaries.

to Teholaphat, who succeeded Asa, was a Prince religious and happy; hee destroyed all the Groves, Altars, and high places dedicated to idolatry, and fent teachers to all places and people wanting instruction; he recovered the tribute due unto him by the Arabians and Philittims: from the one he had filver, from the other sheepe & goates to the number of fifteene thousand & foure hundred. The numbers of men of war were more than admirable; for it is written that Adnah had the command of three hundred thousand, Jehohanam of two hundred and fourescore thousand, and Amasia of two hun- 2 Chron- 17. dred thousand; also that he had, besides these in Benjamin, of those that bare shields, which we call Targetiers, and of Archers under Eliada, two hundred thousand, & under the commandement of Jehozabad a hundred and fourescore thousand: which numbred together make eleven hundred and fixty thousand, all which are faid to have waited upon the King befides his garrifons.

That Juda & Benjamin, a territory not much exceeding the Countie of Kent, should multer eleven hundred and fixtie thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number farre greater than it was found upon any other view. Joab in Davids time found five hundred thousand: Rehoboam found but an hundred and fourescore thousand: Abia 2 Sam 14. toure hundred and eight thousand: As five hundred and fourescore thousand: Amazia inrolled all that could beare armes, & they amounted to three hundred thousand. Surely,

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CHAP.19.5.7 CHAP.20.5.1.

whereas it is written that when news was brought to Jehofaphae that Moab & Ammon were entred his territory to the West of Jordan, and that their numbers were many, he feared (to wit) the multitude; it is not likely that he would have feared even the army of Xerxes, if he could have brought into the field 11. hundred and 60. thousand fighting men, leaving all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my selfe to better judgement) that these numbers specified in the second of Chronicles the 17-distributed to severall Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the 300-thousand under Adnab, and the 200 and fourescore thousand under Jehohanam, were afterward commanded and mustered by Amasiah, Eliada, and Jehosabad: for the grosse and totallismon in that place fet downe, as it was under the other Kings formerly named. Againe, as the aides which Jeholaphat brought to Ahab did not shew that he was a Prince of extraordi nary power, so the Moabites & Ammonites which he feared, could never make the one halfe of those numbers, which he that commanded least among Jehosaphats Leaders had

This mighty Prince, notwithstanding his greatnesse, yet he joyned in friendship with Abab King of Ifrael, who had married that wicked woman Jezabel. Him Jehofaphas vifi. ted at Samaria, and caused his son Joran to marry Athalia, this Achabs daughter.

Ahab perswaded Jehosaphas to affist him in the Warre against the Syrians, who held the City of Ramoth Gilead from him, & called together foure hundred of his Prophers or Baalites, to foretell the fuccesse : who promised him victory. But Jehosaphas beleeved # nothing at all in those diviners, but resolved first of all to conferre with some one Prophet of the Lord God of Israel. Hereupon Ached made answer that he had one called Michaiah, but he hated that Prophet, because he alwayes foretold of evill, and never of any good towards him. Yet Michaiah was fent for to the King; but by the way the melfenger prayed him to consent with the rest of the Prophets, and to promise victory unto them as they did. But Michaiab spake the truth, and repeated his vision to both the Kings, which was, that God asked who shall perswade Ahab, that hee may goe up and falls Ramoth Gilead? to whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that hee would enter into his Prophets, & be in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ. Non enim vos est is qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestre loquitur in vobis : It is not you that speake, but the Spirit of your Father speakes in you: so in a contrary kinde did the devillinthe Prophets of Baal, or Satan, incourage Achab to his destruction. Andas. Martyr upon this place well observeth, these evill spirits are ministers of Gods vengeance, & are used as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes sometime imploy. For as it pleaseth God by his good Angels, to save & deliver from destruction, of which the Scriptures have many examples: so on the contrary, it is by the evill that hee punisheth and destroyeth; both which are said to performe the will of their Creator, licet noncedem animo. Ecclesiasticus remembreth a second fort of malignant natures, but they are every-where visible. There are spirits, faith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on fure itroakes. In the time of destruction they shew forth their power, and po accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now Michaias having by this his revelation greatly displeased the King, & the Prophets, whose spirit he discovered, was stroken by Zidkiah one of Baals Prophets, and by Achab himselfe committed to prilon: where hee appointed him to bee referved and fid with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But Michaiah, not fearing to reply, and fwered, If thou returne in peace, the Lord hath not spoken by mee. Nevertheleffe Achib went on in that warre, and was wounded to death. Jehosaphat returned to Jerusalem, where he was reprehended by Jehn the Prophet for affifting an idolatrous Prince, and

2 Chron'18. one that hated God.

After this the Aramites or Damascens, joyned with the Moabites, Ammonites & Idar mæans to invade Judæa: who passe Jordan & encamp at Engaddis& when Jehosaphat gathered his army, the prophet Jaha Ziel foretold him of the victory, which should be obtain ned without any bloud-fried of his part: & fo when Jehosaphat approached, this affembly of Nations, the Ammonites & Moabites, disagreeing with the Idum wans, & quarrelling for fome causes among themselves, those of Ammon & Moab set upon the Idum zars, & brake them utterly: which done, they also invaded each other; in which broile Jehoseph arriving, took the spoile of them all without any loss of his part, as it was foretolde pro-

mifed by God. Notwithstanding this victory, Jehosaphat, forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for affifting an Idolatrous King, did notwithstanding joyin with Ochazithe fon of Achab, in preparing a Fleet to fend to Ophir, hoping of the like returne which Salomon had: but as Eleizer the Propher foretold him, his ships perished, & were broken in the port of Ezion Gaber, and so that enterprize was overthrowne. Vet he taketh part with Jehoram the brother of OchoZiao, against the Moabites, with

2 Chron. 20

which Kings of Juda & Ifrael the Edomites joyne their forces, not forgetting it feemes. that the Moabites, affifted by the Ammonites, had not long before destroyed their army. The Moabites, Subjects to David & Salomon, for faking the Kings of Juda, gave themfelves for vasfals to Jeroboam, & so they continued to his successors till the death of Achab: but Jehosaphat, notwithstanding the Idolatry of his Colleague, yet as it seemeth he was drawne into this war, both to bee avenged of the Moabites for their defection from Inda to Ifrael, as also because they had lately joined themselves with the Syrians against Josephat, & thirdly, to punish their double rebellion who first for fook Juda, & now Israel Both Kings resolved to passe by the way of Idumæa, thereby the better to assure that Nation; for we find that both Moab, Ammon & Edom were all in the field together at Enoaddi against Jehosaphat. But whether they had then declared themselves against Jeholaphat, it is not certaine; for in the 2. of Chron. 11. verf. 8. it is written, that in the time of Jehoram the fon of Jehosaphat, Edom rebelled: and therefore it seemeth to mee that the Edomites, when they were flain by Moab & Ammon, not finding themselves satisfaction fiedin fuch conditions as they required, offered to turne from them, & to joyne themfelves with the army of Juda. For, that they were numbred among the enemies of Jeho-Caphat, it is plaine in the 2. of Chron. the 20. and as plain c. 21. v. 8. that they were not declared, nor had made them a King, till Jehofaphats death. Now in the passage of these Kinestowards Moab, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the yeer, or whether the ldum wans having a purpose to rebell, missed the army of Juda & Israel, with intenc to infeeble them for want of water; true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirl than the armies of Crassus & M. Antonius did in their Parthian expeditions; and hadinall likelihood utterly perished, had not Elisha taught them to cut trenches wherinto the water fprang, by which not onely Jehofaphat and his army, but Jehoram King of Israel an Idolater was relieved: the great mercy & godnes of God having ever been prone to fave the evill for the good, whereas he never destroyed the good for the evill.

The miserable iffue of this warre, and how Moab burnt his son, or the son of the King z king 3 of Edom, for facrifice, on the rampire of his owne City, I have already written in the life of Feberam among the Kings of Ifrael. Jehofaphat reigned 25. yeers and died; he was 2 Chron. 201 butted in the valley of Jehosaphat, and a part of the Pyramis set over his grave is yet to be seen , saith Brochard. His acts are written at large by Jehu the son of Hanani.

There lived with Jehosaphat, Ophratenes in Astyria, Capetus & Tiberinus Kings of the Albans in Italy; of the latter the river Tiber (formerly Albula) tooke name.

In Jehosaphats time also ruled Mecades or Mexades in Athens: Agelas or Agesilaus in Counth; and Archilaus of the same race, of the Heraclidæ the seventh in Lacedæmon. Badeforus ruled the Tyrians; Achab, Ochazias and Jehoram the Ifraelites.

CHAP. XX.

Of Jehoram the sonne of Jehosaphat, and Ahazia.

\$. I. That Jehoram was made King sundry times.

EHORAM the fon of Jehosaphat King of Juda began to reigne at thirty two yeers of age, & lived untill he was forty yeers old, being eight yeers a King: but of these eight yeers, which Jehoram is said to have reigned, foure are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the Syrian warre with Ahab, left this Jehoram King in his stead, as Ahab did his son Ahazia. This appeares by the feverall beginnings, which are given in Scripture to the two Jeho- King 21.751

time Kings of Israel and Juda, and to Ahazia the eldest for of Ahab: For Ahazia is

i Chron. 10.

faid to have begun his reigne, in the seventeenth yeer of Jehosaphat. Jehoram the brother

2 King. 1. 17.

and 3.

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of Abazia succeeded him in the 2. yeer of Jeboram the sonne of Jehosaphat King of Juda. that is, in the next yeere after that Jehoram of Juda was deligned King by his father in 2 King. 3. V. I.

being (as we finde elsewhere) the eighteenth yeer of Jehosaphat himselfe, who went with the Israelites against Moab. Hereby it appeares that the full power and execution of the royall office was retained still by Jehosaphat, who governed absolutely by himselfe, not z King. 8.16.

communicating the rule with his fon. But in the fifth yeare of Jehoram King of Ifrael. which was the two and twentieth of Jehofaphat, the old King tooke unto him, as partner in the Government, this his eldest son, who was at that time 32. yeeres old, his Father being 57. Now for a finuch as Jeholaphat reigned 25. yeeres, it is evident that his fonne 2 King, 22.42. did not reigne alone till the eighth of Joram King of Ifrael. The like regard is to behad.

in accounting the times of other Kings of Juda & Ifrael, who did not alwayes reign pre. cifely folong as the bare letter of the text may feem at first to affirme : but their yeeres were fometimes compleat, fometimes onely current, fometimes confounded with the veeres of their fuccessors or foregoers, & must therefore be found by comparing their times with the yeeres of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing leffe needfull than curious, to enquire into the reasons movine Jehosaphas either to assume unto him his son as partner in the Kingdome, whilest hee was able himselfe to command both in peace and in warre, the like having neverbeene done by any of his progenitors, or having once (in the 17.0f his reign) vouchfafed unto him that honour, to refume it unto himselfe, or at least wise to deferre the confirmation of it, untill foure or five yeers were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may be a meane to find some light, whereby we may more clarly discover the causes of much extraordinary businesse ensuing, I hold it not amisle to make fuch conjecture, as the circumftances of the Story briefly handled in the Scriptures may feeme to approve.

We are therefore to confider, that this King Jehofaphat was the first of Rehoboams illu that ever entred into any streight league with the Kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in Juda before him, had with much labour and long war, tired themselves in vain, making finall profit of the greatest advantages that could be wished. Wherefore 3th state of the greatest advantages that could be wished. phat thought it the wifest way, to make a league offensive and defensive between lind

and Juda, whereby each might enjoy their owne in quiet.

This confederacy made by a religious King, with one that did hatethe Lord, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true root and fount aine of all wisedome: yet as a piece of found policy, doubtleffe it wanted not faire pretences of much common good that by likely to arise, with mutuall fortification of both those Kingdoms, against the uncucumcifed nations their ancient enemies. This apparent benefit, being so inestimable jewell, that it might not easily be lost, but continue as hereditary from father to son, it was thought a very good course to have it confirmed by some sure bond of affinity, and thereupon was Athalia the daughter of Omri, & fifter of Ahab King of Ifrael, givening marriage to Jeberam, who was fon and heire apparent to the King of Juda. This Lady was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so much of Queen Jezabel her brothers wife, that she durst undertake, & could throughly performe a great deale more in Jerusalem, than the other knew how to compasse in Samaria. Shee was indeed a fire-brand ordained by God to confume a great part of the noblest houses in Juda, and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisedome, regardlesse of Gods pleasure, had

The first fruits of this great league, was the Syrian war at Ramoth Gilead, wherein Juda & Israel did adventure equally, but the profit of the victory should have redounded wholly to Ahab: as godly Princes very feldome thrive by matching with Idolaters, but s rather serve the turnes of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himselfe, cannot be well affected to his servants. Before their setting forth, Abab designed, as King his fon AbaZiah; not fo much perhaps in regard of the uncertaine events of war (for none of his predecessors had ever done the like upon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet Michaia (for he despised them) as inviting Jehosaph

by his owne example, to take the fame course, wherein he prevailed.

probable conjectures of the motives inducing the old King Jehosophat to change his purpose often, in making his sonne Jehoram King.

Any arguments do very strongly prove Jehoram to have been wholly over-ru-Many arguments of the specially for his forfaking the religion of his godly led by his wife; especially for his forfaking the religion of his godly and following the abominable superstitions of the house of Achab. led by his wife; especially for his forfaking the religion of his godly Ancestors.

That she was a woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring to live a private life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vaine matter she was able to produce, whereby to make her husband thinke that his brethren and kindred were but meane and unworthy persons in comparison of him, and of his children, which were begotten upon the daughter and fifter of two great Kings, not upon base women & meere fubjects. The Court of Abab, and his famous victories obtained against the Syrian Benhadad, were matter fusficient to make an insolent man think highly of himselfe, as being allied so honourably; who could otherwise have found in his heart well enough, to defoiseall his brethren, as being the eldest, and heire apparent to the Crown, whereof al-

ready he had, in a manner, the possession.

How foone his vices brake out, or how long hee diffembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be knowne. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the hidden fire, did very foone make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon caused the young man to know himselfe better, by making him fall backe into ranke among his vounger brethren. And furely the doings of Jehofaphat about the fame time, arene no small distemper of the whole country, through the misgovernment of his ungodly fon-For the good King was fain to make his progresse round about the Land; reclaiming the people unto the fervice of God, and appointing Judges throughout all the strong Cittes of a Chro. to wife Judacitie by Citie. This had beene a needleffe labour, if the religion taught and from ly 5.800 maintained by Asa, and by himselfe, had not suffered alteration, & the course of Justice bemperverted, by the power of fuch as had borne authority. But the necessitie that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did give to the Judges andby his commission given to one of the Priests in spiritual causes, & to the Steward

of his house in temporall matters, to be generall over-seers.

This was not till after the death of Ahazia the fon of Ahab; but how long after it is uncertain. For Jehoram the brother of AhaZia began his raigne(as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of Jehosaphat, which was then accounted the second of Jehoram. Jehosaphus sonne, though afterward this Jehoram of Juda had another first and second yeere, even in his fathers time, before he raigned alone, as the best Chronologers and Expositors of the holy Text agree. So he continued in private estate, untill the two and twentieth of his fathers reigne, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignity are not set downe, yet we may not thinke, that motives thereto, appearing substantiall, were wanting. Jehoram of Israel held the same correspondency with Jehosaphat that his father had done; & made use of it. He drew the Judaan into the war of Moab, at which time it might well bees that the young Prince of Juda was again ordained King by his father, as in the Syrian expedition he had beene. Or if wee ought tather to think, that the preparations for the enterprize against Moab did not occupy so much time, as from the eighteenth of Jehosaphat, in which yeere that Nation rebelled against Israel, unto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations betweene the two Angs of Juda and Ifrael, and the affinity betweene them contracted in the person of Jehoram, might offer some good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certain how the behaviour of the younger fons, in their elder brothers difgrace, might cause their Father to Pur him in possession for scare of tumult after his death; or the deep dissimulation of Jehoram himselfe might win the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being athing usuall in mischievous fell natures, to be as abject & servile in time of adversity, as infolent and bloudy upon advantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his formerestate, he demeaned himselse in such wise toward his brethren, as caused their father. to enable them, not onely with store of filver and gold, and of precious things, (which kind 1 Chron. 21.3). of liberality other Kings doubtlesse had used unto their younger sons) but with the culody of firong Cities in Juda, to affure them, if it might have been, by unwonted means, gainst unwonted perils.

The doings of Jehoram when he raigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.

Ut all this providence availed nothing; for an higher providence had otherwife determined of the sequell. When once the good old man, their Father, was Dead, the yonger sonnes of Jehosaphat found strong Cities, a weake defence, a gainst the power of him unto whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in upon the fummons of a King their brother, then had he them without any more adoo; if they Rood upon their guard, then were they Traitors, and fo unable to hold out against him. who besides his owne power, was able to bring the forces of the Israeliush Kingdome against them; so that the apparent likelihood of their finall overthrow, sufficed to make all forfake them in the very beginning. Howfoever it was, they were all taken & flaine and with them for company many great men of the Land, fuch belike, as either had taken their part, when the Tyrant fought their lives, or had been appointed Rulers of the Country, when Jeheram was deposed from his Government; in which Office they. without forbearing to doe justice, could hardly avoide the doing of many things demgatory to their yong Master; which if hee would now call treason, faying that heewas then King, who durft fay the contrary

After this Jehoram took upon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innovations in Religion, wherein hee was not contented, as other Idolatrous Princes, to give way and fafe conduct unto Superfition and Idolatry, nor to provoke and encourage the people to that finne, whereto it is wonderfull that they were fo much addicted, having fuch knowledge of God, and of his detesting that above all other sinnes; but heusedcompulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registred, to have set up Inclusion,

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Whilest he was thus bussed at home in doing what he listed the Edomiteshis Tribus taries rebelled against him abroad; & having hitherto, fince Davids time, beene governed by a Vice-Roy, did now make unto themselves a King. Against these Jeboram in perfon made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariors; with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the rebels to flie into their places of advantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing some of those whom he should have subdued, and kept his servants. Now began the prophecy of Ifaac to take effect, wherein heforetold, that Efau in processe of time should breake the yoke of Jacob. For after this the Edomites could never bee reclaimed by any of the Kings of Juda, but held their owne fo well, that when, after many civill and for raine wars, the Jewes by fundry Nationshad beene brought low; Antipater the Edomite, with Herod his fon, and others of that race following them, became Lords of the Jewes, in the decrepit age of Israel, and reigned is Kings, even in Jerusalem it selfe.

The freedome of the Edomites, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged Libna, a great city within Juda, which in the time of Josua had a peculiar King, to rebell against Jehoram, and set it selfe at liberty. Libna stood in the confines of Benjamin &of Dan, farre from the affiftance of any bordering enemies to Juda, and therefore so unlike ly it was to have maintained it selfe in liberty, that it may seem strange how it coulds. scape from utter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to have beene taken, by their powerfull, cruell, and throughly incenfed Lord. The Israelite held fuch good intelligence at that time with Juda, that he would not have accepted the Towne, had it offered it felfe unto him: neither doe we reade that it fought how to cast it selfe into a new subjection, but continued a free estate. The rebellion of it against * Chron.23.10. Jehoram , Was, Because he had for saken the Lord 3od of his Fathers; which I take to have not only been the first & remote cause, but even the next and immediate reason, moving the inhabitants to doe as they did: for it was a Town of the Levites; who must needsbe driven into great extremities, when a religion, contrary to Gods Law, had not only fome allowance to countenance it by the King, but compulfive authority to force unto it all that were unwilling. As for the use of the Temple at Jerusalem (which, being devoutmen, they might feare to lose by this rebellion) it was never denied to those of the

renrevolted Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather invited the Ifraelites this ther, and gave them kinde entertainement : under Idolaters they must have bin without ir whether they lived free or in subjection. Yet it seemes that private reasons were not wanting, which might move them rather to doe than fuffer that which was unwarrantable. For in the generall visitation before remembred, wherein Jehosaphat reformed his kingdome, the good old King appointing new Governours, and giving them especiall charge to doe justice without respect of persons, used these words; The Levites shalbe officers before you; Be of good courage, and doest, and the Lord shall be with the good. By these phrases, it seemes, than he encouraged them against the more powerfull, than just proceedings of his fon; whom if the Levites did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglectin discharging their duties, likely it is that he meant to be even with them, and make them now to feele, as many Princes of the land had done, his heavie indignation. How it happened that Libra was not hereupon destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) fo much as befreged or molested, may justly seeme very strange. And themore strange it is in regard of the mightie Armies which Jehosaphat was able to raise. heing sufficient to have over-whelmed any one Towne, and buried it under the earth, which they might well in one moneth have cast into it with shovels, by ordinarie approaches.

But it feemes that of those great numbers which his Father could have levied, there werenot many whom Jeroboam could well trust; and therefore perhaps he thought it an essier losse, to let one Town goe, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of Libna, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happinesse to be feared, than to be loved are fainthemselves to stand in seare of those, by whom they might have bin dreadfull unto

others.

6. I V.

of the miseries falling upon Jehoram, and of his death.

Hele afflictions not fufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the mind of the wicked Prince; a Prophecie in writing was delivered to him, which threatned both his people, his children, his wives, & his own bodie. Hereby likewife it appears that he was a cruell perfecutor of Gods fervants; in as much as the Prophersdurft not reprove him to his face, as they had done many of his predeceffors, both good and evill kings; but were fain to denounce Gods Judgments against him by letters. keeping themselves close and far from him. This Epistle is faid to have bin sent unto him from Elias the Prophet. But Elias was translated, and EliZeus prophecied in his stead be- 2 Chro. 27. 12. forethistime, even in the dayes of Jehofaphat. Wherefore it may be that Elias left this 2Kin. 1. & 3011. prophecie in writing behind him or that (as some conjecture) the errour of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we reade Elias for Elizeus. Indeed any thing may rather bebeleeved than the Tradition held by some of the Jewish Rabbins, that Elico from heavendid fend this Epiftle; a tale formewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, devised by Erasmus, or of the Verse that was sent from heaven to S. Giles.

But who foever was the Author of this threatning Epistle, the accomplishment of the Prophecie was as terrible as the fentence. For the Philitims and Arabians brake into Tudes, and tooke the Kings house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wives, all which they flew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These Philifins had not prefumed fince the time of David, to make any offensive warre till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their Townes, mainraiangthemselves in the rest of their small Territories, by defensive armes, to which they were constrained at Gibberhon by the Israelites. The Arabians were likely to have bin then, as they are now, anaked people, all horsemen, and ill appointed; their Countrie afording no other furniture, than fuch as might make them fitter to rob and spoyle inthe open fields, than to offend strong Cities, such as were thicke set in Juda. True it is that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then knowne, in avery thort space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately Cities. But it must be considered, that this was when they had learned of the Romanes.

446 Remanes the Art of Warre; and that the provisions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one subdued Province, did make them able and skilful in pursuing their conquest, and going on into Regions far removed from them. At the day having lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as live in Arabia it selfe are good horsemen, but ill appointed; very dangerous passengers, but unable to deale with good Souldiers, as riding starke naked, and rather trusting in the swiftnesse of their horses, than in any other means of resistance, where they are well opposed. And such or little better, may they seeme to have bin, that spoyled Judea in the time of Jehoram, For their Countrie was alwaies barren and defart, wanting manual Arts whereby to supply the naturals with furniture: neither are these bands named as chiefe in that action, but in ratheradherents of the Philifims. Out of this we may infer, that one halfe, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of Juda and Benjamin under Jehosahat (wherin were involled three hundred and eightie thousand fighting men) had bin enough to have driven away far greater forces than these enemies are likely to have brought into the field, had not the people bin unable to deal with them, for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes jealousie, as in Sauls time by the policieof

the Philiftims. It may feeme that the house of the King which these invaders tooke, was not his P. lace in Terusalem, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Countrie, where his wives and children at that time lay for their recreation: because we readenot that they to did sacke the Citie, or spoyle the Temple, which would have invited them as a more commodious bootie, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they took Jerusalim it felfe by furprize, the people being difarmed, and the Kings guard too weake to kene them out; yer had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous: and therefore having done what spoyle they could, with-drew themselves with such pur-

chase as they were able safely to conveigh away. The flaughter committed by Jehn on the two and fortie brethren of AhaZia, or (as

they are called elsewhere) so many of his brothers sons, and the cruell massacre wherein all the Royall feed perished (only Joss excepted) under the tyrannie of Athalia, following within two yeares after this invasion of the Philistims and Arabians, make it seeme to probable, that the sonnes of Jehoram were not all slaine at once, but that rather the fifth murther beganne in his owne time, and was feconded by many other heavie blows,

wherewith his house was inceffantly striken, untillit was in a manner quite hewed downe.

After the secal amities, the hand of God was extended against the bodie of this wicked King, fmiring him with a grievous disease in his bowels, which left him not will his guts fell out, and his wretched foule departed from his miserable carkasse. The people of the Land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they northe good manners to pretend forrow for his death; wherefore hee was denied a place of buriall among his Ancestors the Kings of Juda, though his owne some succeeded him to in the Kingdome, who was guided by the same spirits that had beene his Fathers evil Angels. Athalia had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous enterring of a dead husband. She was thinking how to provide for the future, to maintaine her ownegreameste, to retaine her favourites in their authoritie, and to place about her Sonne fuch Counsellors of the house of Ahab, as were fittest for her turne. Wherefore the thought it unfeafonable to make much a-doe about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, with a stately funerall of a man by them detested: but rather chose to let the blame of things passed be layd upon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her selfe and hers, which it now did concerne her to avoyd. Such is the qualitie of wicked Instigators, having made greedie use of bad imployments, to charge, not only s with his own vices, but with their faults also, the man whose evill inclinations their sinster counsells have made worse, when once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of Jehoram fell out indeed in a busic time; when his friend and cousin the Ifrat; lite, who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult warre against the Aramite; and therefore could have had no better leafure to help Athalia, in fetting of things according to her owne minde, than he had (perhaps through the same hinderance) to helpe her husband, when he was diffressed by the Philistims. Yea rather he needed and craved the affiftance of the men of Juda, for the taking in of Ramoth Gilead, where they had

not feed fo well the last time, that they should willingly run thit her againe, unlesse they were very fairely intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I have thought good to handle the more particularly (nurfuing the examination of all occurrences, as farre as the circumstances remembred in holy Scripture would guide me by their directions) to the end that it might more plainly appear, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the revealed will of God. ac. complify nevertheleffe his hidden purpose, and without miraculous meanes, confound themselves in the seeming-wise devices of their owne folly; as likewise to the end that all men might learne to fubmit their judgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to think that they may fafely dispense with his commandements, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisdome dictateth unto them. For in fuch kind of unhappie subrilies, it is manifest that Athalia was able to furnish both her Husband and her Son; but theiffue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear, in that which immediately followeth.

6. V.

Of the raigne of Ahazia, and his bufineffe with the King of Ifrael.

chazias, or Ahazia, the fonne of Jehoram and Athalia, began his raign over Juda in the twelfth yeare of Jehoram the son of Ahab King of I frael, and raigned but one year. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficultie than importrance to know it: yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclusion than that of Torniellus, alledging the Edition of the Septuagint at Rome, Anno Domini 1588, which faith that he was twenty years old in the beginning of his kingdom; and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that doe give him two yeares more. Like enough he is to have been young: for he was governed by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gave him counsell, by which he perished. In matter of Religion hee altered none of his fathers courses. In matter of State he likewise upheld the league made with the house of Abab. He was much busied in doing little, and that with ill successe. Heaccompanied his Coufin the Ifraelite against Ramoth Gilead, which they wan but not without blowes: for the Aramites fought fo well, that the King of Ifrael was fain to adventure his own person, which scaped not unwounded.

The Towne being won, was manned ftrongly, in expectation of fome attempt likely to be made by Hazael King of Aram: which done, Jehoram King of Ifrael with-drew himself to the Citie of Jezrael, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and Ahazia returned to Jerusalem. It seems that he was but newly come home (for he raigned in all scantly one yeare, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken up a great part,) when he did make a new journey, as it were for good maners sake, to visit the King of Ifrael, who lay fore of his wounds. Belike Athalia was brewing formenew plots, which his presence would have hindered, and therefore fought every occasion to thrust him abroads for otherwise it was but a vain piece of work to to leave his kingdome, having no other businesse than by way of complement to goe seeone whom he had seen yesterday. Certaine it is, that the Lord had resolved at this time to put in execution that heavie judgement, which he had laid by the mouth of Eli-"the Prophetupon the house of Ahab. And hereupon at this time had he disposed not only the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might feeme to have bin acedentall; but the very thoughts and affections of fuch persons, as intended nothing leffe than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these Athalia doubtlesse was one; whose mischievous purposes it will shortly be needfull, for explanation of some difficulties arifing that we diligently confider and examine:

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How Ahazia perished with the house of Ahab: and how that Familie was destroyed by Jehu.

He whole Armie of Ifrael, with all the principall Captaines, lying in Ramoth Gilead, a Disciple of Elizeus the Prophet came in among the Captaines that were fitting together; who calling out among them Jehn, a principall man, took him apart, and anointed him King over Ifrael, rehearing unto him the Prophecie of Eli. against the house of Abab, and letting him understand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that fentence. The fashion of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captains a defire to know the errand, which Jehu thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had over-heard all the talke or no. When he had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forth-with proclaimed hinking. For the Prophecie of Elias was well knowne among them, neither durst any one oppose him selfe against him, that was by God ordained to performe it.

Jehu, who had upon the fudden this great honour throwne upon him, was not flow to put himself in possession of it, but used the first heat of their affections, who joyned with him, in fetting on foot the businesse which neerely concerned him, and was not to being

fore-flowed, being no more his owne than Gods. The first care taken was that no news of the revolt might be carried to Jezreel, wher. by the King might have had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreseen, hemached fwiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet fecure. King Jehoram was now fo well recovered of his wounds, that he could endure to ride abroad, for which canting feemes that there was much feafting, and joy made, especially by Queene JeZabel, who kepther state so wel, that the brethren of Ahazia comming thither at this time, did make

it as well their errand to falute the Queen, as to visit the King.

Certaine it is, that fince the rebellion of Meab against Ifrael, the house of Ahab ill never fo much flourish as at this time. Seventy Princes of the bloud Royall thereware that lived in Samaria; Jehoramthe sonne of Queene JeZabel had won Ramoth Giled, which his Father had attempted in vaine, with loffe of his life; and he wonne it by will ant fight, wherein he received wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the nour likely to continue. The amitie was so great between Ifrael and Juda, that it might fuffice to daunt all their common enemies, leaving no hope of successe to any rebellions enterprizer: fo that now the Prophecie of Elias might be forgotten, or no otherwisemembred, than as an unlikely tale by them that beheld the majestical I face of the Com, wherein fo great a friend as the King of Juda was entertained, and fortie Princes of his bloud expected.

Inthe middest of this securitie, whilest these great Estates were (perhaps) either on a fulting about profequation of their intents, first against the Aramites, and then against Moab, Edom, and other rebels and enemies: or elfe were triumphing in joy of that which was already archieved, and the Queene-Mother dreffing her selfe in the bravest manner to come down amongst them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from Tower discovered a companie comming. These newes were not very troublesome: in the Armie that lay in Ramoth Gilead, to be readic against all attempts of the Aramitt, was likely enough to be discharged upon some notice taken that the enemie would no, or could not stirre. Onely the King sent out an Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger comming to Jebu, and asking whetheral were well, was retained by him, who intended to give the King as little warning might bee. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer might argue the matter to be of small importance : yet the King to be satisfied, sentout another that should bring him word how all went; and hee was likewise detained by Jehu. These dumbe shewes bred some suspition in Jehoram, whom the watchmancer tified of all that happened. And now the companie drew fo neere, that they might though not perfectly, be differned, and notice taken of Jehn himselfe by the furious manner of his marching. Wherefore the King that was loth to discover any weakness caused his Chariot to be made readie, and issued forth with AhaZia King of Juda inhis

companie, whose presence added majestie to his train, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee, had bin more needfull. This could not be done fo haffily, but that Jehu was come even to the towns end, & there they met each other in the field of Naboth. Jehoram began to falute Jehu with termes of peace, but receiving a bitter answer, his heart failed him fo that crying out apon the treason to his fellow king, he turned away to have fled. But Ithu foone overtook him with an arrow, wherewith he strook him dead, and threw his carkaffe into that field, which, purchased with the bloud of the right full owner, was tobe watered with the bloud of the unjust possessor. Neither did Ahazia escape so wel. but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize upon him.

The Kings Palace was joyning to the wall, by the gate of the Citie, where Jexabel might foone be advertised of this calamitie, if she did not with her own eyes behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercie, whose judgement, pronounced against her long before, had overtaken her, when she least expected it. But she, full of indienation and proud thoughts, made her selfe readie in all halte, and painted her face, hoping with her statelie and imperious looks to daunt the Traitor, or at least to utter forme Apophthegme, that should expresse her brave spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for ever. Little did she thinke upon the hungry dogs that were ordained to devour her, whose paunches the flibium, with which she befineared her cies. would more offend, than the scolding language wherewith the armed her tongue, could trouble the eares of him that had her in his power. As Jebu drew neere, the opened her window, & looking out upon him, began to put him in mind of Zimri, that had not long emoved the fruits of his treason, and murther of the King his Master. This was in meere humane valuation stourly spoken, but was indeed a part of miserable folly; as are all things how foever landable, if they have an ill relation to God the Lord of all. Her owne Eunuches that stood by and heard her, were not affected so much as with any compassion ofhersorune; much lesse was her enemie daunted with her proud spirit. When Jebs fawthat she did use the little remainder of her life in seeking to vexe him, he made her presently to understand her own estate, by deeds & not by words. He only called to her fervants to know which of them would be on his fide, and foon found them readie to offertheir service before the very face of their proud Ladie. Hereupon he commanded them to cast her down head-long: which immediately they performed, without all regard of her greatnesse and estate, wherein she had a few houres before shined so glorioully in the eyes of men; of menthat confidered not the judgements of God that had been denounced against her.

So perished this accursed woman by the rude hands of her ownservants, at the commandement of her greatest enemie, that was yesterday her subject, but now her Lord: & the perished miserably, struggling in vaine with base groomes, who contumeliously did hale and thrust her, whilest her insulting enemie sate on Horse-back, adding indignitie to her griefe by scornefull beholding the shamefull manner of her fall, and trampling her bodie under foot. Her dead carkaffe that was left without the walls, was devoured by dogs, and her very memorie was odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Ido-

larrie, murther, and oppression, with slow, but sure paiment, and full interest.

Abaziaking of Juda fleeing a-pace from Jehu, was over-taken by the way where hee lurked; and receiving his deadly wound in the kingdome of Samaria, was suffered to get himgone (which he did in all haste) and seek his buriall in his own kingdome: and this fwour he obtained for his grand-fathers fake, not for his fathers nor his own. He died at Megiddo, and was thence carried to Jerusalem, where he was enterred with his Anceflors, having raigned about one yeare.

HAP.21, S.2.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia, and whose son he was that succeeded her.

6. I.

Of Athalia's usurping the Kingdome, and what pretences she might forge.

2 Chro.22.9

Fter the death of AhaZia, it is fayd that his house was not able to retain 10 the Kingdome: which Note, and the proceedings of Athalia upon the death of her fon, have given occasion to divers opinions concerning the Pedigree of Joas, who reigned shortly after. For Athalia being thus dispoyled of her son, under whose name she had ruled at her pleasure, did forth-with lay hold upon all the Princes of the bloud and flew them, that fo she might occupie the Royall Throne her felf.

and reigne as Queen, rather than live a Subject. She had before-hand put into greatplace, and made Counsellors unto her son, such as were fittest for her purpose, and readie at all times to execute her will: that she kept a strong guard about her, it is very likely; and as 20 likely it is that the great execution done by Jeheram, upon the Princes, and many of the Nobilitie, had made the people tame, and fearfull to stir, what soever they saw or heard,

Yet ambition, how violent soever it be, is seldome or never so shamelesse as to refise the commoditie of goodly pretences offering themselves; but rather scrapes togetherall that will any way serve to colour her proceedings. Wherefore it were not absurd for us to think, that Athalia, when the faw the Princes of the Royal bloud, all of them in amaner, flain by her husband, and afterwards his own children destroyed by the Philistim, began even then to play her owne game, reducing by artificiall practice, intofaire likelihoods, those possibilities wherewith her husbands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great shew of reason, either by her owne mouth, or by some trustie creatures a hers, might she give him to understand, how needful it were to take the best order while as yet he might, for feare of the worst that might happen. If the issue of David, which now remained only in his Familie, should by any accident faile(as woful experience had already shewed what might after come to passe) the people of Juda were not unlikely to choose a King of some new stocke, a popular seditious man peradventure, onethat to countenance his owne unworthineffe, would not care what afperfions he layd upon that Royall house, which was fallen downe. And who could affure him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing what might be gottenthereby, did not already contrive the destruction of him, and all his seed . Wherefore it were the wisest way to designe by his authoritie not only his fuccessour, but also the reversioner, and so to provide, that the Crowne might never be subject to any risling, but remaine in the disposition of them that loved him best, if the worst that might be feared comming to passe, his owne poste ritie could not retaine it.

Such perswasions being urged, and carnessly followed, by the importunate sollicitation of her that governed his affections, were able to make the jealous Tyrant think, that the onely way to frustrate all devices of such as gaped after a change, was to makeher Heire the last and youngest of his house, whom it most concerned, as being the Queen-

Mother, to uphold the first and eldest.

If Athalia took no fuch course as this in her husbands time, yet might she do it in her fonnes. For AhaZia (befides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) was not likely 1019 take much care for the securitie of his halfe-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wives, in respect of his owne-born-Mother, little better than Condi bines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischievous woman forgat herselse fo far in her wicked policie, that she lost all opportunitie which the weakenesse of her husband and fonne did afford, of procuring unto her selfe some seeming Title; ye could shee afterwards faine some such matter, as boldly she might: being sure that none would aske to see her evidence, for seare of being sent to learne the certainte of her fonne or husband in another World. But I rather thinke that shee tooke order

for her affaires before-hand. For though she had no reason to suspect or seare the sudden death of her sonne, yet it was the witest way to provide betimes against all that might happen, whileft her husbands iffue by other women was young and unable to refift. We plainely finde that the Brethren or Nephewes of AhaZia, to the numbet of two and forre, were sent to the Court of Israel, only to falute the children of the King, and the chiltre, we the Queen. The flender occasion of which long journy, considered together with drenor the qualitie of these persons (being in effect all the stock of Jehoram that could be grown the quality (trength) makes it very suspicious, that their entertainement in Jezahels house to any ments have beene more formall, but little differing in substance, from that which would be the hand of Jehu. He that looks into the courses held both before and after they found at the hand of Jehu. He that looks into the courses held both before and after by these two Queenes, will finde cause enough to think no lesse. Of such as have aspired unto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right Heires by pretence of Testaments, that had no other validitie than the fword of such as claimed by them could give, Histories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentifull examples: and the rule of salemon istruc: Is there any thing wherefore may (ay, Behold, this is new? It hath bin already in Ecclesia. the old time that was before us. That a King might shed his brothers bloud, was proved by Salomonupon Adonia; that he might alien the Crown from his naturall Heires, David had given proofe; but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, andrest contented with the practice, as more willing by shewing what they may dosthan acknowledging why Salomon flew his brother that had begun one rebellion and was entring into another. Jehoram fem all his brethren, which were better than he: David pur- 2 Chroz 1.13. chafed the kingdome, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lordappointed: if Jehoram, who had loft much and gotten nothing, thought that hee might alien the remainder at his pleasure; or if AhaZia fought to cut off the succession of hisbrethren, or of their iffue seither of these was to be answered with the words which Jehojada the Priest used afterwards, in declaring the title of Joash: Behold, the Kings fon mult rivere as the Lord hath faid of the fons of David. Wherefore though I holdit very probable, that Athalia did pretend fome title, what foever it might be, to the Crowne of Juda; yet it is most certain that she had thereunto no right at all, but only got it by treacherie, murder, and open violence; and so she held it fixe whole years, and a part of the seventh, ingood feeming fecuritie.

6. II.

How Jehu fpent his time in Ifrael, so that he could not molest Athalia.

Nall this time Jehu did never goe about to disturbe her; which in reason he was likely to defire, being an enemie to her whole House. But he was occupied at the Inft in establishing himselfe, rooting out the posteritie of Ahab, and reforming fomewhat in Religion: afterwards inwarres against the Aramites, wherein he was so far overcharged, that hardly he could retaine his own, much leffe attempt upon others. Of the line of Ahab there were seventie living in Samaria, out of which number Jehn by letter advised the Citizens to set up some one as King, and to prepare themselves to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was; which they well understood to proceede from greater power about him, than they could gather to result him. Wherefore they tooke example by the two Kings whom he had flain, and being txceedingly affraid of him, they offered him their fervice; wherein they so readily hewedthemselves obedient, that in lesse than one dayes warning, they fent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were injoyned by a second letter from him. After this he surprized all the Priests of Baal by a subtiltie, faining a great sacrifice to their god, by which meanes he drew them altogether into one Temple, where hee flew them: and in the fame zeale to God utterly demolished all the monuments of that im-

Concerning the Idolatrie devised by Jeroboam, no king of Israel had ever greater reafon than Jehn to destroy it. For he needed not to feare lest the people should be allured unto the house of David; it was (in appearance) quite rooted up, and the Crown of Juda in the possession of a cruell Tyrannesse: he had received his kingdom by the unexpected

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grace of God; and further in regard of his zeale expressed in destroying Baal out of the rael, he was promifed, notwithstanding his following the sin of Jeroboam, that the kines dome should remaine in his Familie to the fourth Generation. But all this would not ferve the would needs helpe to piece out Gods providence with his owne circumfpedia on : doing therein like a foolish greedie gamester, who by stealing a needlesse Card to 26 fure himselfe of winning a stake, forfeits his whole test. He had questionlesse displaced many, by that which he did against Baal; and many more he should offend by taking from them the use of a superstition, so long practised as was that Idolatrie of Jeroboan Yetall these, how many soever they were, had never once thought upon making him King, if God, whom (to retaine them) he now for fooke, had not given him the Crown when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after he

found in the meanes of holding it.

This ingratitude of 7ehu drew terrible vengeance of God upon I frael, whereof Hazul king of Damascus was the executioner. The crueltie of this barbarous Princewelling finde in the Prophecie of Elizews, who fore-told it, faying: Their strong Cities shall then fet on fire; and their young men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their Infants a gainst the stones, and rend in pieces their women with childe. So did not onely the wirked nesse of Abab cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatrie of the prople bring a lamentable miserie upon all the Land. For the furie of HaZaels victorie was not quenched with the destruction of a few towns, nor wearied with one invasions but he a smote them in all the coast of Ifrael, and wasted all the Countrie beyond the River of fordan. Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seems that the people repented not oftheir Idolatrie; (For in those dayes the Lord began to loath Ifrael,) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble house of Ahab, under which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had bravely fought for the conquest of Syria, where they had enlarged their border, by winning Ramoth Gilead, and compelled Benhadedin restore the Cities which his Father had won whereas now they were fain to make would shifts, living under a Lord that had better fortune & courage in murdering his master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruel enemies. Thus it commonly falls out, that they who can find all maner of difficulties in ferving him, to whom 3 nothing is difficult, are, in stead of the ease and pleasure to themselves propounded by contrary courses, overwhelmed with the troubles which they fought to avoid; and there in by God, whom they first forsook, forsaken, and left unto the wretched labours of their own blind wisdome, wherein they had reposed all their confidence.

4. 111.

of Athaliahs Government.

Hefe calamities falling upon Ifrael, kept Athalia fafe on that fide, giving herlei a fure to looke to things at home: as having little to doe abroad, unlesse it were fo that she held some correspondencie with Hazael, pretending therein to insttate her husbands grandfather King Afa, who had done the like. And fome probabilist that she did so, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For we finde, that this wicked Athalia and her children brake up the house of God, and all thingsthat were dedicate for the house of the Lord did they bestow upon Baalim. Such a facriledge, though it proceeded from a defire to fer out her owne Idolatrie, with fuch pompe as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want some faire pretext of necessitie of the State so requiring: in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successour was faine to doe the like, being therunto forced by Hazael, who perhaps was delighted with the tafte of that which was formerly thence extracted for his fake.

Under this impious government of Athalia, the devotion of the Priests and Levins was very notable, and ferved (no doubt) very much to retaine the people in the religion taught by God himselfe, howsoever the Queenes proceedings advanced the contrarie. For the povertie of that facred Tribe of Levi must needs have beene exceeding great at this time, all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being utterly lost, the oblations and other perquifites, by which they lived being now very few and fmall; and the

fore laidup in better times under godly Kings, being all taken away by shame full robberie. Yet they up-held in all this miserie the service of God, and the daily sacrifice, keeping daily their courses, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no lesse than inthose dayes wherein their entertainment was farre better.

§. I V. Of the preservation of Joas.

Thijada then occupied the high Priesthood, an honourable, wife, and religious mani-Tohis carefulnesse it may be ascribed, that the state of the Church was in some steriso der fort up-held in those unhappy times. His wife was Jehoshabeth, who was daughter oking Jehoram, and fifter to AhaZia, a godly Ladie and vertuous, whose pietie makes it feene that Athalia was not her mother, though her accesse to the Court argue the contrarie: but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her own Fathers house, than the education under such a Mother could have permitted her to be such asshe was. By her care Joash the young Prince that raigned soone after, was conveighedout of the nurserie, when Athalia destroyed all the Kings children, and was carried secredy into the Temple, where as fecretly he was brought up. How it came to paffe that this young childe was not hunted out, when his bodie was miffing; nor any great reckoning (for ought that we finde) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine: for it was notgood in policie, that the people should heare say, that one of the children had avovdedthat cruell blow; it might have made them hearken after innovations, and so be the lesse conformable to the present government. So Joss was delivered out of that slaughtr., he and his nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might bee thought peradvenureto be cast away, as having no other guard than a poor woman that gave himsuck; who foolifhly doubting that she her selfe should have bin sain, was fled away with him into some desolate place, where it was like enough that she and he should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coin such tales, and rather swearethem to be true in their own knowledge, than they will lose the thankes due to their joy full ti-

Whose some Joas was,

whether Joas may be thought likely to have been the son of Ahazia.

TOw concerning this Joafh, whose some he was, it is a thing of much difficultie to affirme, and hath caused much controversie among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him the forme of Ahazia, seeme plaine enough. How any 2 Kin 17.23 figure of the Hebrew language might give title of Sonne unto him, in regard that hee & 2 Chr. 22.15 was his Successiour, I neither by my selfe can finde, nor can by any helpe of Authors learne how to answer the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them; that thinke him to have beene, or not, the natural sonne of Ahazia. For whereas it is said, that the house of Ahazia was not able to retaine the Kingdome; some doe inferre that this 2 Chron 22.9 Joalh was not properly called his fon, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a some in the inheritance of his father. And hereunto the murder committed by Athalia, doth very well agree. For shee perceiving that the Kingdome was to fall into their hands, in whom the had no interest, might easily finde cause to feare, that the tyrannie exercised by her husband at her instigation upon so many noble Houses, would now bee revenged upon her selfe. The ruine of her Idolatrous Religion might in this case terrefie both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedie of Jezabel teaching her what might happen to another Queene. All this had little concerned her, if her owne grand-child had beene heireto the Crowne; for she that had power enough to make her selfe Queene, could with more ease, and lesseenvie, have taken upon her the office of a Protector, by which authoritie she might have done her pleasure, and been the more both obeyed by others,

and fecure of her owne estate, as not wanting an heir. Wherefore it was not needful, that she should be so unnatural, as to destroy the child of her own son, of whose life she might have made greater use than she could of his death: whereas indeed, the love of Grandmothers to their Nephewes, is little lesse than the Mothers to their children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seeme incredible, that all naturall affection should be cast a-side, when as neither necessitie urgeth, nor any commoditie therby gotten requireth it, yea when all humane policie doth teach one the same, which nature

without reason would have perswaded.

†. I I.

That Joas did not descend from Nathan.

Ut (as it is more easie to find a difficultie in that which is related, than to shew how it might have otherwise bin) the pedigree of this Joalh is, by them which thinke him not the fon of Abazia, set down in such fort that it may very justly be suffer Cted. They fay, that he descended from Nathan the son of David, and not from Salimin. to which purposethey bring a Historic(I know not whence) of two families of the race of David, faying, that the line of Salomon held the kingdom with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the familie of Nathan should succeed it. Concerning this Nathanthe, fon of David, there are that would have him to be Nathan the Prophet, who asthey think, was by David adopted. And of this opinion was Origen, as also S. Augustine form. time was, but afterward he revoked it, as was meet; for this Nathan is reckoned among the fons of David, by Bathfua the daughter of Ammes, and therefore could not be the Prophet. Gregory NazianZen (as I find him cited by Peter Martyr) & after him Erafinus, and Faber Stapulenfis, have likewise held the same of Joash, deriving him from Nathan, But Nathan and those other brethren of Salomen by the same Mother, are thought, upon good likelihoods, to have bin the children of Wriathe Hittite: and fo are they accounted by fundrie of the Fathers, and by Lyra, and Abulenfis, who follow the Hebrew Exposion of that place in the first of Chronicles. The words of Salomon calling himselfetheonly 20 begotten of his mother, doe approve this exposition: for we reade of no more than two fons which Baihfua or Bathfheba did beare unto David, whereof the one begotten in a dulterie, died an Infant, and Salomon onely of her children by the King did live. Sother the rest must needs have bin the children of Uria, and are thought to have bin Devidionly by adoption. Wherefore if Joas had not bin the fon of Ahazia, then must that pedgree have bin falfe, wherein S. Matthew deriveth him lineally from Salomon; yea, then had not our bleffed saviour iffued from the loins of David, according to the flesh, but had only bin of his line by courtefie of the Nation, and form of law, as any other mighthave bin. As for the authoritie of Philo, which hath drawn many late writers into the opinion that Joah was not of the posteritie of Salomon, it is enough to say, that this was Fritt a Annius his Philo: for no other edition of Philo hath any fuch matter; but Annius can make Authors to speake what he lift.

t. III.

That Joas may probably be thought to have beene the son of Jehoram.

In so doubtfull a case, if it seems lawfull to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought upon, me thinks it were not amisse to lay open at once, and peruse together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickedness of Jehoram the son of Jehosaphat King of Juda, for which he and his children perished, rehearseth it as one of Gods mercies towards the house of David, that according to his promise hee would give him a light and to his thildren for ever: the other doth say, that for the offences of the same Jehoram, there was not a some less thim, save Jehoahas the youngest of his somether am upon all his brethren, and of the Philissims and Arabians upon the children of Jehoram, one of the seed of David escaped; why may it not be thought that hee was said to have escaped, in whom the line of David was preserved; for had all therace of Salton man.

nan beene rooted up in these wofull Tragedies, and the progenie of Nathan succeeded inplace thereof; like enough it is that some remembrance more particular would have beene extant, of an event fo memorable. That the race of Nathan was not extinguished. it is indeed apparent by the Genealogie of our Lord, as it is recounted by S. Luke: but the preservation of the house of David, mentioned in the books of Kings and Chronicles, was performed in the perfon of Jehoahas, in whom the Royall branch of Salomon, the naturall, and not only legall iffue remaining of David, was kept alive. Wherefore it may be thought that this Joalh, who followed Athalia in the Kingdome, was the youngest son of Jubram, whose life Athalia, as a stepdame, was not likely to pursue. For it were not eafly understood, why the preservation of Davids line, by Gods especial mercie, in regard of his promise made, should pertaine rather to that time, when besides Ahazia himselfe, there were two and fortie of his brethren, or (as in another place they are Kin 1913, called) fonnes of his breth ren remaining alive, which afterwards were all flain by Jehu. than have reference to the lamentable deftruction and little leffe than extirpation of that 2 Chro.22.8. progenie, wherein one only did escape. Certainely that inhumane murther which 7ehoram committed upon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Historic) revenged uponhis owne children; then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the Philifins and Arabians, but being only begun by them, was afterwards profecuted by 7ehu. and finally tooke effect by the hands of that fame wicked woman, at whose instigation hehad committed fuch barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heavie judgement laid upon Jeboram and all his children, onely Jehoabas his youngest sonne 2 Chro24-14wisexempted; whom therefore if I should affirm to be the same with Jour, which is calledthe fon of Abazia, I should not want good probabilitie. Some further appearance ofnecessitie there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise have beene. For it wastheyoungest fonne of Jehoram in whom the race was preserved; which could not inany likelihood be Abazia, feeing that he was twentie yeares old at the least (as is already noted) when he began to raigne, and confequently, was borne in the eighteenth or twentieth yeare of his Fathers age. Now I know not whether of the two is more unlikely, either that Jehoram should have begotten many children before he was eighteenyears old, or that having (as he had) many wives and children, he should upon the hidden at his eighteenth year, become unfruitfull, and beget no more in twenty years following: each of which must have bintrue, if this were true that Abazia was the same Jehoaha? which was his youngest some. But this inconvenience is taken away, and those other doubts arising from the caulelesse crueltie of Athaha, in seeking the life of Four are easily cleered, if Four and Jehoahus were one. Neither doth his age with stand this opinion. For he was feven years old when he began to raigne; which if we understand 2 Chro, 22.20 of years complean, he might have bin a a year old at the death of Jehoram, being begoeten somewhat after the beginning of his sicknesse. Neither is it more absurd to say that he was the natural I fon of Teboram, though called the fon of Abazia, than it were to fav. asgreat Authors have done, this difficultie notwithstanding, that he was of the posteritie of Nathan. One thing indeed I know not how to answer; which, had it concurred with the reft, might have ferved as the foundation of this opinion. The name of Jehoahas, that foundeth much more neere to Joss, than to Abaziah, in an English yeare, doth in the Hebrew (as I am informed by some, skilfull in that language) through the diversitie of certaineletters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our Western manner of witing, and little from the other. Now, although it be so that AhaZia himselfe be also called Azaria, & must have had three names, if he were the same with Jehoahas, in which 2 Chro. 22.50 maner Joan might also have had severall names; yet, because I find no other warrant here-Ofthanabare possibilitie, I will not presume to build an opinion upon the weak foundation of mine own conjecture, but leave all to the confideration of fuch as have more abilitieto judge, and leifure to confider of this point.

t. IV.

uponwhat reasons Athalia might seeke to destroy Joas, if he were her own grandshilde.

Ftherefore we shall follow that which is commonly received, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be said, that Athalia was not only blinded by the passi-

2 Kin.8.19.

2 Kin 9.22.

Jer.44.17.18.

ons of ambition and zeale to her idolatrous worship of Baalim, but pursued the accomplishment of some unnaturall desires, in seeking the destruction of her grand-child, and the rest of the bloud Royall. For whether it were so that Athalia (as proud and cruel women are not alwayes chaft) had imitated the libertie of Jezabel her fifter in law, whose whoredomes were upbraided by Jehu to her fon; or whether she had children by some former husband, before she was married unto Jehoram (which is not unlikely, in regardor her age, who was daughter of Omri, and fifter to Ahab) certain it is that the had fons of her own, and those old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondred at, that to fettle the crown upon her own children the did feek to cut off, by wicked policie, all other claimes. As for Jow, if the were his grand-mother, yet she might mistrust the interest which his mother would have inhim. lest when he came to years, it might draw him from her devotion. And hereof (besides that women doe commonly better love their daughters husbands, than their fons wives there is some appearance in the raign of her son; for she made him spendall his time in idle journeyes, to no other apparent end, than that she might rule at home; and he living abroad be estranged from his wife, and entertaine some new funcies, wherein Jezahlhad cunning enough to be his Tutoresse. But when the fword of Jehu had rudely cut in funder all these fine devices, then was Athalia fain to goe roundly to worke, and doe as she did whereby the thought to make all fure. Otherwife, if (as I could rather thinke) the were onely stepdame to Joas, we need not seek into the reasons moving her to take away his life; her own hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

6. VI.

A digression, wherein is maintained the libertie of using conjecture in Historia.

Hus much concerning the person of Joss, from whom, as from a new root, the tree of David was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this Historie, and the diversitie between the and others, the leffe me thinkes I need to suspect mine own presumption, as deserving a blame, for curiofitie in matter of doubt, or boldnesse in libertie of conjecture. For all Histories doe give us information of humane counsels and events, as farre forth asth knowledge and faith of the writers can afford; but of Gods will, by which all thingar ordered, they speake onely at randome, and many times falsly. This we often find in profane writers, who ascribe the ill successe of great undertakings, to the neglect of some pious Rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, athey thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the lesse worlden, if we consider the answer made by the Jewes in Egypt unto Jeremie the Prophet reprehending their Idolarrie. For howfoever the written Law of God was known unto the people, and his punishments laid upon them for contempt therof, were very terrible, and even then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinately bent unto their wills, that they would not by any means be drawn to acknowledge the true cause of their afficient on. But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worship the Queene of Heeth, as they and their fathers, their Kings and their Princes had used to doe: For then (and they) had we plentie of victuals, and were well, and felt no evill: addding that all mant of miseries were befalne them, fince they left off that service of the Queene of Heaven. So blinde is the wisedome of man, in looking into the counsell of God, which to finde on, there is no better nor other guide than his own written will not perverted by vaine al-

But this Historic of the Kings of Ifrael and Juda hath herein a fingular prerogatives bove all that have beene written by the most sufficient of meerely humane Authors: 8 setteth downe expressly the true, and first causes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of Abab to his over-forwardnesse in battell; the ruine of his Familie, to the securitie of Jehoram in Jezreel; nor the victories of Hazael, to the great commotion raised in Israel, by the comming of Jehu; but referring all unto the will of God, Imean to his revealed will: from which that his hidden purpofes doe not varie, this Storie, many great examples, gives most notable proofe. True it is, that the concurrence fecond causes with their effects, is in these bookes nothing largely described; nor

haps exactly in any of those Histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentlemen, Sir Philip Sidnie, that Historians doe borrow sphi sid in ha of Poets, not onely much of their ornament, but some what of their substance. Inform 1- Apol. for Poets, y rions are often false, records not alwaies true, and notorious actions commonly insufficient to discover the passions which doe set them first on foot. Wherfore they are faine (Ispeake of the best, & in that which is allowed; for to take out of Livie every one circumstance of Claudius his journey against Asdrubal in Italy, fitting all to another busineffe, or any practice of that kinde, is neither Historicall, nor Poeticall) to search into the particular humour of Princes, and of those which have governed their affections, or o the instruments by which they wrought; from whence they do collect the most likely motives or impediments of every businesse; and so figuring as necre to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they judiciously consider the defects in counsaile, or

obliquity in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to give assurance, how soever it may ove fatisfaction. For the heart of man is unfearcheable : and Princes, howfoever their intents bee seldome hidden from some of those many eyes which prie both into them. and into fuch as live about them; yet fometimes either by their owne close temper, or by some subtill mists, they conceale the truth from all reports. Yea, many times the affections themselves lye dead, and buried in oblivion, when the preparations which they begat, are converted to another use. The industrie of an Historian. having fo many things to weariest, may well be excused, when finding apparent cause enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further search; though it often fall out, where fundry occasions worke to the fame end, that one small matter in a weake minde is more effectuall, than many that seeme farre greater. So comes it manvimes to passe, that great fires, which consume whole houses or townes, begin with a few strawes, that lare wasted or not seene; when the slame is discovered, having fastened upon some wood-pile, that catchethall about it. Questionlesse it is, that the warre commenced by Darius, and purfued by Xerxes against the Greekes, proceeded from defire of the Perfians to inlarge their Empire: how foever the enterprize of the Athenians upon Sardes, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrell; yet Herodotus telleth us, that the wanton defire of Queen Atoffa, to have the Grecian dames her bondwoman , did first move Darius to prepare for this warre before hee had recei- Herolius is ved any injury, & when he did not yet fo much defire to get more, as to enjoy what was already gotten.

I will not here stand to argue wher her Herodotus be more justly reprehended by some, or defended by others, for alledging the vain appetite, and secret speech of the Queen inbed with her husband, as the cause of those great evils following; this I may boldly affirme, (having, I thinke, in every estate some sufficient witnesse) that matters of much consequence, founded in all seeming upon substantiall reasons, have issued indeed from fuch pettie trifles, as no Historian would either thinke upon, or could well fearch

Therefore it was a good answer that Sixtus Quintus the Pope made to a certaine Frier, comming to visit him in his Popedome, as having long before in his meaner estate, beene his familiar friend. This poore Frier being emboldened by the Pope to use his old liberty of speech, adventured to tell him, that he very much wondred how it was possible for his Holinesse, whom he rather tooke for a direct honest man, than any cunning Politician, to attaine unto the Papacy; in compassing of which, all the subtilty (faid he) of the most crafty braines, finde worke enough: & therefore the more I thinke upon the Art of the Conclave, & your unaptnesse thereto, the more I needs must wonder. Pope Sixtus to satisfie the plaine dealing Frier, dealt with him againe as plainly, saying, Hadst thou lived abroad as I have done, and seen by what follie this world is governed, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this bee referred unto those exorbitant engines, by which the course of affaires is moved, the Pope said true. For the wisest of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutuall toleration, worke more closely, and earnessly, than right reason either needes or can. But if wee lift up our thoughts to that supreme Governour, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was said of Jupiter.

Qii

CHAP.21.5.7

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat Ventosum, & urbes regnaque triftia Divofque mortalefque turmas, Imperio regit unus aquo.

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Pfalm.16.11.

Who rules the duller earth, the winde-fwolne streames, The civill Cities and th' infernall realmes, Who th' host of heaven, and the mortaliband, Alone doth governe by his just command.

Then shall wee finde the quite contrary. In him there is no uncertainty nor change hee foreseeth all things, and all things disposeth to his owne honour; He neither deciweth nor can bee deceived, but continuing one and the same for ever, doth constantly governe all creatures by that Law, which he hath prescribed, and will never alter. The vanities of men beguile their vaine contrivers, and the prosperity of the wicked, is the way leading to their destruction : yearthis broad and headlong passage to hell, is not for delightfull as it seemes at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poylons which infect the foule, many cruell thorns deeply wounding the body; all which, if any few escape, they have onely this miserable advantage of others, that their descent was the more fwift & expedite. But the service of God is the path guiding us to perfect hap to pines, & hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yeelding fuch abundance of joy to the conscience, as doth easily countervaile all afflictions what soever; though indeede those brambles that sometimes teare the skin of such as walke in this blessed way, doe commonly lay hold upon them at fuch time as they fit down to take their ease, & make them wish themselves at their journies end, in the presence of their Lord whom they faithfully serve, in whose presence is the fulnesse of joy, and as whose right hand are pluster

Wherefore it being the end and scope of all History, to teach by example of times past, such wisedome as may guide our defires and actions, we should not marvaile though the Chronicles of the Kings of Juda and Ifrael, being written by men inspired withthe Spirit of God, instructus chiefly, in that which is most requisite for us to know; as the meanes to attaine unto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wifedome. Had the expedition of Xerxes (as it was foretold by Daniel) beene written by some Prophit after the captivity: wee may well beleeve that the counsaile of God therein, & the extcutioners of his righteous will, should have occupied either the whole or the principal roome in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of Darius, the desire of his Wife, &the businesse at Sardes, with other occurrents, beene the lesse true, though they might have been omitted, as the leffe materiall: but these things it had been lawfull for any manto gather out of prophane Histories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, wherein to he should not have done injury to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forbomtode. rogate from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the bufineffe that I have now in hand: wherein I cannot be leeve that any man of judgement will taxe me, as either fabulous or prefumptuous. For he doth not faine, that rehearseth probabilities as bare conjectures; neither doth hedeprave the Text, that seeketh to illustrate and make good in humane reason, those things which authority alone, without further circumstance, ought to have confirmed in every mans beliefe. And this may suffice in defence of the liberty which I have used in conjectures, and may hereafter use when occasion shall require, as neither unlawfull, nor

mis-beseeming an Historian-

6. VII.

The conspiracie against Athalia.

Hen Athalia had now fixe yeeres and longer worne the Crowne of Juda and had found neither any forreine enemy, nor domesticall adversarieto disturbe her possession, suddenly the period of her glory, & reward of her

wickednesse meeting together, tooke her away without any warning, by a violent and hamefull death. For the growth of the young Prince began to bee fuch, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had beene very unfitting that his education should hesimple, to make him seeme the childe of some poore man (as for his safety it was requilite,) when his capacity required to have beene indued with the stomacke and qualiries meete for a King. All this Jehojada the Priest considered, and withall, the great increase of impiety, which taking deepe roote in the Court, was likely to spread it selfe over all the Country, if care were not used to weede it up very speedily. Wherefore he affociated unto himselfe five of the Captaines, in whose fidelity hee had best affurances and having taken an oath of them, and shewed them the Kings sonne, he made a Covenativith them, to advance him to the Kingdome. These drew in others of the princinall men, to countenance the action, procuring at the first onely that they should repaire 10 Jerusalem, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perswassions to win them to the businesse: the promise of the Lord unto the house of David, was enough to affure them, that the action was both lawfull, and likely to fucceed as they defired.

But in compassing their intent, some difficulties appeared: For it was not to be hoped. that with open force they should bring their purpose to good issue; neither were the Captains, & other affociats of Jehojada able by close working, to draw together so many trulty and ferviceable hands as would fuffice to manage the bufine se. To helpe in this cale the Prieft gave order to fuch of the Levires, as had finished their courses in waiting on the Divine fervice at the Temple, and were now relieved by others that succeeded in their turnes, that they should not depart untill they knew his further pleasure. So by admitting the new commers, and not discharging the old, he had, without any noise, made upfish a number, as would be able to deale with the Queenes ordinary Guard: and that was enough, for if the Tyrannesse did not prevaile against them at the first brunt, the fayour of the People was like to shew it selfe on their side, who made head against her. The Levites were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the person of the King, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the Captaines, and other adherents, where bestowed in the utter Courts: As for weapons, the Temple it selfe had store enough; King David had left an Armory to the place, which was now imployed in de-

fence of his iffue.

CHAP. 21. S. 7.

All things being in a readinesse, and the day come, where in this high defigne was to be put in execution. Jehojada delivered unto the Captaines, Armour for them and their adherents, appointed a guard unto the Kings person, produced him openly, and gave untohim the Crowne; ufing all ceremonies accustomed in such solemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings, the Queene was the last that heard any word. Which is not fo strange as it may seeme: for infolent natures, by dealing outragiously with fuch as bring them ill tidings, doe commonly lose the benefit of hearing what isto befeared, whilest yet it may be prevented, and have no information of danger, till their owne eyes, amazed with the suddennesse, behold it in the shape of inevitable mis-

All Jerufalem was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the newes others ran forth to fee, and the common joy was fo great, that without apprehension of perill, under the windowes of the Court, were the people running and praifing the King. Athalia hearing and be holding the extraordinary concourie, 2 Chro. 23. 12. &noise of folkes in the streetes, making towards the Temple, with much unusuall pasfion in their lookes, did prefently conceive, that fomewhat worthy of her care was hap-Pened; though, what it might be, she did not apprehend. How soever it were, shee meant to use her owne wisedome in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occafion might happen to require. It may bee, that the thought it fome especiall solemnitiensed in the Divine service, which caused this much adoe; and hereof the unaccustomed number of Levites, and of other devout men, about the towne, might give some prefumption.

Many things argue that she little thought upon her owne Tragedy salthough Josephus Would make it seeme otherwise. For we finde in the Text, She came to the people into 2 Chron.23.11. the house of the Lord (which was neere to her Palace) and that when she looked and faw 1 King. G. 11. 4. the King stand by his pillar, as the manner was with the Princes, or great men of the 13414

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HAP. 22, S.I.

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Land by him, and the Trumpetters proclaiming him, sheerent her clothes, and cryed Treason. Treason. Hereby it appeares that she was quietly going, without any miltrust or feare, to take her place; which when the found occupied by another, then the began to afflict her felfe, as one cast away, and cried out in vaine upon the Treason, whereby the faw that the must perish. But that she came with a guard of armed mento the Tem. ple, (as Tolephon reporteth) and that her company being beaten backe, shee entred alone and commanded the people to kill the young Tyrant, I finde no where in Scripture, nei ther doe I hold it credible. For had she truely known how things went, she would sure. ly have gathered her friends about her, and used those forces in defence of her Crown by which she gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainely, if it were granted, that she like a new Semiramis, did march in the head of her troupe, yet it had been meere madneffein her, to enter the place alone, when her affiftants were kept out; but if shee, perceiving that neither her authority, nor their owne weapous, could prevaile to let-in her guard, would neverthelesse take upon her to command the death of the new King, calling a childe of seven yeeres old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom she saw to bee armed in his defence, may we not thinke that she was mad in the most extreme degree ? Certaine it is that the counfaile of God would have taken effect, in her definction, had she used the most likely meanes to disappoint it : yet wee neede not so cut her throate with any morall impossibilities. It is enough to say, that the godly zealess Jehvjada found more easie success, through her indiscretion, than otherwise could have in beene expected; fo that at his appointment, shee was without more adoe, carried out of the Temple and flaine, yea fo, that no bloud, fave her owne, was shed in that quarrell. her small train that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

6. VIII.

The death of Athalia, with a comparison of her and Jezabel.

Offlike it is, that Athalia had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashnesse of her Nephew Jehoram the Israelite, who did foolishly cast himselfe to into the very throate of danger, gaping upon him, onely through his eager defire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: vet shee her selfe, by the likebait, was taken in the like trap, and having lived fuch a life as Jezabel had done, was rewarded with a furable death. These two Queenes were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her husband; was an Idolatresse and a Murdresse. The onely difference appearing in their conditions, is, that Jezabel is more noted as incontinent of body, Athalia as ambitious: 50 that each of them furviving her husband about eight yeeres, did spend their timeinsatisfying her owne affections; the one using tyrannie, as the exercise of her haughty minde; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her unchaste body. In the 40 manner of their death little difference there was, or in those things which may seeme in this world to pertaine unto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the fuddaine by Conspirators, and each of them exclaiming upon the Treason, received sentence from the mouth of one that had lived under her subjection; in execution whereof, Jezabel was trampled under the feet of her enemies horses; Athalia lain at her owne horse-gate; the death of Athalia having (though not much) the more lesfure to vexe her proud heart; that of Jezabel the more indignitie, and shame of bodies Touching their buriall, Jezabel was devoured by Dogges, as the Lord had thearned by the Prophet Elias; what became of Athalia wee doe not finde. Like enough it is, that she was buried, as having not persecuted and slaine the Lords Prophets, but suffer 50 red the Priests to exercise their function; yet of her buriall there is no monument, for fhe was a Church-robber. The fervice of Baal erected by thefe two Queenes, was destroyed as soone as they were gone, and their Chaplaines, the Priests of that Religion, flaine. Herein also it came to passe, alike, as touching them both when they were dead 3 the Kings who slew them, were afterwards afficied, both of them by the same hand of Hazael the Syrian; in which point Athalia had the greater honour, if the Syrian (who seemes to have beene her good friend) pretended her revenge, as any part of his quarrell to Juda. Concerning children, all belonging to Jezabel perished in

few dayes after her: whether Athalia left any behinde her, it is uncertaine; the had fons living after she was Queene, of whom, or of any other, that they were slaine with her,

This is a matter not unworthy of confideration, in regard of much that may depend aponit. For if the children of Athalia had beene in Jerusalem when their Mother fell, their death would furely have followed hers as neerely, and beeneregifted, as well as the death of Mattan the Priest of Baal. That Law by which God forbad that the children Deut. 24.16 thould die for the fathers, could not have faved the fe ungracious Imps, whom the clause following would have cut off, which commands, that every man should die for his owne finne. Seeing therefore that they had beene professors and advancers of that vile and Idolatrous worship of Baal, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of Baal with the spoile of it; likely it is, that they should not have escaped with life, if Jehojada the Priest could have gotten them into his hands. As there was lawfull cause enough requiring their death, so the security of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craved as much, and that very earnestly. For these had beene effeemed as heires of their mothers Crowne, & being reckoned as her affiftants in that particular businesse of robbing the Temple, may be thought to have carried a great fway in other matters, as Princes, and fellowes with their Mother in the Kingdome. Therefore it is evident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following Hazael ninhiswarres against Jehu) absent from Jerusalem; whereby Jehojada might, with the more confidence, adventure to take Armes against their Mother, that was desolate.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Toas and Amasia, with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of Carthage.

of Joas his doings, whilest Jehojada the Priest lived!



Y the death of Athalia, the whole countrie of Juda was filled with great joy and quietneffe, wherein Joss, a childe of seven yeeres old or there-about, began his reigne, which continued almost fortie yeeres. During his minority, he lived under the protection of that honourable man Jekojada the Priest, who did as faithfully governe the Kingdome, as he had before carefully preferved the Kings life, & restored him unrothe Throne of his ancestors. When he came to mans estate, he tooke by appointment of Jehojada two wives, & be-

gar Sonnes and Daughters, repairing the family of David which was almost worne out-The first Act that hee tooke in hand, when hee began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needfull piece of worke, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, through the wirkednesse of ungodly Tyrans; and requisite it was that hee should up-hold the Temple, whom the Temple had up-held. This businesse the followed with so earnest a zeale, that not only the Levites were more flacke than he, but even Jehoj ada was faine to be quickened by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the worke; partly out of the taxe imposed by Moses, 2Chro. 24.141 partly out of the liberality of the people: who gave so freely, that the Temple, besides all reparations, was enriched with vessels of gold and silver, and with all other Utenfiles. The facrifices likewise were offered, as under godly Kings they had beene, and the lervice of God was magnificently celebrated.

§. I I. The death of Jehojada, and Apostasie of Joas.

Ut this endured no longer than the life of Jehojada the Priest: who having lived an hundred and thirty yeeres, dyed before his Countrie could have spared him. He was buried among the Kings of Juda, as he well deferved, having preferred the race of them, & reftored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting up themselves, and all their issue, say Yetthis honourable Funerall feems to have bin given to him, at the motion of the people ; it being faid, They buried bim in the Citie of David. As for the King himfelfe, who didoweto him no leffe than his Crowne and life, he is not likely to have been Author ofit, seeing that hee was as easily comforted after his death, as if he had thereby been

discharged of some heavie debr. For after the death of Jehojada, when the Princes of Juda began to flatter their King, he soone forgat, not only the benefits received by this worthy man his old Council lour, but also the good precepts which he had received from him, yea & God himlele, the Authour of all goodnesse. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, where with Jehoram and Athalia had so infected the Country, in fifteene or fixteene yeeres, that thirty yeeres, or there-about, of the reigne of Jow, wherein the true Religion was exercifed, were not able to cleere it from that mischiefe. The King himselfe, when once he was entred into these courses, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a tokenothis liberty, to despise the service of God; and a manifest proofe of his being now King indeed, that he regarded no longer the fowre admonitions of devout Priefts. Hereby it appeares, that his former zeale was only counterfeited, wherein like an Actor uponthe flage, he had striven to expresse much more lively affection, than they could shew, that were indeede religious.

6. III.

The causes and times of the Syrians invading Juda in the dayes of Joas.

Ut God, from whom hee was broken loose, gave him over into the hands of men, that would not easily bee shaken off. Hazael King of Aram, having taken Gath, a Towne of the Philistims, addressed himselfe towards Jerusalem, whi ther the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did invite him. He had an Army heartned by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the war (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough that the Kings of Juda had alled the Ifraelites, in their enterprises upon Aram, at Ramoth Gilead. Yet Ithinke hee il not want some further instigation. For if the Kingdome of Juda had molested the Armites, in the time of his predecessour, this was throughly recompensed, by forbearing, to fuccour Ifrael, & leaving the ten Tribes in their extreme mifery, to the fury of Hazul himselfe. Neither is it likely, that Hazael should have gone about to awake a sleeping Dogge, and stirre up against himselse a powerfull enemy, before he had affured the conquest of Israel, that lay between Jerusalem and his owne Kingdome, if some opportu nity had not performed fuch eafie and good fuccesse, as might rather advance, thanany way disturbe his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I holdit probeble, that the sonnes of Athalia, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promissing (as men expelled their Countries usually doe) to draw many partakers of their owne to his fide; and not to remaine, as Jose did, a neutrall in the warre between him and Ifrael, but to joyne all their forces with his, as they had cause, for the rooting out of Jehu his posterity, who , like a bloudy Traitor, had utterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queenes, their mother, even the whole house of Alab, to which hee was a subject. If this were so, Hazael had the more apparent reason w invade the Kingdome of Juda. Howfoever it were, we finde it plainely, that Jose was affraid of him, and therefore sooke all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord, or in his owne house, with which present het redeemed his peace: the Syrian (questionlesse) thinking it a better bargaine, to get fo much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazzard the affurance of this

for the possibility of not much more. So HaZael departed with a richbootie of unhappy treasure, which belonging to the living God, remained a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but fent him quickely to the grave. For in the thirtie seventh yeere of Joas, which was the fifteenth of Jehoahaz, hee made this purchase; but in the fame or very next yeere he died, leaving all that hee had unto his Sonne Benhadad, with whom these treasures prospered no otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are

This enterprise of Hazaels, is, by some, confounded with that warre of the Aramites upon Juda, mentioned in the second booke of Chronicles. But the reasons alledged by them that hold the contrary opinion, doe forcibly prove, that it was not all one warre. For the former was compounded without bloud-shed or fight; in the latter, Tous trved the fortune of a battaile, wherin being put to the worst, he lost all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life: In the one, Hazael himselfe was present; in the other, hee was not named: but contrariwise, the King of Aram then reigning (who may seem to have then heenthe Sonne of Hazael) is faid to have beene at Damascus. The first Armie came to conquer, and was fo great, that it terrefied the King of Juda; The second was a small com- 2 Chron, 24.24, pany of men, which did animate Joss (invaine; for God was against him) to deale with

them, as having a very great Armie.

Now, concerning the time of this former invalion, I cannot perceive that God forfookehim, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who thinke that this expedition of Hazael was in the time of Jehojada the Priest, because that florie is joyned unto the restauration of the Temple. This had beene probable, if the death of Jehojada had beene afterwards mentioned in that place of the second booke of Rings, or if the Apostasie of 7000, or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may difpose of all things, according to his own will & pleasure; neither was he more unjust in the afflictionsof Job that righteous man, or the death of Josias that godly King, than in the plagues which he laid upon Pharach, or his judgements upon the house of Ahab. But it appeares plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent fervice of God therewithall, which are joyned together, were used in the house of the Lord continually, all the 2 Chro. 24-14; dayes of Jebojada; soone after whose death, if not immediately upon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the fixe, or thirty feventh yeere of this 3045 his reign, the King

fallingaway from the God of his Fathers, became a foule Idolater. And indeed we commonly observe that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay upon his fervants without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, have alwayes tended unto the bettering of their good. In which respect, even the sufferings of the bleffed Martys (the death of his Saints being precious in the fight of the Lord) are to Plality. 17. their great advantage. But with evilland rebellious men, God keepetha more even and frict account; permitting usually their faults to get the start of their punishment, & either delaying his vengeance (as with the Amorites) till their wickednesse be full: or not working their amendment by his correction, but fuffering them to run on in their wicked courses, to their greater misery. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appeares that hee dealt with Joas. For this unhappy man did not onely continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew to forgetfull of God and all goodnesse, as if hee had stroven to exceed the wicked-

nelle of all that went before him, and to leave such a villainous patterne unto others, as tew or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should endure to imitate.

6. IV-

How Zacharia was murthered by Joas.

Undry Prophets having laboured in vaine to reclaime the people from their fuperstition, Zacharia the sonne of Jehojada the Priest, was stirred up at length by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their wickednesse, and make them understand the punishment due unto it, whereof they stood in danger. This Zacharia was a man so much honoured, and sonne to a man so exceedingly beloved in his life time, and reverenced, that if foas had reputed him (as Abab did Elias) his open enemie, yet ought heincommon honesty, to have cloaked his ill affection, and have used at least some part

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of the respect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had borne unto the King, and the unrecountable benefits, which they had done unto him, from his first infancie, were such, as should have placed Za. charta in the most hearty and affured love of foas, yea though hee had bin otherwise a man of very small marke, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should be heard with reverence, how simple soever heap peares that brings it. But this King Joss, having already fcorned the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deale with Zacharia, like asthe wicked husbandmen in that parable of our Saviour, dealt with the heire of the Vineyard who faid, This is the heire, come let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours. By killing to Zacharia he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing belike that he was no free Prince, as long as one durst tell him the plain truth, how great soever that many deservings were, that did so, yea though Gods commandement required it. So they confpired against this holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the Kings appointment: but whether by any forme of open Law, as was practifed upon Nabeth; or whether fur. prifing him by any close treachery; I doe neither reade, nor can conjecture. Thedenity of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracie, makes it pio. bable, that they durst not call him into publique judgement, though that the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, and by order of Law, inflicted upon malefactors,

§. V.

may argue the contrary. Most likely it is, that the Kings commandement, by which to

hee suffered, tooke place in stead of Law: which exercise of meere power (as hath been

already noted) was nothing strange amongst the Kings of Juda.

How Joas was shamefully beaten by the Amorites, and of his death.

His odious murther, committed by an unthankefull frakeupon the man in whole bosome he had been fostered, as of it selfe alone it sufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hatefull to men of his own time, and his memory detefted in all ages, to a had it the well-described curse of the blessed Martyr, to accompany it unto the Throne of God, and to call for vengeance from thence; which fell downe swiftly, and heavily upon the head of that ungratefull monster. It was the last yeere of his reigne; thend of his time comming then upon him, when he thought himselfe beginning to live how he listed without controllement. When that yeer was expired, the Aramites cameinto the Country rather as may feem to get pillage, than to performe any great action; for 2 Chron.24.24. they came with a small company of men: but God had intended to do more by them, than they themselves did hope for.

That Joas naturally was a coward, his bloudy malice against his best friend, is, in my judgement, proofe fufficient: though otherwise his base composition with Hazael, when he hee might have leavied (as his fon after him did muster) three hundred thousandchofen men for the warre, doth wellenough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how frout of disposition their King was, when hee might have his owne will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of Rovers, hee tooke a very great Army, fo that wife men might well perceive, that he knew what he did, making frew as if he would fight for his Countrie, and expose himselfe to danger of warre, when as indeed all was meere oftentation, and no perill to be feared; hee going forth fo strongly appointed, against so weak enemies. Thus might wife men thinke, and laugh at him in fecret; confidering what adot he made above that, which in all apparent reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing of

But God, before whom the wisedome of this world is foolishnesse, did laugh not only at this vaine-glorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reasonof the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the Aramites & King Joas mer, whether it were by fome folly of the Leaders, or by some amazement happening among the souldiers, or by whatsoever means it pleafed God to worke, fo it was, that that great Army of Juda received a notable over-throw, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of Juda, at whose perswasion the King had become a Rebell to the King of Kings. As for Joas himselfe(as Abulensis and others

expound the story) he was forely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they thinke) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring out of him an excessive ransome.

And furely, all circumstances doe greatly strengthen this conjecture. For the Text (in the old translation) faith, they exercised upon Joss ignominious judgements; & that denatting from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which argues, that they had himintheir hands, and handled him ill-tayouredly. Now at that time Joas the fonne of Atheaha reigned over Israel, and Benhadad the son of Hazael over the Syrians in Damafais; the one a valiant under-taking Prince, raifed up by God to restore the State of his miferable Country; the other inferiour every way to his father; of whose purchases hee loft agreat part, for want of skill to keepe it. The difference in condition found herweene these two Princes, promising no other event than such as afterward followed, might have given to the King of Juda good cause to be bold, and plucke up his spirits; which HaZael had beaten downe, if God had not beene against him. But his fearefull heart being likely to quake upon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the Svrian King in hope, that by terrefying him with some shew of warre at his doores, it were easie to make him crave any tolerable conditions of peace. The unexpected good succeffehereof, already related, & the (perhaps as unexpected) ill fuccesse, which the Aramires found in their following warres against the King of Israel, sheweth plainely the weakenesse of all earthly might, resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his Ordinance, both the Kingdome of Juda, after more than forty yeeres time of gathering frength, was unable to drive out a small companie of Enemies; and the Kingdome of Ifael having to been trodden downe by Hazael, that onely fifty Horfemen, tenne Chariots, and tenne thousand Footmen were left; prevailed against his Sonne, & recovered all from the victorious Aramites. But examples hereof are every-where found, & therefore I will not infift upon this; though indeed wee should not, if we be Gods children, thinkeit more tedious to heare long & frequent reports of our heavenly Fathers honourthan of the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers upon earth.

When the Aramites had what they lifted, & faw that they were not able, being fo few. to take any possession of the Country, they departed out of Juda loaden with spoile. which they fent to Damascus, themselves belike falling upon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they fped not halfe fo well. The King of Juda being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the fons of an Ammoniteffe, & of a Moabiteffe. whom some (because onely their Mothers names, being strangers, are expressed) thinke to have beene bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or feare, lest (as Tyrantsuse) hee should revenge his disaster upon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatloever else it were that animated them to murder their King; the Scripture telsus plainly, that, For the blond of the children of Jehojada, this befell him. And the same ap- 2 Chro. 24.25. pears to have beene used as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For AmaZia, the sonne and successor of Joas, durst not punish them, till his Kingdome was established: but contrariwise, his body was judged unworthy of buriall in the Sepulchres of the Kings: whereby it appeares, that the death of Zacharia caused the treason, wrought against the King, to finde more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompensed by his fonne, upon the Trai-

tors, with well-deserved death.

CHAP. 22. S. 6.

6. VI.

Of the Princes living in the time of Joas: of the time when Carthage was built; and of Dido.

Here lived with Joas, Mexades & Diognetus in Athens: Eudemus and Aristomedes in Corinth: about which time Agrippa Sylvius, and after him Sylvius Alladius, were Kings of the Albans in Italy. OcraZapes, commonly called Anacyndaraxes, the thirty seventh King succeeding unto Ophratanes, began his reigne over the Affyrians, about the eighteenth yeere of Jose, which lasted forty two yeeres. In the fixteenth of Joas, Cephrenes, the fourth from Sefac, fucceeded unto Cheops in the Kingdome of Egypt, and held it fifty yeeres.

In this time of Joss, was likewise the reigne of Pigmalion in Tyre, and the foundation

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of Carthage by Dido; the building of which City is, by divers Authors, placed indivers ages some reporting it to be 70 yeeres yonger than Rome, others above 400. yeersel. der, few or none of them giving any reason of their affertions, but leaving usuncertains whom to follow: Josephus, who had read the Annals of Tyre, counting one hundred Joseph.com. App. forty and three yeeres and eight moneths from the building of Salomors Temple, inthe twelfth yeer of Hyram King of Tyre, to the founding of Carthage by Dido, in the fevent of Pigmalion. The particulars of this accompt (which is not rare in Jojep w) are very perplexed, and ferve not very well to make cleer the totall fumme. But whether it were fo that Tolephus did omit, or else that he did mis-write some number of the yeers, which he reckoneth in Fractions, as they were divided among the Kings of Tyre, from Hyani, to Pigmalion; we may well enough beleeve, that the Tyrian writers, out of whosebooks hee gives us the whole fumme, had good meanes to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, betweene two works no longer following one the other than the memory of three or foure generations might eafily reach. This hundred form and foure yeeres current, after the building of Salomons Temple, being the eleventh veere of Jou, was a hundred forty and three yeeres before the birth of Rome; and after the destruction of Troy, two hundred eighty and nine : a time so long after the death of Acres, that wee might truely conclude all to be fabulous which Virgil hath written of Dido as Aufonius noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigram:

Aufon.ep.117.

TLlaego sum Dido vultu quam conspicis bospes. Assimulata modis pulchraque mirificis. Talis eram, (ed non Maroquam mihi finxit, erat mens, Vita nec incestis leta cupidinibus, (Namque nec Eneas videt me Troise unquam Nec Lybiam advenit, classibus Iliacis. Sed furias fugiens, atque arma procacis Iarba. Servavi, fateor, morte pudicitiam; Pectore transfixo castos quod pertulit enfes) Non furor, aut leso crudus amore delor. Sic cecidisse juvat : vixi sine vulnere fama. Ulta virum, positis mænibus oppetii. Invida cur in me stimulasti Musa Maronein, Fingeret ut nostræ damna pudicitiæ? Vos magis Historicis lectores credite de me Quam qui furta Deum concubita (que canunte Fallidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum, Humanifque deos assimulant vitiis.

Which in effect is this.

Am that Dido which thou here do'ft fee, Cunningly framed in beauteous Imag'rie, -Like this I was, but had not fuch a foule, As Maro fained, incestuous and foule. A eneas never with his Trojan hoast Beheld my face, or landed on this coast. But flying proud Iarbas villanie, Not mov'd by furious love or jealousie; I did with weapon chaste, to save my fame, Make way for death untimely ere it came. This was my end; but first I built a Towne, Reveng'd by husbands death, liv'd with renowne. Why did'ft thou stirre up Virgil, envious Muse. Falfely my name and honour to abuse ? Readers believe Historians; not those Which to the world foves thefes and vice expose. Poets are lyars, and for verses sake Will make the gods of humane crimes partake.

From the time of Dido unto the first Punick warre, that Carthage grew & flourished in wealth and conquests, we finde in many Histories: but in particular we finde little of the Carthaginian affaires before that war, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts of the Isle of Sicil. We will therefore deferre the relation of matters concerning that mighty Citie, untill such time as they shall encounter with the State of Rome, by which it was finally destroyed; and prosecute in the mean while the History that is now in hand.

The beginning of Amazia his reigne: Of Joas King of Ifrael, and Elishathe Prophet.

Mazias, the fon of Joash, being twenty five yeeres old when his Father died, tooke possession of the Kingdome of Juda, wherein he laboured so to demeane himselse, as his new beginning reigne might bee least offensive. The Law of Moss hee professed to observe; which howsoever it had beene secretly despised since the time of Jehoram, by many great persons of the land, yet had it by provision of good Princes, yea and of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by thecare of holy Priests, taken such deepe roote in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plaufible, who did not conform himselfe unto it. And at that prefentume, the flaughter, which the Aramites had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawnethelate King from the service of God, being seconded by the death of the King himselfe, even whilest that execrable murther, committed by the King upon Zecharia, wasvetfiesh in memory, did serve as a notable example of Gods justice against Idolaters, both to animate the better fort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathersand to discourage Amazia from following the way, which led to such an evillend. Hee therefore, having learned of his father the art of diffimulation, did not onely forbeare to punish the Traitors that had flain King Joss, but gave way to the time, and suffered the dead body to be interred, as that of Jeheram formerly had been, in the City of David, yet not among the Sepulchres of the Kings of Juda. Nevertheleffe, after this, when (belike) the noise of the people having wearied it selfe into silence, it was found that the Conspirators (howsoever their deed done, was applauded as the handie worke of God) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor strong maintainers of their persons, but rested secure, as having done well, seeing it was not ill taken: the King, who perceived his government well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the heate of mens affections being well allayed, it was easie to distinguish between their treasons and Gods judgements, which, by their treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were suffered to live: which could not but give contentment to the people, seeing that their King did the office of a just Prince, rather than of a revenging sonne. This being done, and his owne life better secured, by such exemplary justice, against the like attemps; Amazia carried himselfe outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, & so continued in rest, about twelve or thirteen yeeres.

As Amazia gathered strength in Juda by the commodity of a long peace, so Joss the liaelite grew as fast in power, by following the warre hotly against the Aramites. He was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predecessors had beene, worhipping the Calves of Teroboam. For this sinne had God so plagued the house of Jeha, that the ten Tribes wanted little of being utterly confumed, by HaZael and Benhadad, in the time of Jehu and his sonne Jehoshaz. But as Gods benefits to Jehu, sufficed not to With-draw him from this politique Idolatry; so were the miseries, rewarding that implety, unable to reclaim Jehosha? from the fame impious course: yet the mercy of God beholding the trouble of Israel, did condescend unto the prayers of this ungodly Prince, even then when hee and his miserable subjects, were obstinate in following their owne abominable waies. Therefore in temporall matters the ten Tribes recovered apace; but the favour of God, which had beene infinitely more worth, I doe not and not believe that they fought: that they had it not, I finde in the words of the Prophet, faying plainely to Amazia, The Lord is not with Ifrael, neither with all the 2 Chro. 25.76

bouse of Ephraim.

CHAP.22, S.7.

Whether

HAP, 22, S. 8.

Whether it were fo, that the great Prophet Elisha, who lived in those times, did for. tell the prosperity of the Israelites under the reigne of Jose; or whether Jeboahaz, wea ried and broken with long adversity, thought it the wifest way, to discharge himself in part of the heavie cares attending those unhappy Syrian Warres, by laying thebut King. 13. 10. then upon his hopefull fonne; wee finde that in the thirtie seventh yeere of Joas, King of Juda, Joas the sonne of Jehoahaz began to reigne over Israel in Samaria; which was a the 15. yeere of his fathers reigne, and fome two or three yeeres before his death.

The second Booke of the first part

It appeares that this young Prince, even from the beginning of his Rule, did fowd husband that poore stock that he received from his Father, of ten Chariots, fifty Holfe men, and ten thousand Foot, that hee might seeme likely to prove a thriver. Among other circumstances, the words which he speake to Elishathe Prophet, argue notific For Jose visiting the Prophet, who lay sicke, spake unto him thus; o my father, my father, the Chariot of Ifrael, and the hor femen of the fame : by which maner of speech heedidace knowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had flood his Kingdom in more flead, than

all the Horses and Chariots could doe.

This Prophet who fucceeded unto Elias, about the first yeere of Joram the some of Abab King of Ifrael, died (as some have probably collected) about the third or south yeer of this Joas, the Nephew of Jehr. To shew how the spirit of Elias was doubled or did rest upon him, it exceedeth my faculty. This is recorded of him, that heedid me onely raife a dead childe unto life, as Elias had done, but when hee himfelfe was dead in pleased God that his dead bones should restore life unto a carcass, which touched them in the grave. In fine, hee bestowed as a legacie, three victories upon King Joss, who thereby did fet Israel in a faire way of recovering all that the Aramites had usured, and weakning the Kings of Damasco in such fort, that they were never after temble to Samaria.

§. VIII.

of Amazia his warre against Edom; His Apostasie; and overthrow by Joas.

THe happy successe which Joas had found in his war against the Aramites, was fuch as might kindle in AmaZia a defire of undertaking some expedition, wherein himselse might purchase the like honour. His Kingdome could fimile three hundred thousand serviceable men for the Wars; and his treasures were sufficient for the payment of these, and the hire of many more. Cause of war hee had very just against the Edomites, who having rebelled in the time of his grand-father Jehoram, had about fifty yeeres beene unreclaimed, partly by reason of the troubles happenigin Juda, partly through the floth and timerousnesse of his father Joas. Yet, forasmuchs the men of Juda had in many yeeres beene without all exercise of Warre (excepting that unhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the Aramites) heeheld it a point of wisedome to increase his forces, with souldiers waged out of Israel, whence he hired for an hundred talents of filver, an hundred thousand valiant men, as the Scopture telleth us, though Josephus diminish the number, saying that they were but twenty

This great Army, which with so much cost Amazia had hired out of Ifrael, hewas faine to dismisse before hee had imployed it, being threatned by a Prophet withilling ceffe, if he strengthened himselfe with the helpe of those men, whom God (thoughin mercy hee gave them victory against the cruell Aramites) did not love, because they were Idolaters. The Israelites therfore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this difmission, as an high disgrace; which to revenge, they fell upon a piece of Juda in their returne, and shewed their malice in the flaughter of three thousand men, and some spoile, which they carried away. But AmaZia with his owne forces, knowing that God would bee affiftant to their journey, entred courageously into the Edomities Countrie, over whom obtaining victory, he flew ten thousand, and tooke other ten thousand prisoners, all which hee threw from an high rocke; holding them, it seemes, rather as Traytors, than as just enemies. This victory did not seeme to reduce Edom under the subjection of the Crowne of Juda; which might bee the cause of that severity, which was used to the prisoners; the Edomites that had escaped, refusing to buy the lives of their friends and kinfmen at fo deare a rate, as the losse of their owne libertie. Some townes in mount

Seir, Amazia took, as appeares by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefensible in that he left no garrisons there, whereby he might another year the better have purfued the conquest of the whole countrey. Howsoever invere, he got both honour by the journey, and gains enough, had he not lost himselfe.

Among other spoyles of the Edomites, were carryed away their gods; which being vanquished and taken prisoners, did deserve well to be led in triumph. But they contrarivalle. Iknow not by what strange witchcraft, so besotted this unworthie King AmaZia, that hift them up to be his gods, and worthipped them, and burned incense unto them.

2 Chro.25.14.

Forthis when he was rebuked by a Prophet sent from God, he gave a churlish and threatning answer; asking the Prophet, Who made him a Counseller, and bidding him holdhis peace for feare of the worft. If either the costly stuffe, whereof these Idols were made, or the curious workemanship and beautie, with which they were adorned by Arrificers, had ravished the kings fancie; methinkes, he should have rather turned them mmatter of profit, or kept them as house-hold ornaments and things of pleasure, than thereby have suffered himselfe to be blinded, with such unreasonable devotion towards them. If the superstitious account wherein the Edomites had held them, were able to worke much upon his imagination; much more should the bad service which they had done to their old Clients, have moved him thereupon to laugh, both at the Edomites. and them. Wherefore it feemes to me, that the fame affections carried him from God. unto the service of Idols, which afterwards moved him to talke so roughly to the Prophetreprehending him. He had alreadie obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, and fentaway such auxiliarie forces as he had gathered out of Ifrael; which done, it is fayd, that he was encouraged, and led forth his people, thinking belike, that God would now ra- 2 Chro. 25. 25. theraffift him by miracle, than let him faile of obtaining all his hearts defire. But with betterreason he should have limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was that Elau having broken the yoake of Jacob from his neck, according as Ilaac had foretold, should no more become his servant. If therefore Amazia did hope to re-conquerall the Countrey of Edom, he failed of his expectation; yet fo, that he brought homeboth profit and honour, which might have well contented him.

Butthere is a foolish and a wretched pride, wherewith menbeing transported, can ill endure to ascribe unto God the honour of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to use their owne industrie, courage, or fore-fight. Therefore it is commonly seene, that they, who entring into battell, are carefull to pray for aide from heaven, with due acknowledgement of his power, who is the giver of victorie; when the field is won, doe vaunt of their owneexploits: one telling how he got such a ground of advantage; another, how he gave checke to fuch a battalion; athird, how he feized on the enemics Canon; every one striving to magnifie himselfe, whilest all forget God, as one that had not been present in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another mans vertue, is Iconfesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which finderh better sucteffe, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deepely bound to acknowledge God the Author of his happinesse; so he whose meere wisdome and labour hath brought things, to a prosperous issue, is doubly bound to shew himselfe thankefull, both for the victorie, and for those vertues by which the victorie was gotten. And indeed so far from weakenesse is the nature of such thankes giving, that it may well be called the height of magnamimities no vertue being so truely heroicall, as that by which the spirit of man advanceth itselfe with confidence of acceptation, unto the love of God. In which sense it is a brave speech that Evander in Virgil useth to Enew, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition:

Aude hoftes contemnere opes & te quoque dignum

Finge Deo.

With this Philosophie AmaZia (as appears by his carriage) troubled not his head: he had fliewed himsefe a better man of war than any King of Juda, since the time of Jehosaphat, and could be well contented, that his people should think him little inferior to David: of which honour he saw no reason why the Prophets should rob him, who had made him losean hundred talents, and done him no pleasure; he having prevailed by plaine force and good conduct, without any miracle at all. That he was diftempered with fuch vaine thoughts as these (besides the witnesse of his impietie following) Josephus doth Josephus doth testifie z Aaa

Fof. Antiq. Fud

testifie; faying, That he despised God, and that being pust up with his good successe, of which neverthelesse he would not acknowledge God to be the Author, he commanded For King of Israelto become his subject, and to let the tenne Tribes acknowledge him their Soveraigne, as they had done his Ancestours King David and Salomon. Some think that his quarrell to Joss was rather grounded upon the injurie done to him by the Ifraelites, whom he difmiffed in the journey against Mount Seir. And likely it is, the the fense of a late wrong had more power to stirre him up, than the remembrance of a old title, forgotten long fince, and by himselfe neglected thirteene or founteen yeares. Neverthelesse it might so be, that when he was thus provoked, he thought not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old matters into question; the so the Kings of Israel might, at the least, learne to keepe their subjects from offending Juda, for feare of endangering their owne Crownes. Had Amazia defired onely R. compence for the injurie done to him, it is not improbable that hee should haveled fome reasonable answer from Joss, who was not desirous to fight with him. Buttles fwer which Jour returned, likening himselfe to a Cedar, and Amazia in respect of him to no better than a thiftle, shewes that the challenge was made in insolent termes, perhaps with such proud comparison of Nobilitie, as might be made (according) that which Josephus hath written) between a King of ancient race, and one of lessenous

Sephocles in A jace

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It is by Sophocles reported of Ajax, that when going to the warre of Troy, his faller tie than vertue. did bid him to be valiant, and get victorie by Gods affistance, he made answer, The Gods affistance a coward could get victorie, but he would get it alone without helpe: after which proud speech, though he did many valiant acts, he had finalling and finally, killing himselfe in a madnesse, whereinto hee fell upon disgrace mind was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That Amazia did utter such words, lin not finde: but having once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of such work he was rewarded with successe according. The very first counsell wherein this war was concluded, serves to prove that he was a wife Prince indeed at Jerusalem, anny his Parasites, but a foole when he had to deale with his equals abroad. For it wast all one, to fight with the Edomites, a weake people, trusting more in the site of the Countrey, than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with Jous, who im fo poore beginnings had raised himselfe to such strength, that he was able to lend is friend a hundred thousandmen, and had all his Nation exercised, and trained was long victorious warre. But as Amazia discovered much want of judgement, in unduaking such a match; so in prosecuting the businesse, when it was set on foot, hebeind himselfe as a man of little experience, who having once onely tryed his fortune, at found it to be good, thought that in Warre there was nothing else to doe, that in a defiance, fight, and winne. Joss on the contrarie fide, having beene accustomin deale with a stronger enemie than the King of Juda, used that celeritie, which peralter ture had often flood him in good flead against the Aramite. He did not sit waiting the enemies brake in and wasted his Countrey, but presented himselse with an Amie Juda, readieto bid battell to Amazia, and fave him the labour of along journey. The could not but greatly discourage those of Juda; who (besides the impression of a which an invation beates into people, not inured in the like) having devoured into greedie hopes, the spoyle of Israel, fully perswading themselves to get as much, as easie rate as in the journey of Edom; were so farre disappointed of their expediment that well they might suspect all new assurance of good lucke, when the old had thus be guiled them. All this notwithstanding, their King that had stomacke enough to challed the patrimonie of Salomen, thought like another David to winne it by the swon The iffue of which foole-hardineffe might eafily have beene foreseene in humans of fon; comparing together, either the two Kings, or the qualitie of their Armies, or first and ominous beginning of the Warre. But meere humane wisedome, howlord it might foresee much, could not have prognosticated all the mischiefe that fellupan mazia. For as soone as the two Armies came in fight, God, whose helpe this wrend man had so despised, did (as Josephus reports it) strike such terrour and amazement the men of Juda, that without one blow given, they fled all away, leaving their King shift for himselfe; which he did so ill, that his enemie had soone caught him, and me him change his glorious humour into most abject basenesse. That the Armie w

fed fultained any other losse than of honour, I neither finde in the Scriptures nor in 70hour; it being likely that the soone beginning of their flight, which made it the more hamefull, made it also the more safe. But of the mischiefe that followed this overthow, rwas Gods will that Amazia himselfe should sustaine the whole disgrace. For Toas caraied him directly to Jerusalem, where he bade him procure that the gates might be opened to let him in and his Army; threatning him otherwise with present death. So much hanged was the miferable captive, with these dreadfull words, that he durst do no other hanperswade the Citizens, to yeeld themselves to the mercie of the Conquerour. The Towne, which afterwards being in weaker state held out two yeares against Nebuchad. ellar, was utterly dismaid, when the King that should have given his life to save it used all his force of command and intreaty to betray it. So the gates of Jerusalem were opered to Jeas, with which honour (greater than any King of Ifrael had ever obtained) hee muld not rest contented, but the more to despise Amazia and his people, he caused 400. abits of the wall to be throwne downe, and entred the citie in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the King before him as intriumph. This done, he fackt the Temple, and the Kings Palace, and to taking hostages of Amazia, he dismissed the poor creature that wasglad of his life, and returned to Samaria.

6. IX.

discourse of the reasons hindring Joas from uniting Judato the Crown of Israel, when hee hidron Jerusalem, and held Amazia prisoner. The end of Joas his reigne.

TEmay justly marvell how it came to passe, that Joss, being thus in posselfion of Jerusalem, having the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken. and his own entire, could be so content to depart quietly with a little spoil, henke might have feized upon the whole Kingdome. The reigne of Athalia had gien himcause to hope that the issue of David might be dispossessed of that crowne; his vnnobility, being the son & grand-child of Kings, together with the famous acts that thad done, were enough to make the people of Juda think highly of him; who might to have preferred his forme of governement before that of their own Kings, especially fuch a time, when a long succession of wicked Princes had smothered the thanks which eredue to the memory of a few good ones. The commodity that would have enfued bonthe union of all the twelve Tribes under one Prince, is fo apparent, that I need not infiftonit. That any meffage from God forbade the Israelite (as afterwards in the Grie which Peka the fon of Romelia got upon Aba?) to turne his prefent advantage the bestuse, wee doe not reade. All this makes it the more difficult to resolve the leftion, why a Prince fo well exercifed as Jeas had beene in recovering his owne, and ining from his enemy, should for sake the possession of Jerusalem, and wilfully negthe possibilities, or rather cast away the full assurance of so faire a conquest, as the ingdome of Juda.

But concerning that point, which of all others had been most materiall. I meane the fire of the vanquished people to accept the Israelite for their King, it is plainely seen, tt entring Jerusalem in triumphant manner, Joss was unable to concoct his owne protritie. For the opening of the gates had beene enough to have let him not onely into Citie, but into the Royall Throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by faire intreatie pecially having fure meanes of compulfion) hee might have made his owne, when y law themselves betrayed, and basely given away by him whose they had beene ore. The faire marke which this opportunitie presented, hee did not aime at, bele his ambition was otherwise, and more meanely busied, in levelling at the glory triumphat entry through a breach. Yet this errour might afterwards have beene refled well enough, if entring as an enemie, and shewing what hee could doe, by riding his anger upon the Walles, he had within the Citie done offices of a friend, and outed to shew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his coveis leftle beganne, and sought to please it selfe with that which is commonly most reatothe spoyler, yet should be most forborne. The Treasure wherewith Sesac Hazael, the Philistims, men ignorant of the true God and his Religion, had quenched their edy thirst, ought not to have tempted the appetite of Jeas, who though an Idolater,

Josanelge.ic

C H AP. 22.5.9

yet acknowledged also and worthipped the eternall God, whose Temple was at Jeruja. yet acknowledged and and world faw him take his way directly to feife that holy place. and lay his ravenous hands upon the confecrated veffels, calling the familie of obed E and 12y nis ravellous nations up the treasure of the treasure to a strict account, as ifther the Chron. 26.15. dom (whose children had bereditarie charge of the treasure) had beene officers of his owne Exchequer; they confidered him rather as an execubil-Church-robber, than as a noble Prince, an Ifraelite and their brother, though of a nother Tribe. Thus following that course, which the most vertuous King of our (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely avoyded; by stealing a few Apples, he lost the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people deteited him, and after the refpin of a few dayes, might, by comparing themselves one to one, perceive his Souldiersto. be no better than men of their owne mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of fogreat a Citie. It is not so easse to hold by force a mightie town entered by capinlation, as to enter the gates opened by unadvised feare. For when the Citizens,, nother ing difarmed, recover their spirits, and begin to understand their first errour; they will thinke upon every advantage, of place, of provisions, of multitude, yea of women are med with tile-stones; and rather choose by desperate resolution, to correct the wills growne out of their former cowardife, than fuffer those mischieses to poyson the bodie, which in fuch halfe-conquests, are easily tasted in the mouth. A more lively example hereof cannot be defired, than the Citie of Florence, which through the weakenessed Peter de Medices, governing therein as a Prince, was reduced into fuch hard teames. that it opened the gates unto the French King Charles the eighth, who not planely professing himselfe either friend or foe to the State, entred the Towne, with his Armie, in triumphant maner, himfelfe and his horfe armed, with his lance upon his high Many infolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell ministred betweene them and the Townes-men: fo farre forth that the Florintines, to preserve their libertie, were drivento prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, Charles propounds intolerable conditions, demanding huge summesofred money, and the absolute Seigniorie of the State, as conquered by him, who entited the Citiein Armes. But Peter Caponi, a principall Citizen, catching these Articles from the Kings Secretarie, and tearing them before his face, bad him found his Trumper, and they would ring their Bels: which peremptorie words made the Frenchbahinke themselves, and come readily to this agreement, that for fortie thousand pounds, and not halfe of that money to be paid in hand, Charle: should not onely depart inpeace, butrestore whatsoever he had of their Dominion, and continue their assured friend. So dangerous a matter did it seeme for that brave Armie, which in few moneths after wannethe Kingdome of Naples, to fight in the streets, against the armed multimule of that populous Citie. It is true, that Charles had other businesse (and so perhaps had Joss, as shall anon be shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houses, usually drawes every Citizento fave his owne, leaving victorie to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and resolved, women can quench, as fast as the ename, having other things to looke unto, can fet on fire. And indeede that Commanderis more given to anger than regardfull of profit, who upon the uncertaine hope of deftroying a Towne, for sakes the affurance of a good composition. Diversitie of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in Jerusalem, as we know it was in

How strongly soever Jose might hold himselfe within Jerusalem, he could not easily depart from thence, with his bootie safe, if the armie of Juda, which had bin more terrefied than weakned in the late encounter, should re-enforce it selfe, and give hima checke upon the way. Wherefore it was wifely done of him, to take hoftages for his better fecuritic, his Armie being upon returne, and better loaden than when it came forth; for which causes it was the more unapt to fight.

Besides these impediments, within the Citie and without, serving to coole the ambition of Joss, and keepe it down from aspiring to the Crown of Juda; it appeares that fomewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of Elisha the Prophet, who, when this Jour had smitten the ground with his arrowes thrice told him that he should no oftner smite the Aramites. The three victories which Israel had against Aram, are by some, and with great probabilitie, referred unto the fifth, sixth, and seventh

yeares of Joas: after which time, if any losses ensuing had blemished the former good fuccesse, ill might the King of Israel have likened himselfe to a stately Cedar, and worse could be have either lent the Judaan one hundred thou fand men, or meet him in battell. who was able to bring into the field three hundred thou fand of his owne. Seeing therefore it is made plaine by the words of Elisha, that after three victories Joash should finde fomechange of fortune, and fuffer loffe; we must needs conclude, That the Aramite prevailed upon him this yeare, it being the last of his Raigne. That this was so, and that the Sprians, taking advantage of Joas his absence, gave such a blow to Ifrael, as the King at his return was not able to remedie, but rather fell himselfe into new misfortunes, which increased the calamitie; we may evidently perceive in that which is spoken of Ferobeam his son. For it is faid, That the Lord saw the exceeding bitter afflictions of Israel, and that having not decreed to put out the name of Ifrael from under the Heaven, he preserved them be the hand of Jeroboam the sonne of Joas. This is enough to prove, that the victorious Raione of Joss was couclided with a fad catastrophe; the riches of the Temple hastning his miserie and death, as they had done with Sesac, Athalia, and Hazael, and as afterwards they wrought with Antiochus, Crassus, and other facrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceived against him, by the people of Jerusalem, and courage which they tooke to fet upon him within the Walls; or through prepararion of the Armie that lay abroad in the Countrey, to bid him battell in open field, and recover by a new charge the honour which was loft at the former encounter; or through themileries daily brought upon his owne Countrey, by the Syrian in his absence (if not byall of these) Joss was driven to lay aside all thought of winning the kingdome of 74de and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste home wards, where he found alad wel-come, and being utterly for faken of his wonted prosperitie, for fook also his lifeinfew moneths after, leaving his kingdome to Jeroboam the second, his fortunate and valiant fon-

§. X.
The end of Amazia his Raigne and Life.

Ny man is able to ghesse how AmaZia looked, when the enemie had left him. A Hee that had vaunted so much of his owne great prowesse and skill in Armes, threatning to worke wonders, and set up a new the glorious Empire of David, was now uncased of his Lyons hide, and appeared nothing so terrible a beast as he had beene painted. Much argument of scoffing at him he had ministred unto such, as held him indiflike; which at this time, doubtleffe, were very many: for the shame that falls upon an infolent man, feldome failes of meeting with aboundance of reproach. As for Amalia (befides that the multitude are alwayes prone to lay the blame upon their Governours, even of those calamities which happen by their owne default) there was no thildein all Jerusalem, but knew him to be the root of all this mischiefe. He had not only challenged a good man of War, being him selfe a Dastard; but when he was beaten andtaken by him, had basely pleaded for the common enemie, to have him let into the Che, that with his owne eyes he might fee what spoyle there was, and not make a bad bargaine by heare-fav. The father of this AmaZia was a beastly man; yet when the Aramites tooke him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his own life at so dear a rate, as the Citie and Temple of Jerusalem. Had he offered, should they have made his promise good? furely the hafte which they had made in condescending to this hard match, was veryunfortunate: for by keeping out the I fraelise (which was eafie enough) any little while they should foon have bin rid of him, seeing that the Aramites would have made him run home, with greater speed than he came forth. Then also, when having trusted up his bagto perfwade him to heave his load behind; had not their good king delivered up hostages, to secure his return, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his paines taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vexe the heart of this unhappie King: it had beene well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his fault unto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But we finde no mention of his amendment. Rather it appeares, that he continued an Idolater to the very last. For it is said of him, that after is turning away from the Lord, they wrought treason against him in Jerusalem: a manifest 2 Chro.25:27. MAP.22. S.II.

474 proofethat he was not reclaimed unto his lives end. And certainely, they which tell proofethat he was not recaults passed, shall sooner be thought to upbraid him with a man in his adversity of his faults passed, shall sooner be thought to upbraid him with a manning adverting of the transfer of the priest his fortune, than to seeke his reformation. Wherefore it is no marvell, that Priests nis fortune, than to leafe welcome to him, than ever they had been. On the other fide, and Prophets were leffe welcome to him, than ever they had been. flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a heart into him, whereof themselves might alwaies be masters, wanted not plausible matter to revive him. For he was not the first, nor second of the Kings of Juda, that had beene overcome in battell. David himselse had abandoned the Citie, leaving it before the enemy was in fight, unto Absalom his rebellious Sonne. Many besides him had received losses, wherein the Temple bare a part. If Joas might so easily have beene kept out; why did their Ance. Rorslet Sefacin: Afa was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his owne hands her emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable by necessity of the State. Belike these traducers would commend no Actions but of dead Princes: if so, he shouldrather live to punish them, than die to please them. Though wherein had hee given them any cause of displeasure? It was he indeede that commanded to set open the gates to Joas; but it was the people that did it. Good fervants oughtnotto have obeyed their Masters Commandements to his disadvantage, when they sawhim not master of his owne Person. As his captivity did acquite him from blame, of all things that he did or suffered in that condition; so was that misfortune it selfe, in time estimation, as highly to his honour, as deeply to his losse. For had he beene ashally, to flye as others were, hee might have escaped as well as others did. But seeking to teach the base multitude courage by his Royall example, he was shamefully betrayed by those in whom he trusted. Unworthy creatures, that could readily obey him, when speaking another mans words, being prisoner, he commanded them to yeeld; having neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bade them stand to it and fight like men. The best was, that they must needs acknowledge his mischance, as the occison whereby many thousand lives were faved; the enemy having wisely preferredile furprise of a Lion that was Captaine, before the chase and slaughter of an Army of Sugs

These or the like words comforting Amazia, were able to perswade him, thatiwas; even so indeed. And such excuses might have served well enough to please the people, if the King had first studied how to please God. But hee that was unwilling to alcube unto God the good successe fore-told by a Prophet; could easily finde how to impute this late difafter unto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning forture, it seemes that he meant to keepe himselfe safe from her by sitting still; for in ssitent years following (folong he out-lived his honour)we find not that he stirred. As for his fubjects, though nothing henceforth bee recorded of his government, yet we may fee by his end, that the middle time was ill spent among them, increasing their hatred to his owneruine. He that suspecteth his owne worth or other mens opinions, thinking the leffe regard is had of his person than he beleeveth to be due to his place, will commonly spend all the force of his authoritie in purchasing the name of a severe man-For the affected sowrenesse of a vaine fellow, doth many times resemble the gravity of onethatiswise: and the feare wherein they live, which are subject unto oppression, carryes a shew of reverence to him that does the wrong; at least it serves to dazle the eyes of underlings, keeping them from prying into the weakenesse of such as havejurisdiction over them. Thus the time, wherein, by well using it, men might attain tobe fuch as they ought, they do usually mis-spend, in seeking to appeare such as they are not This is a vain & deceivable course; procuring, in stead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous confequence; especially when an unable spirit, being over-perted with so high authority, istoo passionate in the execution of such an office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If ther fore Ama-Zia thought by extreme rigour to hold up his reputation, what did he else than strive to make the people think he hated them, when of themselves they were apt enough to be leeve that he did not love them: the best was, that he had, by revenging his fathers death, provided well enough for his owne fecurity: but who should take vengeance (or upon whom?) of fuch a murther, wherein every one had a part : Surely God himselfe, who had not given comandement or leave unto the people, to take his office out of his had, in shedding the bloud of his Annointed. Yet as Amazia carelesse of God, was carried

headlong by his owne affections; so his subjects, following the same ill example, withoutrequiring what belonged unto their duties, rose up against him, with such headlong furie, that being unable to defend himselfe in Jerusalem, he was driven to forsake the Cirie, and flie to Lachis, for fafeguard of his life. But so extreme was the hatred conceived nt, and fo generall, that neither his absence could allay the rage of it in the Capiall Citie, nor his presence in the Countrie abroad procure friends to defend his life. Ouetionlesse he chose the Town of Lachis for his refuge, as a place of all other best affected rohim, yet found he there none other favour, than that the people did not kil him with their own hands; for when the Conspirators (who troubled not themselves about raifine an Armie for the matter) fent pursuers after, he was abandoned to death. Lachis was the utmost Citie of his Dominion Westward, standing somewhat without the border of Juda; so that he might have made an easie escape (if he durst adventure) into the Terriforie of the Philistims, or the Kingdome of Israel. Therefore it may seem that he was derained there, where certaine it is that he found no kind of favour: for had not the people of this Town added their own treason to the generall infurrection; the murderers could notatio good leafure as they did, have carried away his bodie to Jerusalem, where they gave him buriall with his fathers.

4. X I.

of the Interregnum, or vacancie, that was in the Kingdome of Juda, after the death of Amazia.

Thath alreadie bin shewed, that the Reignes of the Kings of Juda and Israel were sometimes to be measured by compleat years, otherwhiles, by years current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the last years of his fathers Raign, or the foremost of his sons. But we are now arrived at a meere vacation, wherein the Crown of Juda lay voyd eleven whole yeares: a thing not plainly set down in Scriptures, nor yet remembred by Josephus, and therefore hard to be believed, were it not proved by necessary consequence.

Twice we find it written, that AmaZia, King of Juda, lived after the death of Joas King 2 Chro. 25.2. of If self fifteene yeares; whereupon it followes, that the death of AmaZia, was about the end of fifteene yeares compleat, which Jeroboam the second (who in the fifteenth year of 2 Kin. 14.17. Amazia was made King over I frael) had raigned in Samaria. But the succession of UZZia, who is also called AZaria, unto his father in the Kingdome of Juda, was eleven years later than the sixteenth of Jeroboam: for it is expressed, that Azaria began to reign in the second with the first of two and fiftie that he raigned. So the Interregrum of eleven years cannot be divided, without some hard means used, of interpreting the Text otherwise than the letter sounds.

Yet some conjectures there are made, which tend to keepe all even, without acknowledging any voyd time. For it is thought that in the place last of all cited, by theseven and twentieth yeare of Jeroboam, we should perhaps understand the seven and twentieth yeare of his life; or else (because the like words are no where else interpretedinthe like sense) that Azaria was eleven yeares under age, that is, five years old, when his father died, and so his fixteenth yeare might concurre with the seven and twentieth of Jeroboam; or that the Text it selfe might have suffered some wrong, by milwriting twentie seven for seventeen yeares; and so, by making the seventeenth yare of Jereboam to be newly begun, all may be falved. These are the conjectures of that worthy man Gerard Mercator: concerning the first of which, it may suffice, that the Author himself doth easily let it passe, as improbable; the last is followed by none that Iknow, neither is it fit, that upon every doubt, we should call the text in question; which could not be satisfied in all copies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the second, it may beheld with some qualification, that Azaria began his Raign being five yeares old; but thenmust we adde those eleven yeares which passed in his minoritie, to the two and fiftie that followed his fixteenth yeare, which is all one, in a maner, with allowing an Inter-

But why should we be so carefull to avoy dan Interregnum in Juda, seeing that the like necessitie

necessity hath inforced all good Writers to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happenecently math inforced angular dome of Ifrael: The space of time between gerals, ning within few yeares, in the kingdome of Ifrael: ning within few years, making of Zachariahs reigne, and fuch another gap found between ams death, and the beginning of Zachariahs reigne, and fuch another gap found between ams death, and the beginning of Hofes, have made it eafily to be admitted into the death of Peka, and the beginning of Hofes, have made it eafily to be admitted into the death of reka, and the definings as they flood in Juda, when ImaZia was Samaria; which the confideration of things as they flood in Juda, when ImaZia was Samaria; Which the confidence is a same same and there, yea, although the necessity of flaine, doth make more probable to have happened there, yea, although the necessity of computation were not fo apparent.

The Jecond Booke of the first part

mputation were not to appared.

For the publike furie having so farre extended it selfe, as unto the destruction of the For the public internaving to the appeared without order taken for obtaining form kings own person, was not likely to be appeared without order taken for obtaining form redresse of those matters, which had caused it at the first to break forth into such extre redrene orthogenaucis, which already mity. We neede not therefore wonder how it came to passe, that they which already had throwne themselves into such an horrible treason, should afterwards dare to with hold the Crowne from a Prince of that age, which being invested in all ornament of Regality, is neverthelesse exposed to many injuries, proceeding from head-strong and

As for their conjecture, who make Azaria to have beene King but one andform forgetfull subjects. years after he came out of his non-age; I dare not allow it, because it agrees too harbly with the Text. The best opinion were that which gives unto Jeroboam eleven yearesof with the Text. The before he began to reigne fingle in the fifteenth of Amazia; it not swallow up almost the whole reign of 3000, and extending the years of those which reigned in Ifrael (by making such of them compleat as were onely current) and takes the shortest the reignes of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not stand well. pute further of this: every man may follow his owne opinion, and fee mine more plan. ly in the Chronologicall Table, drawne for these purposes.

6. X 11.

of Princes Contemporarie with Amazia, and more particularly of Sardanapalus.

THe Princes living with AmaZia, and in the eleven years that followed his death, were Jous and Jeroboum in Ifrael, Cephrenes and Mycerimus in Egypt, Sylvind ladius, and Sylvius Aventinus in Alba; Agamemnon in Corinth; Diognesuith reaus, and Ariphron in Athens; in Lacedæmon Thelectus, in whose time the Spans wan from the Achaians, Geranthæ, Amyclæ, and some other Townes.

But more notable than all these, was Assyrian Sardanapalus, who in the one and mit tieth year of Amazia, succeeding his father o crazapes or Anacyndaraxes, reigned months ty yeares, and was flaine the last of the eleven voyd yeares which fore-went the the of AZaria. In him ended (as most agree) the line of Ninus, which had held that Empit one thousand two hundred and forty years. A most luxurious and efferminate Palial he was, passing away his time among strumpets, whom he imitated both in appareland

In these voluptuous courses he lived an unhappy life, knowing himselse to be for the that he durst not let any man have a fight of him; yet seene he was at length, and the fight of him was fo odious, that it procured his ruine. For Arbaces, who governed the dia under him, finding meanes to behold the person of his King, was so incensed that beaftly spectacle, of a man disguised in womans attire, and striving to counterless harlot, that he thought it a great shame to live under the command of so unworthy creature. Purposing therefore to free himselfe and others from so base subjection, was much encouraged by the prediction of Belefis or Belofus a Chaldaran, who told plainly, that the Kingdome of Sardanapalus should fall into his hands. Arbaces pleased with the prophecie, did promise unto Belosses himselfe the government of Ban lon; and fo concluding how to handle the businesse, one of them stirred up the Men and allured the Persians into the quarrel, the other perswaded the Babylonians and he biaris to venture themselves in the same cause. These foure Nations armed forty that fandmen against Sardanapalus, who in this danger was not wanting to himselfe, but thering fuch forces as he could out of other Nations, encountred the rebels, as one would by deeds refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carried the beginning of that warre, answer to the manner of his retirednesse. For in the

hattels he carried away the better, driving Arbaces and his followers into such fearfull reimes, that had not Belofus promifed them constantly some unexpected succours, they would forthwith have broken up their Camp. About the fame time, an Armie out of Ractrid was comming to affift the King; but Arbaces encountring it upon the way, perfunded fo strongly by promise of liberty, that those forces joyned themselves with his The fudden departure of the enemy feeming to be a flight, caused Sardanapalus to feast his Armie, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being strengthened with this new finally, came upon him by night, and forced his Camp, which through over-great fecurity was unprepared for reliftance.

This overthrow did so weaken the Kings heart, that leaving his wives brother Salamems to keep the field, he withdrew himselfe into the Citie of Ninive; which, till new avdes that he fent for should come, he thought easily to defend; it having beene prophecied, that Ninive should never be taken, till the River were enemy to the Towne. Of the greatnesse and strength of Ninive, enough hath beene spoken in our discourse of Ninus. It was fo well victualled, that Arbaces (having in two battels overthrowne the Kings Armie, and flaine Salamenus) was faine tolye two whole yeares before it. in hopeto winne it by famine; whereof yet he faw no appearance. It feemes that he wanted Engines and skill to force those walles, which were an hundred foot high, and thickeenough for three Chariots in front to paffe upon the rampire. But that which hee could not doe in two yeares, the River of Tigris did in the third: for being high swolne with raines, it not onely drowned a part of the Citie through which it ranne, but here downe twenty furlongs of the wall, and made a faire breach for Arbaces to

Sardanapalus, either terrefied with the accomplishment of the old Oracle, or seeing nomeanes of refutance left, shutting up himselfe into his Palace, with his wives, eunuches, and all his treasures, did set the house on fire, wherewith he and they were together confumed. Strabo speakes of a monument of his, that was in Anchiale a Citie of Clicia, whereon was found an inscription, shewing that he built that Citie and Thar- Strable, fusupon one day : but the addition hereto, bidding men eate and drinke and make merry, encouraged others with verses well knowne, to a voluptuous life, by his owne example testified that his nature was more prone to sensualitie, than to any vertue beseeming a Prince.

There are some that faintly report otherwise of his end; saying that Arbaces, when he first found him among his Concubines, was so enraged, that suddenly he slew him with adagger. But the more generall consent of writers agrees with this relation of Diedorus Died. Sic. 1.2. 2.70 Siculus, who citeth Ctesias a Greeke Writer, that lived in the Court of Persia, where the truth might best be known.

Concerning the Princes which reigned in Assyria; from the time of Semiramis, unto Sardanapalus, though I beleeve that they were sometimes (yet not, as Orosius hath it, inresantly) bussed in offensive or else desensive arms; yet for the most part of them I doe petter trust Diodorus Siculus, who saith that their names were overpassed by Ctesias, be-Diod.1.2.66. fallethey did nothing worthy of memorie. What soever they did, that which Theophis- Theophilus Anties us Antiochenus hath said of them is very true; Silence and Oblivion hath oppressed them. chemis. Las.

CHAP

HAP. 23. S. I.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Uzzia.

6. I.

The prosperitie of Uzzia, and of Jeroboam the second, who raigned with him in I frail. of in the Anarchie that was in the ten Tribes after the death of Jeroboam. Of Zacharia, Sal. lum, Menahem and Pekahia.

ZZia, who is also called AhaZia, the son of Jotham, was made king of Ja. da, when he was fixteene yeares old, in the seven and twentieth year of Jeroboam the son of Jose king of Israel. Hee served the God of his subtraction David, and had therefore good fuccesse in all his enterprises. He built. loth, a Towne that stood neere to the Red Sea, and restored it to Juda He

overcame the Philifims, of whose Townes he difmantled some, and built others in simdrie parts of their Territories. Also he got the masterie over some parts of Arabia, and brought the Ammonites to pay him tribute. Such were the fruits of his prosperous wars, wherein (as Josephus rehearseth his acts) he began with the Philistims, and then proceeded unto the Arabians and Ammonites. His Armie confifted of three hundred and leven thousand men of war, over which were appointed two thousand and fixe hundred Captains. For all this multitude the king prepared shields, and speares, and helmets, and other Arms requifite; following therein happely a courfe quite opposite unto that which some of his late predeceffours had held, who thought it better policie to use the service of the Nobilitie, than of the multitude; carrying forth to warre the Princes and all the Chi

2 Chro.21.9.

As the victories of uzzia were farre more important, than the atchievments of all that a had reigned in Juda, fince the time of David; fo were his riches and magnificent works, quall, if not superiour to any of theirs that had bin kings between him and Salomon, For, besides that great conquests are won to repay the charges of Warre with triple interest, he had the skill touse, as well as the happinesse to get. He turned his lands to the bestus, keeping Ploughmen and Dreffers of Vines, in grounds convenient for fuch husbandrie. Inother places he had Cattell feeding; whereof he might well keepe great store, having won so much from the Ammonites and Arabians, that had aboundance of wasteground serving for pasturage. For defence of his Cattelland Heardsmen, he built Towers in the wildernesse. He also digged many Cisterns or Ponds. Josephus calls them water-courfes; but in such drie grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most se likely places. If by these Towers he so commanded the water, that none could without his consent, releeve themselves the rewith; question lesse he tooke the onely course, by which he might fecurely hold the Lordship over all the wilderness; it being hardly passes fable, by reason of the extreme drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the use of Travellers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of Eloth by the Red Sea, and of sundrice Townes among the Philistims; he repaired the wall of Jerusalem, which Jou had broken downe, and fortified it with Towers, whereof some were an hundred and fiftie Cubits

high. The state of Israel did never so sourish, as at this time, since the division of the twelve Tribes into two kingdomes. For as 2774 prevailed in the South, fo (if not more) 32robeam the son of Joan, King of the ten Tribes, enlarged his border on the North, where obtaining many victories against the Syrians, he wanthe Royall Citie of Damascus, and 2 Kin. 14.25.28. he wan Hamath, with all the countrie thereabout from the entring of Hamath, unto the Sea of the Wilderneffe, that is, (as the most expound it) unto the vast desarts of Arabia, the end whereof was undiscovered. So the bounds of Israel in those parts, were in time of this Jeroboam, the fame (or not much narrower) which they had bin in the raigne of David.

But it was not for the piety of Jeroboam, that he thrived fo well, for he was an Idolater: was only the compassion which the Lord had on Israel, seeing the exceeding bitter affiction whereinto the Aramites had brought his people, which caused him to alter the fuccession of warre, and to throw the victorious Aramites under the feet of those whom they had fo cruelly oppressed. The line of Jehn to which God had promised the Kingdome of Israel unto the fourth generation, was now not far from the end; and now againe regression it was invited unto repentance by new benefits, as it had been at the beginning. But the fin of Jeroboam the fon of Nebat was held fo precious, that neither the kingdome it felfe giwnohim by God, was able to draw Jehu from that politike Idolatry; northemisery filing upon him and his posterity, to bring them to a better course of Religion, nor yet. arthe last, this great prosperity of Jeroboam the son of Joas, to make him render the homurthat was due to the onely giver of victory. Wherefore the promife of God made unto Jehu, that his fons, unto the fourth generation, should fit on the throne of Israel, was not enlarged; but being almost expired gave warning of the approaching end, by an accidentifostrange, that we who find no particulars recorded, can hardly ghesse at the occafions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

When Jeroboam the sonne of Joas, after a victorious reigne of one and forty yeares, hadended his life; it seemes in all reason that Zacharia his sonne should forth with have hen admitted to reigne in his stead; the Nobility of that race having gotten such a lufreby the immediate fuccefsion of foure Kings, that any Competitor, had the Crowne naffed by election, must needes have appeared base; and the vertue of the last King having beene so great, as might well serve to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the already confirmed right of a family so rooted in possession. All this notwithstanding, two or three and twenty yeares did passe before Zacharia the sonne of Jeroboam was, by uniforme confent, received as King. The true original causes hereof were to be found at Dan and Bethel, where the golden Calves did stand: yet second inframents of this diffurbance are likely not to have beene wanting, upon which the wildome of man was ready to cast an eye. Probable it is, that the Captaines of the army (who afterwards flew one another so fast, that in sourceen years there reigned five kings) did now by head-strong violence, rend the kingdome afunder, holding each what hee could, and either despissing or hating some qualities in Zacharia; untill, after many years, wearied with diffention, and the principall of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they confented to yeeld all quietly to the fon of Jeroboam. That this Anarchy lasted almost three and twenty years, we find by the difference of time between the fifteenth years of UZZIA, which was the last of Jeroboam his one and fortieth (his feven and twentieth concurring with the first of uzzia) and the eight and thirtieth of the same 22714, in the last fixe moneths whereof Zacharia reigned in Samaria. There are some indeed that by supposing Jeroboam to have reigned with his father eleven years, do cut off the interregrum in Juda (before mentioned) & by the same reasonabridge this Anarchie that was before the reigne of Zacharia in Israel. Yet they leaveittwelve years long: which is time sufficient to prove that the kingdome of the ten Tribes was no lesse distempered than as is already noted. But I choose rather to follow themore common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the World, than this doubtfull conjecture, that gives to Jeroboam two and fifty years, by adding three quarters of his fathers reigne unto his owne; which was it selfe indeed folong, that he may well seeme to have begun it very young: for I do not think that God bleffed this Idolater both with a longer reign, and with a longer life than hedid his fervant David.

Thus much being spoken of the time wherein the Throne of Israel was voyde, beforethe reigne of Zacharia; little may suffice to be said of his reigne it selfe, which lasted but a little while. Sixe moneths only was he King; in which time he declared himselfe aworshipper of the golden Calves; which was enough to justifie the judgment of God, Whereby he was flain. He was the last of Jehu's house, being (inclusively) the first of that line; which may have been some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly succession the prophecie having determined that race in the fourth generation. But (besides that Gods promise was extended unto the utmost) there was no warrant given to Sallum or to any other, for the death of Zacharia, as had been given to Jehu for the flaughter of Jeho-

ram, and for the eradication of Ahabs house.

Zacharia

HAP.23. S.3.

a Kinas. st.

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Zacharia having bin fixe moneths a King, was then flaine by Sallum, who raigned as ter him, the space of a moneth in Samaria. What this Sallum was, I doe not finde; fare onely that he was a Traytour, and the some of one Jabesh, whereby his father gotton honour. It seemes that he was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himselse; and now when all other Competitors were sitten downe, thought easily to prevaile against that King, in whose person the race of Jehn was to faile. Manifestin that Sallum had a strong partie: for Tipbfah or Thapfa, and the coast thereof even from Tir ab, where Menahem his enemie and supplanter then lay, refused to admit, as Kinein his stead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, Salum received the reward of his treason, and was slaine by Menahem who reigned in his place.

Menahem the son of Gadi, raigned after Sallum ten yeares. In opposition to Sallum his hatred was deadly, and inhumane: for he not onely destroyed Tiphsah, and all that were therein, or thereabouts, but he ript up all their women with child, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this crueltie been used in revenge of Zacharia death, it is like that he would have been as earnest, in procuring unto him his Fathere Crown when it was first due. But in performing that office, there was used such lone de. liberation, that we may plainly discover Ambition, Disdaine, and other private passion.

to have bin the causes of this beaftly outrage.

In the time of Menahem, and (as it feemes) in the beginning of his Reigne, Pul, Kin of Affiria, came against the Land of Ifrael; whom this new King appeared, with athorfand talents of filver, levied upon all the fubstantiall men in his Countrey. Withthis money the Israelite purchased, not onely the peace of his Kingdome, but his owneellablishment therein : some factious man (belike) having either invited ful thither, or lifte came uncalled) fought to use his helpe, in deposing this ill beloved King. Josephure. ports of this Menahem, that his reigne was no milder than his entrance. But after to yeares, his tyrannie ended with his life: and Pekabia his Sonne occupied his

Of this Pekabia the story is short: for he reigned onely two years; at the endwherof, he was flaine by Peka the sonne of Remalia, whose treason was rewarded with the Crowne of Ifrael, as, in time comming, another mans Treason against himselfeshilbe. There needes no more to be faid of Menahem and his sonne, save that they wereboth of them Idolaters; and the sonne (as we finde in Josephus) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning Pul the Affyrian King, who first opened unto those Northern Nationstheway into Palæstina; it wil shortly follow in order of the Story, to deliver our opinion whether he were that Belofus (called also Belefes, and by some Phul Belochus) who joyned with drs baces the Median, against Sardanapalus, or whether he were some other man. Attheprefentit is more fit that wee relate the end of 277ia's life, who out-lived the happinelle wherein we left him.

6. 11. The end of Uzzia his Reigne and Life.

S the zeale of Jehojada that godly Priest was the meane to preserve the linge of David in the person of Jow; so it appeares, that the care of holy menwas not wanting to 22ia, to bring him up and advance him to the Crowneof Juda, when the hatred borne to his Father AmaZia had endangered his fuccession. Fortis faid of uzzia, That he fought God in the dayes of Zecharia (which under flood the visions)

God) and when as he fought the Lord, God made him prosper.

But, when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction : for he transfelda. gainst the Lord his God, and went into the I emple of the Lord to burne incense upon the Al sar of incense. Thus he thought to enlarge his owne authority, by medling in the Priells office, whose power had in every extremity been so helpfull to the Kings of Juda, that meere gratitude and civill policy should have held backe uzzia from incroaching thereupon; yea, though the Law of God had beene filent in this case, and not forbidding it. Howfoever, the King forgot his duty, the Priests remembred theirs, and God forgataot to assist them. Azara the high Priest interrupted the Kings purpose, and gave him tout derstand how little to his honour it would prove, that he tooke upon him the office of the fonnes of Aaron. There were with AZaria fourescore other Priests, valiant men, but

heir valour was shewed onely in affishing the high Priest, when (according to his dutie) he reprehended the Kings presumption. This was enough, the rest God himselfe performed. We find in fofephus, that the King had apparelled himselse in Priestly habit, and forant go.xxx thathe threatned Azarias and his Companions, to punish them with death unless they would be quiet. Fosephus indeed inlargeth the Storie, by inserting a great Earth-quake, which did teare downe halfe an Hill, that rowled four furlongs, till it refted against another Hill, stopping up the high-wayes, and spoyling the Kings Garden in the passage. With this Earth-quake, he faith, that the roofe of the Temple did cleave, and that a Sunbeam did light upon the Kings face, which was presently infected with leprofie. All this may have been true; and some there are who thinke that this Earth-quake is the same. which is mentioned by the Prophet Amos; wherin they do much mif-reckon the times. For the Earth-quake spoken of by Amos, was in the dayes of Jeroboam King of Israel, who dyed seven and thirtie years before uzzia; so that Jotham the son of uzzia, which supplied his Fathers place in government of the Land, should, by this accompt, have bin then unborne: for he was but five and twentie years old, when he began to reign as king. Therefore, thus far only we have affurance, that while Uzzia was wroth with the Priefts, 2 Chr. 26.200 the lamoste rose up in his forehead, before the Priests. Hereupon he was caused, in all haste, to depart the place, and to live in a house by himselfe until he dyed; the rule over the Kings house, and over all the Land, being committed to Jotham, his Son and Successor. Julian tooke not upon himselfe the stile of a King, till his Father was dead; whom they buried in the same field wherin his Ancestors lay interred yet in a Monument apart from the rest, because he was a Leper.

6. III.

Offherrophets which lived in the time of Uzzia; and of Princes theuruling in Egypt, and in some other Countries.

TN the time of Mizia were the first of the lesser Prophets, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadisand Jonas. It is not indeed fet downe, when Joel or Obadia did prophecie: butifthe Prophets, whose times are not expressed, ought to be ranged (according to Saint Hieromes rule) with the next before them; then must these two be judged contemporarie with Hosea and Amos, who lived under King UZZia. To enquire which of the lefive was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least, a superfluous labour; yet if the age wherein Homer lived, hath so painefully beene sought, without reprehension, how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquitie of these holy Prophets? It seemes to me, that the first of these, inorder of time, was the Prophet Jona; who foretold the great victories of Jeroboam King of Ifrael; and therefore is like 2 Chro. 6.14. to have prophecied in the dayes of Jose, whilest the affliction of Israel was exceeding bit - v.25.26. our, the Text it felfe intimating no leffe: by which confequence he was elder than the other Prophets, whose workes are now extant. But his prophecies that concerned the Kingdome of Ifrael are now lost. That which remaineth of him, seemes, not without reason unto some very learned, to have belonged unto the time of Sardanapalus, in wholedayes Nineve was first of all destroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ by his lifferings, than by his writings now extant: in all the rest are found expresse promises of the Meffias.

In the reigne of uzzia likewise it was, that Esay, the first of the source great Prophets, began to see his visions. This difference of great and lesser Prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they have left written (as S. Augastine gives reason of the distinction) be- Augastivit. o cause the greater have written larger Bookes. The Prophet Esy was great indeed, not Denlas ang. only in regard of his much writing, or of his Nobilitie, (for their opinion is rejected, who thinkhim to have bin the son of Amos the Prophet) and the high account wherein he liwed; but for the excellencie both of his stile and argument, wherein he so plainly foreteleth the Birth, Miracles, Passion, & whole Historie of our Saviour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an Evangelist, as a Prophet; having written in fuch wife, That (as Hierome faith) one would thinke he did not foretell of things to come, lugar liquing. but compile an Historie of matters alreadic past.

Boscheris was King of Egypt, and the ninth yeare of his raigne, by our computation (where-Bbb

Verfe 16.

s Chro.26.5.

HAP.23.5.4.

are not likely to forget it.

Swhereof in due place we will give reason) was current, when uzzia took possession of the Kingdome of Juda.

After the death of Bocchoris, Affebis followed in the Kingdome of Egypt: unto him fucceeded Anglis; and these two occupied that Crowne fixe yeares. Then Sabacus, and Ethiopian, became King of Egypt, and held it fiftie yeares, whereof the ten first rame along with the last of UZZia his Raigne and Life. Of these and other Egyptian Kings more shall be spoken, when their affaires shall come to be intermedled with the business

of Fuda. In Athens, the two last yeares of Ariphren his twentie, the seven and twentiethofthe speius, the twentieth of Agamnestor, and three the first of Aschylus his three and twentie made even with the two and fiftie of #ZZia: as likewife did in Alba the last feven of sil. vius Aventinus his seven and thirtie, together with the three & twentie of Silvius Process and two and twentiethe first of Silvius Amulius. In Media Arbaces began his newking. dome in the first of #2714, wherein, after eight and twentie yeares, his son Sofarmular. ceeded him, and raigned thirtie yeares. Of this Arbaces, and the division of the Assuran Empire, between him and others, when they had oppressed Sardanapalas, I holding. venient to use more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great uncertain. tie in the Storie of the Affirian kings, who have already found the way into Palastina and

6. I V. Of the Affyrian Kings, descending from Phul: and whether Phul and Belosus were one per. songer heads of sundrie Families, that reigned apart in Nineve and Babylon.

Y that which hath formerly beene shewed of Sardanapalus his death, it is apparent rent, that the chiefe therein was Arbaces the Median; to whom the rest of the Confederates did not onely submit themselves in that Warre, but were contented afterwards to be judged by him; receiving by his authoritie fentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited lives. The first example of this his power, was shown eupon bla fus the Babylonian, by whose especiall advice and helpe, Arbaces himselfe was becomes it great : Yet was not this power of Arbaces exercised in so tyrannicall a manner, as might give offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had affifted him, or to the generalitie of the people. For in the condemnation of Belefus, he used the com-Tell of his other Captaines, and then pardoned him of his owne grace; allowing him to hold not only the City and Province of Babylon, but also those treasures, for emberelling whereof his life had been endangered.

In like manner, he gave rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Provinces; retaining (as it appeares) onely the Soveraignty to himselfe, which touse immoderately he did naturally abhorre. He is faid, indeed, to have excited the Medis against Sardanapalus, by propounding unto them hope of transferring the Empireto of their Nation. And to make good this his promife, he destroyed the Citie of Ninve, permitting the Citizens neverthelesse to take and carry away every one his ownegoods. The other Nations that joyned with him, as the Persians and Bactrians, he drew to his fide, by the allurement of liberty; which he himselfe so greatly loved, that by flacking too much the reines of his owne Soveraignty, hee did more harme to the generall elate of Media, than the pleasure of the freedome, which it enjoyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Countrey was pared narrower by Salmanasar (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) whom wee finde in the Scriptures to have held some Townes of the Medes; and the civill administration was so disorderly, that the people themselves were glad to see that reformation, which Deioces the fift of Arbaces 19 his Line, did make in that government, by reducing them into stricter termes of obe-

How the force of the Assirians grew to bee such as might infourescore yeares, if not fooner, both extend it self unto the conquest of Ifrael, and teare away some part of Media, it is a question hardly to be answered; not only in regard of the destruction of Nineve, & subversion of the Assirian Kingdom, whereof the Medes, under Arbaces, had the honour, who may seeme at that time to have kept the Affrians under their subjection, when the rest of the Provinces were set at liberty; but in consideration of the Kings themselves, who raigning afterwards in Babylon and Nineve, are confounded by fome, and diftinmissed by others; whereby their Historie is made uncertaine.

I will first therefore deliver the opinion generally received, and the grounds wheremonit stands: then, producing the objections made against it, I will compare together thedetermination of that worthie man Joseph Scaliger, with those learned that subscribe the fellato, and the judgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or have followedthe Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neither shall it be needfull to set down a part the feweral authorities and arguments of fundrie men, adding fomwhat of weight or of clearnessent to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: which I will doe as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partialitie, as being no o more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancie of mine owne, but meerely led by those reasons, which upon examination of each part, seemed to me most

forceable, though to others they may perhaps appeare weake.

That which, untill of late, hath paffed as current, is this; That Belofus was the fame King, who, first of the Affyrians, entred Palastina with an Armie; being called Pul, or Phulinthe Scriptures, and by Annius his Authors with fuch as follow them, Phul Belochus. Of this man it is faid, that he was a skilfull Aftrologer, fubrile, and ambitious : that hegot Babylon by composition made with Arbaces; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of Affyria: finally that he reigned eight and fortie years, and then e dving, left the Kingdome to Teglat-phalassar his sonne, in whose Posteritie it continued fome few descents, till the house of Merodach prevailed. The truth of this, if Annius his Metasthenes were sufficient proofe, could not be gainfaid: for that Author (such as he is) isperemptorieherein. But, howfoever Annius his Authors deserve to be suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirme. They, whomintaine this Tradition, justificit by divers good Allegations, as a matter confirmedby circumstances found in all Authors, and repugnant unto no Historie at all. Foritis manifest by the relation of Diodorus (which is indeed the foundation whereupon all have built) that Arbaces and Belofus were Partners in the action against Sardanapulse; and that the Bactrians, who joyned with them, were thought well rewarded with libertie, as likewise other Captaines were with governments : but that anythird person was so eminent, as to have Assign it selfe, the chiefe Countrey of the Empire bestowed upon him, it is a thing whereof not the least appearance is found in any History. And certainely it stood with little reason, that the Assyrians shouldbe committed unto a peculiar King, at such time as it was not thought meete to trustthem in their owne walles and houses. Rather it is apparent, that the destruction of Nimitaby Arbaces, and the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policy because thereby the people of that Nation might beckept downe from aspiring to recover the Soveraignty, which else they would have thought to belong, as of right, unto the Seat of the Empire.

Upon such confiderations did the Romanes, in ages long after following, destroy Carthage, and dissolve the Corporation, or Body politike, of the Citizens of Capua; because thole two Towns were capable of the Empire: a matter esteemed over-dangerous, even to Rome it selfe, that was Mistresse of them both. This being so, how can it be thought Rullion, or 25 that the Affyrians in three or foure yeares had erected their Kingdome a-new under one Pul? or what must this Pul have beene (of whose deservings or entermedling, or indeed of whose very name, we finde no mention in the Warre against Sardanapalus) to whom the principal I parts of the Empire fell, either by generall consent in division of the Provinces, or by his owne power and purchase very soone after? Surely he was none other than Belofies 3 whose neare neighbour-hood gave him opportunity (as he was wife enough to play his owne game) both to get Affyria to himselfe, and to empeach any other man that should have attempted to seize upon it. The Province of Babylon, which Belofus held, being (as Herodotus reports) in riches and power, as good as the third part of the Persian Herodot. it. Empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a businesse: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his owne hands all the gold and filver that had bin inthe Palace of Ninive. And questionlesse, to restore such a Citie as Ninive, was an enterprise fit for none to take in hand, except he had such means as Belosus had; which Pul, if he were not Belofus, is likely to have wanted.

Besides all this, had Pul been a distinct person from Belosus, and Lord of Asgria, which Bbb 2

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lay beyond the Countries of Babylon and Mesopotamia, it would not have beene anease matter for him, to passe quite through an other mans Kingdome with an Armie, seeking bootie a farre off in Ifrael: the onely action by which the name of Phul is knowne. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call Pul or Phul, was the same whom prophase Josam. Lio.e. 12. writers have called Belosus, Beleses, and Belestis, (in like manner as Josephus acknowlede. eth, that he, whom the Scriptures called never otherwise than Darius the Mede, Was the fonne of Astiages, and called of the Greeks by another name, that is, Cyaxares) then is the foruple utterly removed. For Babylon and Mesopotamia did border upon Syria and Pa lastina: fo that Belofus having fettled his affaires in Asgria towards the East and North might with good leafure encroach upon the Countries that lay on the other fide of his. Kingdome, to the South and West. He that lookes into all particulars, may finde every one circumstance concurring, to prove that Phul, who invaded Ifrael, was none other than Belofus. For the Prince of the Arabians, who joyned with Arbaces, and broughtno finall part of the forces wherewith Sardanapalus was overthrowne, did enter intothat action, meerely for the love of Belofus. The friendship of these Arabians was thin of maine importance, to those that were to passe over Euphrates with an Armicino Syria. Wherefore Belofus, that held good correspondence with them, and whosemed fruitfull Province, adjoyning to their barraine quarters, might yearely doe them inchimable pleasures; was not onely likely to have quiet passage through their borders, hir their utmost assistance : yea, it stands with good reason, that they who loved not lively should for their ownebehoofe have given him intelligence of the destruction and civil broyles among the ten Tribes; whereby as this Pulgot a thousand talents, so it sems that the Syrians and Arabians, that had felt an heavie neighbour of Jeroboam, recovered their owne, setting up a new King in Damasco, and clearing the coast of Arabia, (from the Sea of the Wilderneffe to Hamath) of the Hebrew Garrisons. Neither was it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations, divided by Euphrates, hold together in sogod termes offriendship: it was ancient consanguinitie; the memorie whereof was available to the Syrians, in the time of David, when the Aramites beyond the river came over willingly, to the fuccour of HadadeZer, and the Aramites about Damasco. So Belosus in good reason to looke into those parts: what a King reigning so farre off as Nineve, should have to doe in Syria, if the other end of his Kingdome had not reached to Euphraies, it were hard to shew.

But concerning this last argument of the businesse which might allure the Chaldans into Palastina, it may be doubted, lest it should seeme to have ill coherence with that which hath beene faid of the long Anarchie that was in the tenne Tribes. For if the Crowne of Israel were worne by no man in three and twentie years, then is it likely that Belofus was either unwilling to ftirre, or unable to take the advantage when it was fairelt, and first discovered. This might have compelled those, who alone were not strong enough to feek after helpe from some Prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish Phul from Belosus, would be somewhat confirmed. On the other fide, if we fay, that Belofus did paffe the river of Euphrates, as foon as he found likelihood of making a prosperous journey, then may it seems that the inter-regnum in Israelwas not so long as we have made it: for three and twentic years leasure would have afforded

better opportunitie, which ought not to have bin lost.

For answer hereunto, we are to consider, what Orosius and Eusebius have written concerning the Chaldees: the one, that after the departure of Arbaces into Media, they layd hold on a part of the empire: the other, that they prevailed and grew mightie, between the times of Arbaces and Deieces the Medes. Now, though it be held an errour of Orifus, where he supposeth that the occupying of Babylonia by the Chaldaans was inmanner of a rebellion from the Medes; yet herein he and Enfebius doe concurre, that the author ritie of Arbaces did restraine the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull onely of it selfe. Now, though some have conjectured that all Affrit was given to Belosus (as an overplus, besides the Province of Babylon which was his by plaine bargaine made aforehand) in regard of his high deservings; yet the opinion more commonly received, is, that hee did onely incroach upon that Province by live tle and little, whilest Arbaces lived, and afterwards dealing more openly, got it all him felfe. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelve yeares betweene the death of Arbaces, and the beginning of Menahem his Raigne; manifest it is, that the conquest

of Allyria, and fettling of that Countrey, was worke enough to hold Belofus occupyed. besides the restauration of Ninive, which alone was able to take up all the time remaining of his reigne, if perhaps he lived to fee it finished in his owne dayes. So that this argument may rather ferve to prove that Phul and Belofus were one person; for a smuch as the journey of Phul against Ifrael was not made untill Belefus could finde leasure; and the rine of advantage which Belosus did let slip, argued his businesse in some other quarter. namely, in that Province of which Phul is called King. Briefely, it may be faid, that hee who conquered Assyria, and performed somewhat upon a Country so far distant as Pale-Mind Was likely to have been, at least, named in some History, or, if not himselfe, yet his Country to have been spoken of for those victories: but we neither heare of Phul, in any o prophane Author, neither doth any Writer, sacred or prophane, once mention the victor resoracts what soever of the Assyrians, done in those times; whereas of Belosus, and the power of the Chaldaans, we finde good Record.

Surely, that great flaughter of so many thousand Affrians, in the quarrell of Sardana. together with other calamities of that long and unfortunate warre, which overwhelmed the whole Countrey, not ending but with the ruine & utter defolation of Nemust needs have so weakened the state of Assyria, that it could not in thirty yeares frace beable to invade Palastina, which the ancient Kings, reigning in Ninive, had, in all their greatnesse, forborne to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that Countrey, did to helpe to enable Belofus to Subdue it; who having once extended his Dominion to the borders of Media, and being (especially if hee had compounded with the Medas) by the interpolition of that Country, fecure of the Scythians, & other warlike Nations on that fide, might very well turne Southward, and try his fortune in those Kingdomes, whereinto civil differtion of the inhabitants, & the bordering envie of the Arabians and Aramitesabout Damasco, Friends and Cousins to the Chaldeans and Mesopotamians, did invitelim. For these, and the other before alledged reasons, it may bee concluded. That what is faid of Pul in the Scriptures, ought to bee understood of Belofus; even as by the names of Nebuchadne 77 ar, Darius the Mede, Artashalbt, and Abalbuerolb, with the like arethought, or knowne, to be meant the fame, whom prophane Historians, by names better knowne in their owne Countryes, have called Nabopolla flar, Cyaxares, and Artaxerxes: especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath been written of old, nor need to trouble our felves and others with framing new conichures. This in effect is that, which they alledge in maintenance of the opinion commonly received.

Now this being once granted, other things of more importance will of themselves easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of this point (confidering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether Pul were Belofus, or fomeother man: the whole race of these Assyrian and Babylonian Kings, wherein are found those famous Princes, Nabona far, Mardocempadus, and Nabopollas far (famous for the Altronomicall observations recorded from their times) is the maine ground of this contention. If therefore Belofus or Belofus were that Phul which invaded Ilrael. if he and his posterity reigned both in Ninive & in Babylon; if he were father of Teglat-Phul-Afer. from whom Salmana (ar, Senacherib, and Afarhaddon descended; then it is manifest, that we must feeke Nabonassar the Babylonian King, among these Princes; yea, and conclude him to bee none other than Salmanafar, who is knowne to have reigned in those yeares which Ptolomy the Mathematician hath affigned unto Nabonasfar. As for Merodech, who supplanted Afar-badden, manifest it is, that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all his disputation.

But they that maintaine the contrary part, will not be fatisfied with fuch conjectures. They lay hold upon the conclusion, and by shaking that into pieces, hope to overthrow all the premisses upon which it is inferred. For (fay they) if Nabonassar that reigned in Baylon, could not be Salmanafar, or any of those other Assyrian Kings, then is it manifell, that the races were dictinct, and that Phul and Belofus were severall Kings. This confequence is for plaine, that it needes no confirmation. To prove that Nabonaffar was additinct person from Salmanasar, are brought such arguments as would stagger the refolition of him that had fwomero hold the contrary. For first, Nabonassar was King of Babylon, and not of Affrice. This is proved by his name, which is meerely Chaldean, whereas Salman, the first part of Salmanassars name, is proper to the Assyrians.

Efay 39.1.

It is likewise proved by the Astronom icall observations, which proceeding from the Babylonians, not from the Assyrians, do shew that Nabonassar, from whom Prolony drawes that Epocha, or account of times, was a Babylonian, and no Affyrian. Thirdly, and more strongly, it is confirmed by the successor of Nabonassar, which was Mardocempadus, cal. led in his owne language Mero-dac-ken-pad, but more briefly in Efay his prophetie, Me. rodach, by the former part of his name; or Merodach Baladan, the fon of Baladan, Now if Merodach the some of Baladan King of Babel were the some of Nabonassar, then was Nabonassar none other than Baladan King of Babel, and not Salmanassar King of

The second Booke of the first part

What can be plainer: As for the cadence of these two names, Nabonassar and Salma. nassar : which in Greeke or Latine writing hath no difference, we are taught by Scaling that in the Hebrew letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of Babylonia, whereinto Salmana [ar carryed captive some part of the ten Tribes; it may well be granted, that in the Province of Babylon, Salmana far had gotten somewhat, ver will it not follow that he was King of Babylon it felfe. To conclude, Merodach beganhie reigne over Babylon in the fixt year of Hezekia, at which time Salmanaffar took Samani. therefore if Salmanaffar were King of Babylon, then must we say that he and Merodach vea and Nabonassar, were all one man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer Joseph Scaliger; who not contented to follow the common opinion founded up. on likelihood of conjectures, hath drawne his proofes from matter of more necessary to

Touching all that was faid before of Phul Belofus, for the proving that Phul and Bul. The were not fundry Kings; Joseph Scaliger pities their ignorance, that have spentility labour to so little purpose. Honest and painefull men he confesseth that they were, who by their diligence might have wonthe good liking of their Readers, had they not, by mentioning Annius his Authors, given such offence, that men resused thereupon to read their Bookes and Chronologies. A short answer.

For mine owne part, howfoever I believe nothing that Annius his Berofus, Metalhi. nes, and others of that stampe affirme, in respect of their bare authority; yet am Inglo squeamish, but that I can well enough digest a good Booke, though I finde the names of 30 one or two of these good sellowes alledged in it: I have (somewhat peradventure too often) already spoken my mind of Annius his Authors: Neverthelesse, I may sayherea gaine, that where other Histories are filent, or speake not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elsewhere we finde and ferveth to explaine or inlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeed are those honest and painfull men (as Scaliger termes them, meaning, if I mistake him not, good filly fellowes) who set down the Assirian Kings from Pulforwards, as Lords also of Babylon, taking Pul for Belosus, and Salmanassar for Nabonassar, fuch Writers as a manshould be ashamed or unwilling to reade. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow Annius, though difliking him in generall) Gerard Mercaur 10 is not so flight a Chronologer, that he should be laughed out of doores with the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons between Scaliger and Mercator; they were both of them men notably learned: let us examine the arguments of scaliger, and see whether they be of fuch force as cannot either be refifted or avoy ded. It will eafily bee granted, that Nabonassar was King of Babylon; that he was not King of Assyria, some mendoubt whether Scaligers reasons be enough to prove. For though Nabonassar beea Chalden name, and Salmanaffar an Affyrian; yet what hinders us from beleeving that one man in two languages might be called by two feverall names ? That Astronomy flourished a mong the Chaldees, is not enough to prove Nabonassar either an Astrologer or a Chaldaan. So it is, that Scaliger himselfe cals them, Prophet as nessio ques, qui Nabonassarum A. stronomum fuissein somnis viderunt; Prophets I know not who that in their fleep have dreamt of Nabonassar, that he was an Astrologer.

Whether Nabonoffar were an Astrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintaine the negative. But as his being Lord over the Chaldeans, doth not prove him to have beene learned in their sciences; so dothit not prove him not to have beene also King of Affria. The Emperour Charles the fift, who was borne in Gant, and Philip his Sonne, King of Spaine, and Lords of the Netherlands, had men farre more learned in all Sciences, Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subjects of the Low Counries, than were any that I read of then living in Spaine, if Spain at that time had any : vet 1thinke, Posteritie will not use this as an argument, to prove that Spaine was none of theirs. It may well be, that Salmana far or Nabona far did use the Affyrian Souldiers. & Rabilonian Schollers; but it seemes, that he and his posteritie, by giving themselves wholly to the more warlike Nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued as likewife king Philip lost partly, & partly did put to a dangerous hazzard all the Netherlands. buffich a course. As for the two un-answerable arguments, (as Scaliger termes them. being me-thinks none other than answers to somewhat that is or might be alledged on the contrarie fide) one of them which is drawne from the unlike found and writing of to those names, Salmana sar and Nationa Sar in the Hebrew, I hold a point about which no man will dispute; for it is not likenesse of sound, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may begranted; which is, that Salmana far might be Lord of some places in the province of Babylon, yet not King of Babylon it felfe: this indeed might be fo, and it might be otherwife. Hitherto there is nothing fave conjecture. But in that which is alledged out of the Prophet E fay concerning Merodach the sonne of Baladan; and in that which is said of this Merodach, or Mardokenpadus, his being the Successor of Nabonassar, and his beginnino to raigne in the fixt yeare of Hezekia, I finde matter of more difficultie, than can be ac answered in haste. I will therefore deferre the handling of these objections untill I meet with their subject in his proper place; which will be when we come to the time of He-Reha, wherein Merodach lived, and was King. Yer that I may not leave too great a scruple in the minde of the Reader, thus farre will I here satisfie him; that how Atone foever this argument may feeme, Scaliger himselfe didlive to retractit, ingenupullyconfesting, that in thinking Merodach to be the fon of Nabonassar, he had been de-

Now therefore let us confider, in what fort they have fashioned their Storie, who taking Pulto be a distinct person from Belosus or Belestis, have in like fort, as was necessaoricalifinguished their off-spring, making that of Pul to faile in Asarhaddon, which left allto Merodach the Babylonian. And here I must first confesse my want of Bookes. if perhapsthere be many that have gone about to reduce this narration into some such order as might present unto us the bodie of this Historie, in one view. Divers, indeed, there are, whom I have seene, that since Joseph Scaliger delivered his opinion, have writteninfavour of fome one or other point thereof: but Sethus Calvifius himselfe, who hath abridged Scaligers learned Worke, Deemendatione Temporum, hath not been carefull to giveus notice, how long Belofus, Baladan, Pul, or Tiglat Pulaffar did raigne, (perhaps because he found it not expressed in Scaliger) but is content to set downe Balidan, for the Smeperion with Nabonassar, which Scaliger himselfe revoked. In this case therefore I must lay downe the plot of these divided Kingdomes, in such fort as I find it contrived by Augustinus Torniellus; who onely of all that I have seene, sets downe the succession. continuance, and acts, of those that reigned in Asyria after Sardanapalus, distinguishing them from Belefus, and his Posteritie, of whom he hath the like remembrance. This Tornellus is a Regular Clarke of the congregation of S. Paul, whose Annales were printed the last yeare; he appeares to me a man of a curious industrie, sound judgement, and tree Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning those Protestant Writers, by whose Bookes he hath received good information, and miched his workes by inferting somewhat of theirs. But in this businesse he hath openly professed to follow scaleger, whose helpe, without wrong or dishonour to himselfe, he hathboth used and acknowledged. For mine owne part, I will not spare to doe tight unto Torniellus; but confesse my selfe to have received benefit by his writing; and with that his Annales had fooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed me in some things, so would be have instructed and imboldened me to write more fully and lessetimorously in other things, which now I have not leasure to revise. Particularly in that conjecture (which I had faintly delivered, and yet feared lest it had over-hastily pasled out of my hand, and beene exposed to other mens constructions) of the foure Kings that invaded the Valley of Siddim, and were flaine by Abraham, I finde him adventuring C. 1. 6.13. as I have done, to fay, that they may probably be thought to have beene some pettie Lords; the contrarie opinion of all Writers notwith standing. But now let us confider

Scal.Canon.l.z.

how he hath ordered these last Assyrian and Babylonian Kings. After the destruction of Sardanapalus, Arbaces, being the most mighty, sought to get all to himselfe, but was opposed by Belosus; in which contention, one Phul, a powerfull manin Assyria, sided with Belosus, and they two prevailed so far, that finally Arbaces was content to share the Empire with them, making such a division thereof, as was long after made of the Roman Empire between Ostavian, Anthony and Lepidus.

Another conjecture is (for Torniellus offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certainty) that Arbaces made himselfe Soveraigne Lord of all, and placed the seate of his Empire in Media, appointing Belosus his Lievtenant in Babylonia, and Phul in Assyria. But in short space, that is, in source yeares, it came to passe by the just judgement of God, to that Phul and Belosus rebelled against Arbaces, like as Arbaces had done against Sarda. napalus, and in stead of being his Vice-Royes, made themselves absolute Kings. And this latter opinion Torniellus himselfe leanes, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that which is found in prophane Histories. Why hee did make and publish the former supposition, resolving to hold the latter, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to ghesse. Having thus devised how Phul and Belosus might, at the sirst, attaine to bee Kings, he orders their time and their successors in this manner.

Foure years after Arbaces, Phul begins to reigne, and continues eight and forty years, Theglasphalafar (whose name, and the names of other Princes, I write diversly, according as the Authors whom I have in hand are pleased to diversifie them) succeeding unto Phul, reigned three and twenty. Salmanassar followed him, and reigned tenne. After him Senacherib reigned seven: and when he was slaine, Asarbaddon his sonne tenyeurs;

in whom that line failed.

The fame time that *Phul* took upon him as King of *Affria*, or not long after (why not rather afore? for fo it had been more likely) *Belofus* usurped the Kingdome of *Balylm*, and held it threescore and eight years; at the least threescore and eight years didpasse, before *Nabonassar* followed him in the possession.

To Nabonaffar, whom (with Scaliger) he thinkes to be Baladan, ate affigued fixed twenty years: then two and fifty to Merodach, or Mardocempadus: four and twenty to Ben Merodach: and lastly one and twenty to Nabolassar the father of Nabuchodonossi; who is like to offer matter of surther disputation.

Concerning the original of these Asyrian and Babylonian Kingdomes, I may truly fay, That the conjectures of other men, who give all to Belofus, and confound him with Phul, appeare to me more nearely refembling the truth. Neither doe I thinke, that Tirniellus would have conceived two different waies, by which Phul might have gotten Affyria (for how Belofus came to get Babylon, it is plaine enough) if either of them alone could have contented him. Headheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with Diodore, and other Historians. But he perceived, that to make Phul on the sudden King of Affiria; or to give him so noble a Province, as would, of it selfe, invite him to accept ? the name and power of a King, was a thing most unlikely to have happened, unlesselis deserts (whereof wee finde no mention) had beene proportionable to so high a reward-And for this cause (as I take it) hath he devised the means, whereby Pbul might be made capable of fogreat a share in the Empire. If this were a true or probable supposition, then would a new doubt arise, Why this Phul, being one of the three that divided all betweene them, was utterly forgotten by all Historians e yea, why this Division it selle, and the civill Warres that caused it, were never heard of ? Questionlesse, the interverting of some Treasures by Belosus, with his Judgement, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre lesse note. Therefore I doe not see, how one of the two inconveniences can this way be avoyded; but that either we must confesse the Do-10 minion given to Phul to have beene exceeding his merits; or else his merits, and name withall, to have beene strangely forgotten : either of which is enough to make us think, that rather the conjecture, inferring fuch a sequell, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of Phul, and Belofus against Arbaces, it was almost impossible for the Affricans to recover such strength in source yeares, as might serve to hold out in rebellion: for Belosus ir was needleffe to rebell, confidering, that Arbaces did not feeke to moleft him, butta ther permitted (as being an over-great favourer of liberty) even the Medes that were under his owne Government to doe what they lifted.

But it is now fit that wee peruse the Catalogue of these Kings; not passing through them all (for some will require a large discourse in their owne times) but speaking of their order and time in generall. If it be so unlawfull to thinke, that some of Anne us his rales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors as well as in his may be true, especially such as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparent likelihood; why then is it faid, that Phul did reigne in Assyria eight and forty yeares? For this hath no other ground than Annim. It is true that painefulland judicious Writers have found this number of years to agree fitly with the course of things in History: yet allofthem tooke it from Annius. Let it therefore be the punishment of Annius his forgery (as questionlesse he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tels truth, or probato bility, he benot beleeved for his own fake; though for our owne fakes wee make use of his boldnesse, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) we are unwilling our selves to be Authors of new, though not unprofitable conjectures. Herein we shall have this commodity, that we may without blushing alter a little, to helpe our owne opinions, and lay the blame upon Annius, against whom we shall be sure to finde friends that will take our part.

The reignes of Theglathalafar and Salmanasfar did reach, by Annius his measure, to the length of five and twenty yeares the one, and seventeene the other; Torniellus hath out of two from the former, and seven from the later of them, to sit (as I think) his owne computation; using the liberty whereos I spake last: for that any Author, save our good Metashines, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of the did reigne, it is more than I have yet found. To Senacherib and Asarhaddon, Torniellus gives the same length of reigne, which is found in Metasthenes. I thinke there are not many, that will arrogate so much unto themselves, as may very well be allowed unto a man so judicious as is Torniellus: and yet I could wish that he had forborne to condemne the followers of Annius in this businesse, wherein he himselse hath chosen, part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must have done, almost nothing.

The like liberty, we finde that he hath used in measuring the reignes of the Chaldeans, filling up all the space betweene the end of Sardanapalus and the beginning of Nabonassar, with the threescore and eight yeeres of Belosus. In this respectit was, perhaps, that he thought Belosus might have begun his reigne somewhat later than Phulifor threescore and eight years would seem a long time for him to hold a Kingdome, that was no young man when he tooke possession of it. But how is any whit of his age abated by shortning his reigne, seeing his life reacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a private man, enough for along liver? Indeed eight and forty years had been somewhat of the most, considering that he seemes by the story to have been little lesses such that it is joyned with Arbaces; and therefore the addition of twenty years, did well deserve that note (which Torniellus advisedly gives) that if his segmental such time, and therefore the indiction of twenty years, did well deserve that note (which Torniellus advisedly gives) that if his singular was a such as

Ineither doe reprehend the boldnesse of Torniessus, in conjecturing, nor the modesty of Sealizer and Sethus Calvissus, in forbearing to set downe as warrantable, such things as depend only upon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from the structure of the perfect knowledge is taken away from the structure of the perfect knowledge is taken away from the structure of the perfect knowledge is taken away from the structure of the perfect knowledge is taken away from the structure of the perfect knowledge is taken away from the structure of the perfect knowledge is taken away from the structure of the perfect knowledge is taken away from the Polace of the perfect knowledge is taken away from the Polace of Loade-structure of Loade-structure of Loade-structure of Loade-structure of Loade-structure of the perfect knowledge is taken away from the Polace of Loade-structure of Loade

Neque fervidis
Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi, nec Boreæ finitimumlatus,
Duratæque sole Nives,
Mercatorem abigunt: horrida callidi
Vincunt æquora Navitæ.

Nor Southerne heat, nor Northerne snow That freezing to the ground doth grow, The fubiect Regions can fence, And keep the greedy Merchant thence: The fubtle Shipmen way will finde, Storme never so the Seas with Winde.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called conjectures) painted in Maps, doe ferve only to mif-lead fuch discoverers as rashly believe them; drawing upon the publishers. either some angry curses or well deserved scorne; but to keepe their owne credit, they cannot serve alwaies. To which purpose I remember a pretty jest of Don Pedro de Sar. miento, a worthy Spanish Gentleman, who had beene imployed by his King in planting a Colony upon the Streights of Magellan: for when I asked him, being then my Prifice ner, some questions about an Island in those Streights, which, me thought, might have done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was tolher called the Painters wives Island; faying, That whilest the fellow drew that Map, his wife fitting by, defired to put in one Countrey for her; that shee, in imagination, might have an Island of her owne. But in filling up the blankes of old Histories, we need not be fo scrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time shall runne backward, and by restoring the things themselves to knowledge, make our conjectures appeare ridiculous: Whatif to fome good Copy of an ancient Author, could be found, flewing (if we have it not already) the perfect truth of these uncertainties? would it bee more shame to have beleved in the meane while, Annius or Torniellus, than to have believed nothing ! Here I will not fay, that the credit which we give to Annus, may chance otherwhiles to beegiven to one of those Authors whose names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of all thority, I had rather trust Scaliger or Torniellus, than Annius; yet him than them, if his affertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approved Histories than their conje-Eture, as in this point it feems to me; it having moreover gotten some credit, by the probation of many, and those not meanely learned.

The second Booke of the first part

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opini-so ons as have once gotten the credit of being generall, fo to deale as Pacavius in Capitald with the multitude, finding them defirous to put all the Senatours of the Citie to death. He lockt the Senatours up within the State-house, and offered their lives to the Peoples mercy sobtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, untill the Commonly had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hafty; for as falt as every name was read, all the town cryed, Let him die: but the execution required more leafure; for in substituting of another, some notorious vice of the person, or basenesse of his condition, or insufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered to bee rejected: fo that finding the worse and lesse choice, the further and the more that they fought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be kept 4

for lacke of better.

6. V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

Fter this division of the Assyrian Empire, followes the instauration of the Olympian games, by Iphitus, in the reigne of the same King uzzia, and in his one and fiftieth yeare. It is, I know, the general opinion, that these games were established by Iphitus, in the first of Jotham: yet is not that opinion so generall, but that Authors, weighty enough, have given to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that in fitting those things unto the sacred History, which are found in prophane Authors, we should not be too careful of drawing the Hebrewes to those workes of time, which had no reference to their affaires; it is enough, that fetting in due order these beginnings of accounts, we joyne them to matters of Israel and Juda, where occasion requires.

These Olympian games and exercises of activity, were first instituted by Hercules, who measured the length of the race by his owne foote; by which Pythagoras found out the flature and likely strength of Hercules his body. They tooke name, not from the Mount taine Olympus, but from the Citie Olympia, otherwise Pifa, neareunto Elis; where also Jupiters Temple in Elis, famous among the Grecians, and reputed among the wonders of the World, was knowne by the name of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius. These games were exercised from every fourth yeare compleat, in the plaines of Elis, a Citie of Feisnonnesus neer the river Alphens.

After the death of Hercules, these meetings were discontinued for many yeares, till Aut. Gell. Lx. o. 22 bhitm, by advice from the Oracle of Apollo, re-established them, Lieurgus the Law-gi-ex Plut.

Plut. out of Here verthen living: from which time they were continued by the Grecians, till the reigne of mippus, The befires the Emperour, according to Cedrenus: others think that they were dissolved

under Constantine the Great.

from this institution, Varro accompted the Grecian times and their stories to be certo mine: but reckoned all before either doubtfull or fabulous: and yet Pliny gives little Plin. 136.0.4. creditto all that is written of Greece, till the reigne of Cyrus, who began in the five and fifieth Olympiad, as Enfebius out of Diodore, Caftor, Polybins, and others, hath gathered. in whose time the seven wise Grecians flourished. For Solon had speech with Crasus, and Crasus was overthrowne and taken by Cyrus.

Many patient and piercing braines have laboured to find out the certaine beginning of thefeolympiads, namely, to fet them in the true year of the World, and the reigne of fuch and fuch Kings: but feeing they all differ in the first accompt, that is, of the Worlds year. they can hardly jump in particulars thereon depending.

o Cyril against Inlian and Didymus begin the Olympiads thenine and fortieth of Osias, or Azariah.

Eulibius, who is contrary to himfelfe in this reckoning, accounts with those that finde Eulib de Prep. the very first Olympiad in the beginning of the foure hundreth and fixth year after Troy; Evang troces. verherelleth us that it was in the fiftieth year of uzziah, which is (as I find it) two years later.

Ernofthenes placeth the first Olympiad foure hundred and seven years after Troy rec- Eratofth. apad koning the yeares that passed betweene; to whom Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Diodorus Clem. Alex. Siculus, Solimus and many others adhere.

The distance betweene the destruction of Troy and the first Olympiad, is thus collected by Eratof benes. From the taking of Trey to the descent of Hercules his Posterity into Peloponness, were fourescore years; thence to the Ionian expedition, threescore yeares; from that expedition to the time of Lycurgus his government in Sparts, one hundred fiftynine; and thence to the first olympiad, one hundred and eight yeares. In this account the first olympiad is not included.

But vaine labour it were to feeke the beginning of the Olympiads by numbring the yeares from the taking of Troy, which is of a date farre more uncertaine. Let it suffice, that by knowing the instauration of these games to have been in the foure hundreth and eight yeare current after Troy, wee may reckon backe to the taking of that Citie, fetting that, and other accidents which have reference thereto, in their proper times. The certainty of things following the Olympiads must needes teach us how to finde when they

To this good use wee have the ensuing yeares unto the death of Alexander the Great, thus divided by the same Eratosthenes. From the beginning of the Olympiads to the paslige of Xerxes into Greece, two hundreth fourescore and seventeene yeares; from thence to the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre, eight and forty yeares; forwards to the vidory of Lysander, seven and twenty; to the battell of Leuttra, thirty foure; to the death of Philip King of Macedon, five and thirty; and finally to the death of Alexander, twelve. The whole summe ariseth to 453. years; which number he otherwise also colkeeth, and it is allowed by the most-

Now for placing the institution of the Olympiads in the one and fiftieth year of 1273ia, we have arguments grounded upon that which is certaine, concerning the beginning of Cyrushis reigne, and the death of Alexander; as also upon the Astronomical calculation of fundry Eclipses of the Sunne; as of that which happened when Xerxes set out of Sardis with his Army to invade Greece; and of divers other.

Touching Cyrus, it is generally agreed that his reigne as King before he was Lord of Tulde Direction the great Monarchy, began the first yeare of the five and fiftieth Olympiad, and that hee Full I Tegned thirty yeares: they who give him but rwenty nine yeares of reigne (following Evang tro. 3).

Hypodotus rather than Tuly, Justine, Eusebius, and others) begin a year later, which comes & de Den. all to one reckoning. So is the death of Alexander fer by all good Writers in the first year of the hundreth and fourteenth Olympiad. This latter note of Alexanders death serveth well to leade us back to the beginning of Cyrus; as many the like observations doe. For wen to leade us back of the time of Alexander, wee shall finde all to agree with the yeares of the Olympiads, wherein Cyrus began his reigne, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to fignifie a Lord of many Kingdomes) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of Cyrus, in the first year of the five and fiftieth Olympiad, unto the end of the Persian Empire, which was in the third of the hundreth and twelfth O lympiad, we finde two hundred and thirty yeares compleat: from the beginning of Cyrus his Monarchy, which lasted but seven years, we find compleat two hundred and seven years, which was to the continuance of the Persian Empire.

Now therefore seeing that the first yeare of Cyrus his Monarchy (which was thelast of the fixtieth Olympiad, and the two hundrethand fortieth yeare from the inflitution of those games by Iphitus) followed the last of the seventy yeares of the captivity of Jula. and desolation of the Land of I frael: manifest it is, that we must reckon back those seven ty years, and one hundred threefcore and ten years more, the last which passed underthe Kings of Juda, to find the first of these Olympiads; which by this accompt is the one and

fiftieth of uzziah, as we have already noted.

The Eclipses whereof we made mention, serve well to the same purpose. Forezanples fake; that which was feene when Xerxes mustered his Army at Sardis, in the two w hundreth threescore and seventh yeare of Nabonassar, being the last of the threescore and and fourteenth. Olympiad, leads us back unto the beginning of Xerxes, and from him to Cyrus, whence we have a faire way through the threescore and ten years, untothede. Aruction of Jerusalem; and so upwards through the reignes of the last Kings of Jula, to the one and fiftieth year of uzza.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein these Olympiads began. To tell the great folemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all Greece they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say that !! bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as Running, Wrelling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they onely contend for the Maftery in those seases, whereof there was good use, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bus, and other the like ancient kindes of exercifes that ferved onely for oftentation. Thinker also repaired Orators, Poets, Musicians, and all that thought themselves excellent in any laudable quality, to make tryall of their skill. Yea the very Cryers which produmed the victories, contended which of them should get the honour of having playdise

The Eleans were prefidents of those Games; whose justice, in pronouncing without partiality who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards given to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palme, or Olive, without any other commodity following than the reputation. Indeed there needed no more. For that was held fomuch, a that when Diagoras had seen his three sons crowned for their severall victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation : Morere, Diagoras, nonenimina Tum ascensurus es; that is, Die Diagoras, for thou Shalt not clime up to heaven: asifthere could be no greater happinesse on earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like

fense Horace speakes of these Victors, calling them,

Horat.Caym.1.4. Ode.z.

Tullin Orat.

Quos El ea domumreducit Palma Calestes.

Such as like heavenly wights do come With an Elæan Garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or fongs of Poets, that fo highly extolled them, which had wonne these Olympian prizes; but even grave Historians thought it? matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as Tully counts it) the vanity of the Greeks, that they esteemed it almost as great an honour to have wonne the Victory at Running or Wrestling in those games, as to have triumphed in Rome for some famous victory, or conquest of a Province.

That these Olympian games were celebrated at the full of the Moone, and upon the

fifteenth day of the Moneth Hecatombaon, which doth answer to our June and what means they used to make the Moneth begin with the new Moone, that the fifteenth day might be the full, I have shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now returne unto the Kings of Juda, & leave the merrie Greekes at their games, whom I shall meet in more ferious employments, when the Perfian quarrells draw the body of this History into the coasts of Ionia and Hellespont.

§. VI. of Jotham and his Contemporaries.

10 Totham the fonne of uzziah, when he was five and twenty yeers old, and in the fecond of Pekah King of Ifrael, was anointed King in Jerusalem, his Father yet living. Hee 2 King 15.33; huilt an exceeding high Gate to the Temple, of threescore cubits upright, and therefore called ophel: besides divers Cities in the Hills of Juda, and in the Forrests, Towers & Palaces: he inforced the Ammonites to pay him Tribute to wit, of Silver an hundred talents, and of Wheat and Barly two thousand measures: hee reigned fixe and twenty vears: of whom Josephus gives this testimonie: Ejusmodi verò Princeps hic fuit ut nullum ineovirtutis genus desideres: ut qui Deum adeo piè coluerit, hominibus suis adeo juste præfuerit urbem ipfam tanta fibicura effe paffus fit, o tantopere auxerit ut univerfum regnum hisibus quidem minime contemnendum, domesticis autem ejus incolis atque civibus falix, fullum & fortunatum sua virtute effecerit. This was such a Prince, as a man could finde no hinde of vertue wanting in him : hee worshipped God so religiously he governed his men so righteoully, be was so provident for the Citie, and did so greatly amplifie it that by his verice and proppeffe he made his whole Kingdome not contemptible to his enemies but to his Servants. Inhabitants and CitiZens, prosperous and happie.

This is all that I find of Jotham: his reigne was not long, but as happie in all things as

hehimfelfe was devout and vertuous.

Authomenes about this time fucceeded Phelefteus in Corinth: after whom, the Corinthians erected Magistrates, which governed from yeare to yeare. And yet Paulanias in his second Booke, with Strabo and Plut arch, in many places, are of opinion, That Corinth was governed by Kings of the race of the Bacida, to the time of Cypfelus, who drove

Teglathphalassar, or Tiglathpeleser, the son of Phul the second of the Babylonians and Allgrians that was of this new race, about this time invaded Ifrael, while Pekah (who a King 15. murthered his Master Pekeiah) was King thereof. In which Expedition he tooke most of the Cities of Nephtali and Galilee, with those of Gilead, over Jordan, and carried the inhabitants captive. This Tiglath reigned five and twenty years, according to Metafthenes. But Krentz hemius findes, that with his fonne Salmanaffar he raigned yet two yeares longer: which yeares I would not ascribe to the sonne, because the Aera of Nabonassar begins with his fingle reigne, but reckon them to Tiglath Phulassar himselfe, who therewith reigned 27. veeres.

Assembly sthe son of Agammester, about the same time, the twelfth Archon in Athens, ruled 25. years. Alcamenes governed Sparta: after whom, the Estate changed, according to Eustbius. But therein surely Eustbius is mistaken: for Diodore, Plutarch, Pausanias, and others, witnesse the contrary. Paulanias affirmeth, That Polydorus, a Prince of eminent Paulib. 30 vertues, succeeded his father, and reigned 60. years, and out-lived the Messeniack warre:

which was ended by Theopompus, the fonne of Nicander, his royall companion. At this time lived Nahum the Prophet, who fore-told the destruction of the Asyrian Empire, and of the citie of Nineve; which succeeded (faith Josephus) a hundred & fifteen Yeeres after. The Cities of Cyrene and of Aradus were built at this time, while in Media, Sofarmus and Medidus reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

6. VII. of Achaz and his Contemporaries.

Has, or Acha?, succeeded unto Jotham in the seventeenth yeer of Peka, the son of Remalia: the same being also the last yeere of his fathers reigne, who began of Kemalia: the same being another last years. In the second of the same Peka, and reigned 16. but not compleat yeeres. This

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2 King 16.1 1. 2 Chron. 28.

C.7.19.32.

AhaZ was an Idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten Images for Baa. lim, and burnt his fon for facrifice before the Idoll Moloch, or Saturne, which was represented by a man-like brazen body, bearing the head of a Casse, set up not far from Jerusalem, in a Valley shadowed with Woods, called Gehinnom, or Tophet, from whence the word Gehenna is used for Hell. The children offered, were inclosed within the carkasse of this Idoll, and as the fire encreased, so the facrificers, with a noyse of Cimbals and other Instruments, filled the ayre, to the end the pittifull cries of the children might not bee heard: which unnaturall, cruell, and divellish Oblation, Jeremie the Prophet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which S. Hierome upon the tenth of Matthew hath written at large. By the prohibition in Leviticus the eighteenth, it appeareththat in this horrible finne was ancient: in the twelfth of Deuteronomie, it is called an abhomina tion which God hateth. That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from Judea, divers Authors witnesse; as Virgilin the second of Amids Sanguine placastis, &c. & Silvius --- Poscere cade Deos. Saturne is said to have brough this custome into Italy, besides the casting of many soules into the River of Tyber, in ftead of which, Hercules commanded, that the waxen Images of men should be thrown in and drowned. The Devill also taught the Carthaginians this kinde of butcherie in fomuch, that when their Citie was besieged, and in distresse, the Priest made them beleeve, that because they had spared their own children, and had bought and brought upothers tobee offered, that therefore Saturne had stirred up, and strenghtenedtheir to Enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest youths of their Citie to be flaine, and offered to Saturne or Satan, to appeale him: who Eufeb. de Prep. besides these forenamed Nations, had instructed the Rhodians, the people of Crete, and Chios, of Meffena, of Galatia, with the Maffagets, and others, in thefe his fervices. Fur. ther, as if he were not content to destroy the soules of many Nations in Europe, Asia, and Acoft de Histor. Africa, (as Acofta writeth) the Mexicans and other people of America, were brought val. & mor. Ind. by the Devill under this fearefull servitude, in which he also holdeth the Ploridam and Virginians at this day.

Evang. lib. 6.

Dion.lib.1.

Diod.lib.20.

For the wickednesse of this King Abaz, God stirred up Rezin of Damascus, and he kah the Son of Remaliah, King of Ifrael against him, who invaded Judea, and besegd,

Jerusalem, but entred it not.

The King of Syria, ReZin, possess himselfe of Elah by the Red Sea, and cast the Jens out of it; and Pekah flaughtered in one day an hundred and twenty thousand Judeans, of the ablest of the Kingdome, at which time Maaseiah, the Sonne of Achaz was also saine by Zichri, with Azrikam the Governour of his house, and Eleanath the second person unto the King. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women and children, the Ifraelites lead away to Samaria: but by the counsell of the Prophet Oded, they were returned and delivered backe againe.

2 Chron. 28.

As Ifrael and Aram vexed Juda on the North; so the Edomites & the Philistims, who evermore attended the ruine of Judea, entred upon them from the South, and tooke 4 Bethfemes, Ajalon, Gaderoth, Socho, Timnah, & Genzo, flew many people, & carriedaway many prisoners. Whereupon when Achaz saw himselfe environed on all sides, & that his Idols and dead gods gave him no comfort, hee fent to the Affgrian Tiglatphilifer, to defire some aide from him against the Israelites and Aramites, presenting him withthe

2 Kings 16.

filver and gold both of the Temple, and Kings house. Tiglatphilefer wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that rose in Palastina. His Father having lately made himselfe from a Provincial Liertenant, King of Babylon and Affyria, had a little before led him the way into Judea, invited by Menahem, King of Ifrael. Wherefore now the Son willingly harkened to Achas, and embraced the advantage. As for Belochus himselfe, hee was content to assigne some? other time for going through with this enterprize: because (as I have said before) he was not firmely fettled at home, and the Syrian Kings lay directly in his way, who were yet firong both in men and fame. But Tiglath, having now, with the treasures of Jerusalem, prepared his Army, first invaded the Territorie of Damasene, wanne the Citie, & killed Rezin the last of the race of the Adads, who began with David, & ended with this Acha (. At Damaleus, Achaz met Tiglath, and taking thence a patterne of the Altar, sentit to uri ab the Priest, commanding the like to be made at Jerusalem, whereon at his returns hee burnt Sacrifice to the gods of the Syrians. In the meane while Tiglath possessall Basan,

and the rest beyond Fordan, which belonged to the Tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasse. And then paffing the River, he mastered the Cities of Galilee, invaded Ephraim, and the Kingdome of Ifrael, and made them his Vaffals. And notwithstanding that hee was invited and waged by Achaz, yet after the spoile of Ifrael, he posses himself of the greater part of Juda, and, as it feemeth, inforced Achaz to pay him tribute. For in the fecond of Rings, the eighteenth, it is written of Ezechia, that he revolted from Ashur, or rebelled againsthim, & therfore was invaded by Sennacherib. After Ahaz had beheld and borne the full fries, in the end of the fixteenth yeere of his reigne he died; but was not buried inthe Sepulchres of the Kings of Inda.

With AhaZ lived Medidus, the third Prince in Media, who governed 40. years, faith Ealthius: Diedorus and Ctesias find Anticarmus in stead of this Medidus, to have beene Englo. in Chion.

Sofarmushis fuccesfor, to whom they give 50. yeeres.

CHAP. 23. S. 7.

Tiglath Philefer held the Kingdome of Affria, all the reign of Abaz: vet fo. that Salmanaflar his Son may feeme to have reigned with him some part of the time. For wee findthat AhaZ did fend unto the Kings of Ashur to belpe him. The Geneva note saies, that these Kings of Ashur, were Tiglath Pileser, and those Kings that were under his Domi- 2 King 28. 16. nion, But that he or his Father had hitherto made fuch conquests, as might give him the Lordship over other Kings, I doe neither find any History, nor circumstance that proveth. Wherefore I thinke that these Kings of Albur, were Tiglath, and Salmanasar his Son, who reigned with his Father, as hath beene faid before: though how long hee reigned with his Father, it had beene hard to define.

At this time began the Ephori in Laced amon, a hundred & thirty years after Lycurgus, plutareh in vita according to Plutarch. Eufebius makes their beginning far later, namely, in the fifteenth solo. Olympiad. Of these Ephori, Elalus was the first; Theopompus and Polydorus being then joynt Kings. Thefe Ephori, chofen every yeare, were controllers as well of their Senaton a of their Kings, nothing being done without their advice and confent. For (faith Citro) they were opposed against their Kings, as the Roman Tribunes against the Confuls Inthetime of AhaZ died Aeschylus, who had ruled in Athens ever fince the fiftieth vereof uzzia. Alcamenon the thirteenth of the Medontida, or Governours of the Athenians (focalled of Medon who followed Codrus) fucceeded his Father Aefchylus, and wasthelast of their Governors: he ruled onely two yeeres. For the Athenians changed finffrom Kings (after Codrus) to Governors for life; which ending in this Alcamenor, they erected a Magistrate, whom they termed an Archen, who was a kinde of Bu ghomaster, or Governor of their City for ten yeeres.

This alteration Paulanias in his fourth Booke begins in the first yeere of the eighth Olympiad. Eufebius & Halicarnaffaus in the first of the seventh Olympiad : at which time

indeed, Carons the first of these, began his ten yeeres rule.

The Kingdome of the Latines, governed about three hundred yeare by the Sylvii, of therace of Aeneas, tooke end in the same Abaz time: the foundation of Rome, being slid by Romulus & Remus in the eighth yeere of the fame King. Codoman builds it in the deventh of Achaz, Bucholzer in the eighth, as I thinke he should; others somewhat later, and in the reigne of Exechias. Cicero, Eutropius, Orofins, and others, square the time of the foundation to the third yeere of the fixt Olympiad. But Halicarna flaus, Solinus Antischenus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eusebius, to the first yeere of the seventh: who feeme not onely to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to have kept herein the best accompt.

CHAP

Halicarn.lib.1.

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CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the Antiquities of Italy, and foundation of Rome in the time of Ahaz.

6. I. Of the old Inhabitants, and of the name of Italy.



No here to speake of the more ancient times of Italy, and what Nations possessing it before the arrivall of Aeneas, the place may seemeto invite us: the rather because much fabulous matter hath been mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. Italy before the fall of Italy, was known to the Greekes by divers names: as first Hesperia, then Australy, the one name arising of the seate, the other of the Australy, people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was also or work.

which it had of the Oenotri: whom Halicarnasses thinkes to have beene the first, that brought a Colony of Arcadians into that Land. Afterward it was called Italy of Italia: concerning which changes of names, Virgil speakes thus:

Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt: Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque ubere glebæ: Oenotrii colucre viri, nunc fama, minores Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.

There is a Land which Greekes Hesperia name, Ancient, and strong, of much fertility:

Oenotrians held it, but we heare by fame,
That by lateages of Posterity,
Tis from a Captaines name called Italy.

Who this Captaine or King may have bin, it is very uncertaine. For Virgil speakes no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hah continued so long upon the whole Countrie, and worne out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. There fore to find out the original of this name, and the first planters of this noble Countrie, Reineccius hath made a very painfull fearch, and not improbable conjecture. And first of all he grounds upon that of Halicarnasseus, who speakes of a Colonie which the Elans did leade into Italy, before the name of Italy was given to it : Secondly, upon that of Justine, who faith, that Brundusium was a Colonie of the Actolians: Thirdly, uponthat 4 of Strabo, who affirmes the same of Temesa or Tempsa, a Citie of the Brutis in Italy: Lastly upon the authority of Plinie, who shewes that the Italians did inhabite only one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was derived over all. Concerning that which is faid of the Eleans and Aetolians, who (as he shewes) had one originall; from them he brings the name of Italy. For the word Italia, differs in nothing from Aitalia, fave that the first Letter is cast away, which in the Greeke words is common; & the letter (0) is changed into (a) which change is found in the name of Acthalia an Island neere Italy, peopled by the Aetholians: and the like changes are very familiar in the Aeslie Dialect; of which Dialect (being almost proper to the Aetolians) the accent & pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the Latines, as Dio-5 ny sius, Halicarnassaus, Quintilian, and Priscian the Grammarian teach-

Hereunto appertaines that of Julian the Apostata, who called the Greekes cousins of the Latines. Also the common Originall of the Greekes and Latines from Javan; and the Fable of Javas, whose Image had two faces, looking East and West, as Greek and Italy lay, and was stamped on Coynes, with a Ship on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to Javan, father of the Greekes and Latines: who say ling over the Ionian Sea, that lies betweene Aetolia and the Westerne parts of Greeke and Italy, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas Reineccius thinkes, that the names

of Atlas and Italus belonged both to one man, and thereto applyes that of Berofus, who called Cethim, Italus; though it may seeme strengthened by the marriage of Dardanus, whilest he abode in Italy with Electra, the daughter of Atlas, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, easily disproved. For they who make mention of Atlas, place him before the time of Moses: and if Atlas were Cethim, or Kittim, then was he theson of Javan, and nephew of Japheth, the eldest son of Noah: which antiquity far exceedes the name of Italy, that began after the departure of Hercules out of the Country, not long before the Warre of Troy.

Likewise Virgil, who speakes of Atlas, and of Dardanus his marriage with Electra, hith nothing of his meeting with her in Italy, but calleth Electra & her fister Maia (poe-hically) daughters of the Mountaine Atlas in Africa, naming Italus among the Kings of the Aborigenes; which he would not have done, had Atlas and Italus beene one person. As for the authority of Berosus in this case, we need the lesset or regard it, for that Reynausius himself, whose conjectures are more to be evalued than the dreames wherewith

Annius hath filled Berofus, holds it but a figment.

That the name of Italy began long after Atlas, it appeares by the verses of Virgil last reharded, wherein hee would not have said, — Nuns fama minores Italiam dixisse duis de nomine gentem, had that name beene heard of ere Dardanus less the Countrey. But seing that, when Hercules, who died a sew yeeres before the Warre of Troy, had less italy a Colonie of the Eleans (who in a manner were one and the same Nation with the Actolians, as Strabo, Herodotus, and Pausanias teach) then the name of Italy began: & seeing Virgil makes mention of Italus among the Italian Kings, it were no great boldenesse to say, that Italus was Commander of these Eleans. For though I remember nothat I have read of any such Greeke as was named Italus; yet the name of Actolus written Greeke Aitolus, was very samous among the Actolians, and among the Eleans, hebeing son of a King of Elis. & sounder of the Actolian Kingdome. Neither is it more hadto derive the name of Italus from Actolias, than Italia from Actolias. So may Virgils authority stand well with the collections of Reprocessing the name of Italy being taken both from a Captaine, and from the Nation, of which he and his people were.

6. I I.

Of the Aborigenes, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reason of the names of Latini and Latium.

Nitaly the Latines and Hetrurians were most famous; the Hetrurians having held the greatest part of it under their subjection; & the Latines by the vertue and selicity of the Romans, who were a branch of them, subduing all Italy, and in few ages what-sower Nation was knowne in Europe: together with all the Westerne parts of Isa, and North of Africk.

The Region called Latium, was first inhabited by the Aborigines, whom Halicarnassaus, Varno, & Reyneccius (following them) thinke to have bin Arcadians: & this name of Aborigines (to omit other fignifications that are strained) imports as much as originall, or native of the place, which they possessed: which title the Arcadians are knowne in vaunting manner to have alwayes usurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the Moone; because indeed, neitherwere the inhabitants of Peloponnesus inforced to forsake their leates so oft as other Greekes were, who did dwell without that halfe Island, neither had the Arcadians so unsure a dwelling as the rest of the Peloponne sians, because their Countrey was leffe fruitfull in land, mountainous, & hard of accesse, & they themselves (asinfuch places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore ha-Vingoccupied a great part of Latinm, & held it long, did according to the Arcadian manner, fille themselves Aborigenes, in that language, which either their new Seate, or their Neighbours there by had taught them. How it might be that the Arcadians, who dwelt somwhat far from Sea, & are alwaies noted as unapt men to prove good Mariners, should have bin Authors of new discoveries, were a question not easie to be answered, were it not fo, that both fruitfulnesse of children, in which those ages abounded, inforced the iperfluous company to seeke another seat, & that some expeditions of the Arcadians, sespecially that of Evander, into the same parts of Italy, are generally acknowledged.

Halicarn. lib. 1. Juft. lib. 12.

PlinLib.z.c.s.

CHAP.24.5

498 After the Aberigines, were the Pelasgi, an ancient Nation, who sometimes gave name to all Greece but their antiquities are long fince dead, for lacke of good records. Neither was their glory fuch in Italy, as could long fustaine the name of their own Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The Sicani Aulones Arunci, Rutili, and other people, did in ages following disturbe the peace of Latium, which by Saturne was brought to some civility; and he therefore canonized to

This Saturne S. Augustine calleth Sterces or Sterculius, others terme him Stercutius fay that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That Latzum tooke his name of Sa turne, because he did latere, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from Jupiter, it isque. Rtionlesse a fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanity to think that any thing could bee hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fledde from another; so in the truth of History, it is well knowne, that no King reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it should bee hard to finde one Country or another. wherein a man might be fafe from his pursuit. And yet, as most fables and poeticallife. tions were occasioned by some ancient truth, which either by ambiguity of speech, or fome allufion, they did maimedly and darkely expresse (for so they fained a passage over a River in Hell, because death is a passage to another life; & because this passages hatefull, lamentable, and painfull, therefore they named the River Sigx, of Hate; Couptin, of Lamentation, and Acheron, of Paine: so also because men are stonie-hearted; and he. cause the Greek Naco, people, and Nass stones, are neere in found, therefore they fained in the time of Deucalion stones converted into men, as at other times men into stones:)in like manner it may be, that the original of Saturnes hiding himselfe, was someallison to that old opinion of the wifest of the Heathen, that the true God was ignotus Delli, 35 it is noted in the Alls; whence also Esay of the true God saies, tu Deus abdens te. Forit cannot be in vaine, that the word Saturnus should also have this very fignification, ifit be derived (as some thinke) from the Hebrem Satar, which is to hide: Howbeit Idenie not but that the original lofthis word, Latium, ought rather to be fought elsewhere,

Reyneccius doth conjecture that the Ceteans, who descended of Cethin, the Sonof Javan, were the men who gave the name to Latium. For these Ceteans are remembred by Homer as aiders of the Trojans in their warre. Strabo interpreting the place of Homer, calls them subjects to the Crowne of Troy. Hereupon Reynecerus gathers, that their abode was in Afia: viz. in agro Elaitico, in the Elaitian Territory, which agreeth with Strate. Of a City which the Acolians held in Asia, called Elea, or Elaia, Pausanias makesmention: Stephanus calls it Cidamis, or (according to the Greeke writing) Cidamis, whichmen last rehearsed hath a very neere sound to Cethim, Citim, or Cithim; the Greeke Letter(D) having (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (TH) differing only in the strength or weakenesse of utterance, which is found betweene many English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these Ceteans, being descended of Cethim, Cittim, or Kittim, the Sonne of Javan, who was Progenitor of the Greekes, might very welltake a denomination from the City, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called Elaites, or Elaites, it is very likely, confidering that among the Arcadians, Phocians, Actolians, and Eleans, who all were of the Acolique Tribe, are found thenmes of the Mountaine Elaus, the Haven Elaus, the people Elait a, the City Elaus, Elaus, & Elateia; of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then Elatini, from whence Latini may come. Now whereas both the Cesai and Areadians, had their originall from Cethin, it is nothing unlikely, that agreeing in language and similitude of names, they might neverthelesse differ in sound and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called Sabinus; 10 whom some (deriving the Sabines from him) give the name of Sabus: in the likemanners might he whom the Arcadians would call Elatus (of which name they had a Prince that founded the City Blateia) bee named of the Ceteans Latinus. Reyneceius, pursuing this likelihood, thinkes, that when Eurypilus, Lord of the Ceteans, (being the Sonne of Telephus, whom Hercules begat upon Auge, the daughter of Aleus King of Arcadia) Was flaine by Aebilles in the Trojan Warre: then did Telephus, brother to Eurypilus, conduct the Geteans; who (fearing what evill might befall themselves by the Greeks, if the affaires of Trey should goe ill) passed into that part of Italy, whereas the Arcadians were planted by Oenotrius. And Requeccius farther thinkes, that Telephus being the more gracious

among the Oenotrian Arcadians, by the memory of his Grand-mother Auge, an Arcadian Lady, was well contented to take an Arcadian name, and to be called Elatus, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the Ceteans, or of the Oenotrians, was first Elatime, and then Latinus. That this name of Elatus may have bin taken or imposed by the Arcadians, it is the more easie to be thought, for that there were then two Families. the one of Aphidas, the other of Elatus, who were Sons of ArcasKing of Arcadia, which oavename to the Country: & betweene these two Families the succession in that Kingdoutedid paffe, almost enterchangeably, for many ages, till at the end of the Trojan warre inflinto the hand of Hippotheus of the race of Elatus, in whose Posterity it continued the last. Againe, the name of Latinus, having a derivative found, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the conjecture of Reyneccius, which if hemade over-boldly, yet others may follow it with the leffe reproofe, confidering that irisnot easie to find either an apparent truth, or faire probability among these disagreeing Authors, which have written the originals of Latium.

6. III.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines untill Aneas his comming.

He Kings which reigned in Latium before the arrivall of Aeneas, were Saturnus, Picus, Faunus, and Latinus. Of Saturne there is nothing remembred, fave what is mentioned already, and many fables of the Greekes, which whether they bee appliable to this man, it is for him to judge, who shall bee able to determine, whether this were the Saturne of the Greekes, called by them wow or forme other, stiled Saturne bythe Aborigines. For the age wherein he lived, may very well admit him to have bin the fame: but the names of * Sterces, and Stercutius (for it may bee, this name was not * Excludioficing bossied from the skill which hee taught the people, but rather the foile which they cals the idols bollowed from the skill which need daight the people, and father make him seeme some of the heathers laid on their grounds, had that appellation from him) doe rather make him seeme some of the heathers otherman.

Of Picus it is faid, that he was a good Horse-man. The fable of his being changed into the Evangelist a Bird, which we call a Pie, may well feeme (as it is interpreted) to have growne from we reade of theskill which hee had in footh-saying, or divination, by the slight and chattering of Belegoub, Belegoul, which is Fowles. Faurus, the Son of Picus, reigned after his Father. He gave to Evander the interpreted Do-Arcadian (who having flaine by mischance his Father Echemus King of Arcadia, fled in-minus storoveus: to Italy) the waste grounds on which Rome was afterward built.

Fauna, called Farua, the fifter of Faunus, who was also his wife, as all Historians agree; satura became hewasheld a Prophetesse, and highly commended for her chastity, which praise in her the name of an multineeds have bin much blemished by her marriage, it selfe being meerly incessuous. God that in a

Itis not mentioned that Faunus had by his fifter any childe, neither doe we reade of like sense this any other Wife which he had, fave onely that Virgil gives unto him Latinus as his Son, fhould flicke by a Nymph called Marica.

But who this Marica was, it is not found, fave onely that her aboad was about the Aeneid. 7. River Liris neere Minturna.

Ofthename Latinus, there are by Pomponius Sabinus recounted foure: one, the Son of Faunus, another of Herculus, a third of uly ses by Circe, the fourth of Telemachus. Sui- suidas in the du takes notice onely of the fecond, of whom he faith, that his name was Telephus, and word Lairn. the people anciently named the Cetti, were from his furname called Latini. This agrees in effect with the opinion of Regneccius, the difference confisting almost in this only, that Suidas calls Telephus, the fon of Hercules, whereas Reyneccius makes him his Nephew, by a son of the same name. This Latinus having obtained the succession in that Kingdome after Faunus, did promise his only Daughter and Heire Lavinia, to Turnus the son of Vemilia, who was fifter to Amata Latinus his Wife.

But when Aeneas arrived in those parts with fifteene ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be imbarked, according to the rate which Thucydides allowes to the Vessels then used, about one thousand & two hundred men: then Latinus finding that it would stand best with his assurance to make alliance with the Trojan, and moved with the great re-Putation of Aeneas, which himselfe had heard of in the Warre of Troy, gave his Daughter tohim, breaking off the former appointment with Turnus; who incenfed

Acts 7.2.3. Elay 45.15herewith, fought to avenge himselfe by warre: which was soone ended with his owne

Of Amata the Wife of Latinus, it is very certaine, that were she an Italian, she could not have borne a Daughter marriageable at the arrivall of Aeneas; unlesse wee should wholly follow Suidas, and rather give the conduct of the Cetei into Italy, to Telephus the Father, than to his Son, who served in the last yeere of the Trojan Warre. But Reyne. Father, than to his Son, who served in the last yeere of the Trojan Warre. But Reyne. cins holds her an Asiaique, and thinkes withall, that Lavinia was borne before Telephus came into Italy. That this name Amata, by which Virgil and Halicarnass callher, was not proper, but rather a surname, it may seeme by Varro; who calleth her Palatia: which name very well might be derived from the Greek name Pallas. Amata, which sign in inseth beloved, or deare, was the name by which the High Priest called every Virgin whom he tooke to serve as a Nunne of Vesta; wherfore it is the more easie to be thought a surname, how soever Virgil discourse of her and Venilia her sister.

Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, being given in marriage to Aeneas, the Kingdome of Latinum, or the greatest part of that Countrie, was established in that race: whemit continued untill it was over-growne by the might and greatnesse of the Romans.

§. IV.

Of Eneas, and of the Kings and Governors of Alba.

NEAS himselfe being of the Royall bloud of Troy, had the command of the Dardanians: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the Trojans. By his wife Creusa, the daughter of Priamus, hee had a sonne called Assanius; whose surname was Julus, having before the ruine of Troy (as Virgil notes) bin surnamed Ilus. But when Aeneas was dead, his wife Lavinia, the daughter of La. tinus, being great with childe by him, and fearing the power of this Ascanius, fled into the Woods, where she was delivered of a son, called thereupon Sylvius, and surname Postbumus, because he was borne after his fathers Funerall. This flight of Lavinia wash evill taken by the people, that Ascanius procured her returne, entreated her honourably, 70 and using her as a Queene, did foster her young son, his halfe-brother Sylvius. Yet after wards, whether to avoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situations the place; Ascanius leaving to his mother in law the Citie Lavinium, which Aeneashal built and called after his new wives name, founded the Citie Alba Longa, and therein reigned. The time of his reigne was, according to fome, eight and twenty yeers: Virgil gives him thirty; others five and thirty, and eight and thirty. After his decease, the arose contention betweene Sylvius, the son of Aeneas, and Julus the sonne of Asianus, about the Kingdome: but the people inclining to the sonne of Lavinia, Julus was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enjoyed, leaving the Kingdomto Sylvius Posthumus, whose posterity were afterwards called Sylvii.

The reigne of the Alba Kings, with the continuance of each mans reigne, I findthis fet downe:

x Sylvius Posthumus.	297	1
2 Sylvius Aneas.	31	1
3 Sylvius Latinus.	50	
4. Sylvius Alba.	39	
5 Sylvius Atis.	26	3
6 Sylvius Capys.	28	1
7 Sylvius Capetus.	13	yeares.
8 Sylvius Tiberinus.	8	i
9 Sylvius Agrippa.	41	
10 Sylvius Alladius.	19	1
II Sylvius Aventinus.	37	
12 Sylvius Procas.	23	1
13 Sylvius Amulius.	44.) i
Sylvius Numitor.		
Ilia, called also Rhes and Sylvia		
Romulus. Remus.	•	

The most of these Kings lived in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remem-

Latinus founded many Townes in the borders of Latinus: who standing much upon the honour of their originall, grew thereby to be called Prifei Latini. Of Tiberinus fomethinke that the River Tiber had name, being formerly called Albula: but Virgil gives it that denomination of another called Tibris, before the comming of Aeneas into tal. The Mountaine Aventinus had name (as many write) from Aventinus King of the Albanes: who was buried therin: but Virgil hath it otherwise. Julius, the brother of Amentinus, is named by Eufebius as father of another Julius, & grandfather of Julius Proculus, who leaving Alba, dwelt with Romulus in Rome: Numitor, the elder fon of Procas, was deprived of his Kingdom by his brother Amulius; by whom also his son Aegesthus was flaine, and Ilia his daughter made a Nunne of Vesta, that thereby the issue of Numifor might be cut off. But the conceived two formes, either by her Uncle Amulus, as forme thinker or by Mars, as the Poets faine; or perhaps by some man of warre. Both the children, their Uncle commanded to be drowned, and the mother buried quicke, according othelaw, which so ordained, when the Vestall Virgins brake their chastitie. Whetherit was so, that the mother was pardoned at the entreatie of Antho, the daughter of Annilius, or punished as the Law required (for Authors herein doe varie) it is agreed by all that the two children were preferved, who afterward revenged the cruelty of their Uncle, with the flaughter of him and all his, and restored Numitor their grandfather to the Kingdome: wherein how long hee reigned, I find not, neither is it greatly mareriall to know; for as much as the Estates of Alba and of Latium were presently eclipfed by the fwift increase of Rome; upon which the computation of Time following (asfarreas concernes the things of Italy) is dependant. After the death of Numitor, the Kingdome of Alba ceased; for Numitor left no male issue. Romulus chose rather to live in Rome; and of the Line of Sylvius none else remained. So the Albanes were governed by Magistrates; of whom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely Cains Clailius, who in the dayes of Tullus Hoftilius, King of the Romanes, making Warre upon Rome, dved in the Campe; and Metius Suffetius, the fucceffor of Chilling, who furrendred the Estate of Alba unto the Romanes, having committed the hazzard of both Signories to the fuccesse of three men of each fide, who decided the quarrell by Combat: in which, the three brethren Horatio, the Champions of the Romanes, prevailed against the Curiatie, Champions of the Albanes. After this Combat, when Metins (following Tullus Hostilius with the Albane forces against the Veientes and Fidenates) withdrewhis Companies out of the battaile, hoping thereby to leave the Romanes to fuch moverthrow, as might make them weake enough for the Albanes to deale with; Tullus, who notwith standing this falsehood, obtained the victory, did reward Metius with a emelldeath, causing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and so torne in pieces. Then was alba destroyed and the Citizens carried to Rome, where they were made free Denizens, thenoble Families being made Patricians; among which were the Julii : of whom C. Julius Cefar being descended, not only gloried in his ancient, royall, and forgotten pedegree, in full affembly of the Romanes, then governed by a free Estate of the People: but by his rare industrie, valour, and judgement, obtained the Soveraignty of the Romane Empire (much by him enlarged) to himselfe and his posterity; whereby the name of Atmens, and honour of the Trojan and Alban Race, was so revived, that seldome, if ever, any one Family hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

9. V.

Of the beginning of Rome, and of Romulus birth and death.

From, which devoured the Alban Kingdome, I may here best shew the beginnings, which (though somewhat uncertaine) depend much upon the birth and education of Romahus, the grand-childe of Numitor, the last that reigned in Alas For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations between Euphrates and he Ocean, were broken in pieces by the yron teeth of this fourth Beast, it is not to be estribed in one place, having beene the worke of many Ages; whereof I now doe and onely the first, as incident unto the discourse preceding. Q. Fabius Pictor, Por-

tius Cato Calphurnius Pifo, Sempronius, & others, seeke to derive the Romans from Janus. but Herodotus, Marfylus, and many others of equall credit, give the Gracians for their Strables f. 152 ancestors: & as Strabo reporteth in his fifth Booke, Cacilius rerum Romanarum Scriptor eo argumento colligit, Romamà Græcis esse conditam, quod Romani Græco ritu, antiquo infi tuto Herculi rem sacram faciunt : matrem quoque Evandri venerantur Romani; Cacillia (faith he) a Romane Historiographer, doth by this argument gather, that Rome was built he the Greeks, because the Romanes, after Greekish fashion, by ancient ordinance doe sacrifia to Hercules: the Romanes also worship the mother of Evander.

Plutarch in the life of Romulus remembreth many founders of that Citie: as Romanus the fon of Uly fes and Circe; Romes the fon of Emathion, whom Diomedes fent thither from Troy; or that one Romus, a Tyrant of the Latines, who drave the Tuscans out of that Country, built it. Solinus bestowes the honour of building Rome upon Evander. faving, That it was before times called Valentia. Heraclides gives the denomination to captive Lady, brought thither by the Gracians: others fay, That it was anciently called Februs, after the name of Februa, the mother of Mars; witnesse S. Augustine inhisthird Booke de Civitate Dei. But Livie will have it to be the worke of Romulus, even from the foundation: of whom and his conforts, Juvenal to a Roman Citizen, vaunting of their originall, answered in these Verses:

> Attamen ut longe repetas, longeque revolvas Majorum qui (quis primus fuit ille tuorum, Aut paftor fuit , aut illud quod dicere nolo.

Yet though thou fetch thy pedegree so farre; Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were, Some Shepheard was, or else, that Ile forbeare.

meaning, either a Shepheard or a Theefe

Now of Remulus begetting, of his education and prefervation, it is faid, That held Rhea for his mother, and Mars supposed to be his father, that he was nurst by a Wolfe, found and taken away by Faustula a Shepheards wife. The same unnaturall nursinghad Cyrus, the fame incredible foltering had Semiramis the one by aBitch, the other by Birds. But, as Plutarch faith, it is like enough that Amulius came covered with armour to Rhea, the mother of Romulus, when he begat her with childe: & therein it feemethto methat he might have two purpoles; the one, to deftroy her, because she was the daughterand heire of his elder brother, from whom he injuriously held the Kingdome; the other, to fatisfie his appetite, because she was faire and goodly. For the being made a Nume of the goddesse Vesta, it was death in her, by the Law, to breake her chastitie. I also find Fauchet f. 114. in Fauchet his Antiquite ? de Gaule, that Merouee, King of the France, was begomenby ? Monster of the Sea: but Fauchet sayes, Let them beleeve it that lift; Il le croira quiveldra: Also of Alexander, and of Scipio African, there are poeticall inventions: But to answer these imaginations in generall, It is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were Kings, or passions of the minde, or as there were of vices and vertues; then did many women greatly borne, cover fuch flips as they made, by protesting to bee forced by more than humane power: so did Oenone confesse to Paris, that she had beene ravished by Apollo. And Anchyses boasted that hee had knowne Venus. But Rhea was made with childe by some man of Warre, or other, and therefore called Mars, the god of battell, according to the fense of the time. O enone was overcome by a strong wit, and by fuch a one as had those properties ascribed to Apollo. The Mother of Meroiece might fancie a Sea Captaine, to be gotten with young by fuch a one: as the Daughter of Inachus fancied, according to Herodotus. Aeneas was a bastard, and begotten upon some faire Harlot, called for her beautie Venus, and was therefore the childe of lust, which is Venus. Romulus was nurst by a Wolfe, which was pa, or Lupina; for the Curtesans in those dayes were called Wolfes, Que nunc (thin Halicarnasseus) honesteori vecabulo amica appellantur; Which are now by an houst name called friends. It is also written, that Romulus was in the end of his lifetake up into heaven, or rather out of the world by his father Mars, in a great storme of the der and lightning: fo was it faid that Aeneas vanished away by the River Numices

but thereof Livie also speaketh modestly; for hee rehearseth the other opinion that the forme was the furie of the Senators, but feemeth to adhere partially to this taking up; and many Authors agree, that there was an unnatural darkeneffe, both at his birth and or his death; and that he might be flaine by thunder or lightning, it is not unlikely. For the Emperour Anastasius was slaine with lightning; so was Strabo the Father of Fompey Agine with a thunder-bolt: fo Carus the Emperour (who fucceeded Probus) whileft hee lodged with his Army upon the River Tygris, was there flain with lightning. But a Mars of the same Kinde might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of war. & by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence (which destiny followed most of the Roman Emperors) it appeareth by Tarquinius Superbus, who was the feventh King after him: who when hee had murthered his Father-in-law, commanded that hee should not be buried, for (faid hee) Romulus himfelfe died and was not buried. But let Halicarnaffausendthis dispute: whose words are these: They (faith hee) who drew neerest to the with lay that he was slaine by his owne CitiZens; and that his cruelties in punishment of offendors, together with his arrogancie, were the cause of his slaughter. For it is reported that both when his mother was ravished, whether by some man, or by a god, the whole body of the Sunnewas eclipsed, and all the earth covered with darkenesse like unto night, of that the same did happen at his death.

Such were the birth and death of Romulus: whose life historified by Plutarch, doth containe (befides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few miles which had some bin forgotten, if the Roman greatnesse built upon that foundation, had not given it memory in all ages following, even unto this day. A valiant man he was, very from of body, patient of travell, and temperate in diet, as for bearing the use of wine & delicacies but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to flay his brother, & neglect to revenge the death of Tation, his companion in the Kingdome, that he himselfe might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He raigned 37. yeers first alone, then with Tatius, and after his death, single, till he was slaine, as is already shewed: after which time, the Soveraignty fell into the hands of Numa, a man to him unknown, and more Priest-like than King-like: wherein Rome it selfe in her latter times shath somewhat resembled this King. For having long bin sole Governesse till Constantimple shared with her : afterwards, when as the Greeke Emperour was crushed by forraine enemies, and the Latines disployed of Imperiall power, she fell into the subjection of a Prelate, fivelling by degrees from the Sheepe-hooke to the Sword, and therewith victorious to excessive magnificence, from whence by the same degrees it fell, being driven from luxurie to defensive armes; and therein having bin unfortunate, at length betakes her selfe againe to the Crosser staffe.

And thus much of Rome in this place by occasion of the Storie of the times of King Aha during whose reigne in Jurie, the foundations of this famous Citie were laid.

瓾頺頺鎟**濥**濥鉃錗嵡嵡濥濥濥濥濥濥濥濥濥濥濥濥濥濥濥濥濥濥濥濥 CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezechia, and his Contemporaries.

Of the beginning of Ezechias, and of the agreeing of Ptolomie, Nabonassar, Nabopolaffar and Mardocempadus, with the historie of the Bible.



S the first yeere of Abaz his reigne was confounded with the last of his father Jotham, so was the latter end of his sixteen years taken up in the three first of Ezechias his son. This appeares by the Reigne of Hosea, over Israel, which began in the twelfth of Ahaz, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with Aba7 his fourteenth. But the third of Hosea was the first of E7echia; so it followes, that Ezechia began to reigne in his Fathers foureteenth yeere. Like enough it is, that the third yeer of Hothe fame being the fourteenth of AbaZ, was almost spent when Ezechia began, and

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King 19.35.

fo the fifteenth vecre of AhaZ may have beene concurrent, for the most part, with the first of Ezechia.

By supposing that Hosea began his Kingdome, when the twelfth yeer of Abaz Wasal most compleat, some would find the meanes how to dis-joyne the first of Hezechia from the fifteenth of AhaZ, placing him yet one year later, of which yeere, AhaZ may per haps have lived not many dayes. But feeing that the foureteenth and fifteenth yeeresof Execbia may not be removed out of their places, it is vaine labour to alter the first yeer

In the fourteenth yeere of Ezechia, Senacherib, invading Juda and the Countries ad. iovning, loft his Armie by a miraculous stroake from Heaven, fled home, and was flaine. The yeere following it was that God added fifteene yeers to the life of Exelling when hee had already reigned foureteen of his nine and twenty : and the fame yeerew that miracle feene of the Sunnes going backe; of which wonder (as I heare) one Bar. tholomen Scultet, who is much commended for skill in Astronomie, hath by calculate on found the very day, which answered unto the twenty fift of April, in the Julian vice. being then Thursday. I have not seene any workes of Sculter; but surely to find a mo. tion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessary that he produce some record of object vation made at such a time. How soever it be, the fifteenth yeare of Ezechia agreedupon and therefore we may not alter the first. As for that faying, which is usuall in like cases 'a Chron. 28.27. that Ahaz flept with bis Fathers, & Ezechia his Sonne reigned in his flead, it dothno more

prove that Exechia reigned not with his Father, than the like faying doth inferre thelikes at the death of Jehosaphat, and succession of Jehoram; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Sonne to reigne whilest his Father lived, wee have already faid enough.

Of this godly King Ezechias, we find, that his very beginning testified his devotion and zeale. For whether it were fo, that his unfortunate and ungracious Father (who had out-worne his reputation) gave way to his Sons proceedings, which perhaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather thinke) the first yeere and first moneth of his 2 Chro. 29. v.3. reigne, wherein Ezechias opened the doores of the Temple, were to bee understoods the beginning of his fole government; wee plainly find it to have beene his first worke, that hee opened the doores of the house of the Lord, which Acha? had shut up, cleaned ; the Citie and Kingdome of the Idols, restored the Priests to their offices & estates, commanded the Sacrifices to bee offered which had bin for many yeeres neglected, &buke down the brasen Serpent of Moles, because the people burnt incense before it. & head led it Nebushan, which fignifieth alumpe of braffe. He did also celebrate the Passe over with great magnificence, inviting thereunto the Ifraelites of the ten Tribes: many there were, even out of those Tribes, that came up to Jerusalem, to this feast. But thegeneral multitude of Ifrael did laugh the Messengers of Ezechia to scorne.

2 King 18.

It was not long ere they that fcorned to folemnize the memoriall of their deliverance out of the Egyptian fervitude, fell into a new fervitude, out of which they never were delivered. For in the fourth of Ezechia his reigne, Salmanassar the Son of Tiglathtic Son of Belochus, hearing that Hofea King of Ifrael had practifed with Soe King of Egyh. against him, invaded Israel, befieged Samaria, and in the third yeare (after the inhabitants had endured all forts of miseries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into Affyria and Media: among whom Tobias, and his Son of the same name, with Anna his Wife, were fent to Nineve; in whose Seates and Places the Assirians sent strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the Israelites, as those of Cutha, Ana, Hamah, and Sphernaim, besides Babylonians: whose Places and Nations I have formerly described in the Treatise of the Holy Land.

These later Assyrian Kings, and the Persians, which followed them, are the first, of whom wee find mention made both in Prophane and Sacred bookes. These therefore ferve most aprly to joyne the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophers have written otherwise than fabulously) with the Ages following that were better knowne, and described in course of History. True it is, that of Cyrus and some other Persians, we find in the Bible the same names by which other Authors have recorded them : but of Phal & Salmanaffar, with other Affyrian, Chaldran Kings, diversity of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures doe speake of Sal manassar, King of Assur, who reigned in the time of Ahaz and Ezechia, Kings of Juda, & of Hofea King of Ifrael, whom hee carried into captivity : and whereas Piolomy make

mention of Nabonaffar, speaking precisely of the time wherein he lived sit is very pertinent to shew; that Salmanassar and Nabonassar were one and the same man. The like reasonalso requireth, that it be shewed of Nabuchadne Zar, that he was the same, whom

Of both these points Bucholerus hath well collected sufficient proofe from the exact calculations of fundry good Mathematicians. For by them it appeares, that betweene Nabona far and the birth of Christ, there passed seven hundred forty and sixe yeeres: at which distance of time the reigne of Salmanasar was. One great proofe hereof is this, which the fame Bucholerus alledgeth out of Erafmus Reinholdus, in the Printerick Tables. Mardocempadus King of Babylon (whom Ptolomy, speaking of three Eclipses of the To Moone, which were in his time, dorh mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call Merodach, who fent Embassadours to HeZechia King of Juda. So that if we reckon backward to the difference of time, betweene Merodach and Salmanassar, we shall finde it the same which is betweene Mardocempadus and Nabonassar. Likewise Functius doth flew, that whereas from the destruction of Samaria, to the destruction of Jerusalem, in the ninteenth of Nabuchadne Zar, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirty and three yeeres: the selfe-same distance of time is found in Ptolomy, betweene Nabonassar and Nabopolassar. For whereas Prolomy seemes to differ from this accompt, making Nabonassar more ancient by an hundred and forty yeeres, than the deof fruction of Jerusalem, wee are to understand that he tooke Samaria in the eighth yeere ofhis reigne; so that the seven foregoing yeeres added to these one hundred thirty and three, make the accompts of the Scriptures fall even with that of Ptolomy. Ptolomies computation is, that from the first of Nabonassar, to the fifth of Nabopolassar, there passed one hundred twenty and feven yeeres. Now if wee adde to these one hundred twenty feven, the thirteene enfuing of Nabuchadne Zars yeeres, before the City and Temple were destroyed, wee have the summe of one hundred and forty yeeres. In so plaine a case more proofes are needlesse, though many are brought, of which this may serve for all, that Prolomy placeth the first of Nabopolassar one hundred twenty and two yeeres, after the first of Nabonassar, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all Mathematicians: which in accomptof times I holdmore fure than the authority of any History; and therefore I think it folly to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematicall observations doe so throughly con-

Yetforasmuch as that argument of the learned Scaliger doth rest unanswered, whereby he proved Baladan the Father of Merodach, to have beene this Nabonasar; I will not forceto lose a word or two in giving the Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next observations of the heavenly Bodies, which Ptolomy recorded, after the time of Nabonaffar, were in the reigne of Mardocempadus; the second yeere of whose reigne, is according to Ptolomy, concurrent in part with the twenty feven of Nabonassar. For Ptol. Almag. the fecond of three ancient Eclipses which her calculates, being in the second yeere of 14.68. Mardocempadus, was from the beginning of Nabonassar twenty seven yeeres, seventeenedayes, and eleven houres: the accompt from Nabonassar, beginning at high-noone the first day of the Egyptian Moneth That, then answering to the twenty fixt of Februa-7; and this Eclipse being fifty minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of Februarie; so that the difference of time betweene the two Kings Nabonassar and Mardocempadus, is noted by Rolomy, according to the Egyptian yeers. But how doth this prove, that Mardocempadus or Meradach, was the Sonne of Nabonagar? yea, how doth it prove, that he was his next Successour, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to fatisfie me, in this argument, that Scaliger himselfe did afterwards beleeve Mardocempadus to have beene rather the Nephew than the Sonne of Baladan, or Nabonassar. For if hee might bee cither the Nephew, or the Sonne; hee might perhaps bee neither the one, nor the other. But because our Countrie-man Lidyat hath reprehended Scaliger for chan-Bing his opinion; and that both Torniellus, who followes Scaliger herein, and Sethus Lawifus, who hath drawne into forme of Chronology, that learned worke, De Emendatione Temporum, doe hold up the fame affertion, confounding Baladan with Na-I have taken the paines to fearch, as farre as my leifure and diligence could tach, after any sentence that might prove the Kindred or Succession of these two. Yet

Ddd

cannot I find in the Almagest (for the Scriptures are either filent in this point, or adverse to Scaliger; and other good authoritie, I know none, in this bufineffe) any fentence more neerly proving the fuccession of Merodach to Nabonassar, than the place now last rehear. fed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was father to the other, than (that I may use a like example) the as neere succession of William the Conqueror, declares him, to have bin Son, or Grand-child to Edward the Confessor. This considered, we may fafely goe on with our account from Nabonassar, taking him for Salmanassar, and nor fearing, that the Readers will be driven from our Booke, when they finde fomething init, agreeing with Annius, for a smuch as these Kings mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in Baby low and Affria, in those very times which by Diodorus and Ptolomie are assigned to Be. 10 Logus, Nabonassar, and Mardocempadus, and the rest: no good Historie naming any others that reigned there in those ages; and all Astronomicall observations, fitly concurring with the yeares that are attributed to these, or numbred from them.

6. I I.

Of the danger and deliverance of Judas from Senacherib.

Hen Salmanassar was dead, and his son Senacherib in possession of the Empire in the fourteenth yeare of EZechias, he demanded of him fuch Tribute to as was agreed on, at fuch time as Tiglath, the Grand-father of Senacherib, and Father of Salmana flar invited by AhaZ, invaded ReZin King of Damafeus, and delivered him from the dangerous Warre which Israel had undertaken against him. This Tribute and acknowledgement when Ezechias denied, Senacherib, having (as it feemes)a purposeto invade Egypt, sent one part of his Armie tolye before Jerusalem, Now though Ezechias (fearing this powerfull Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, with thirtie hundred talents of filver, and thirtie talents of gold: wherewith he presented senacherib, now set down before Lachis in Judan; ya under the colour of better affurance, and to force the King of Judea to deliver hostages, the Affyrian invironed Jerufalem with a groffe Armic, and having his fword in his hand 30

thought it the fittest time to write his owne conditions.

Exechias directed his three great Counsellers, to parly with Rabfaces over the Wall; and to receive his demands: who used three principall arguments to perswade the people to yeeld themselves to his Master Senacherib. For though the Chancellour, Steward, and Secretarie, fent by Ezechias, defired Rabfaces to speak unto them in the Syrian tongue, & not in the Jewish, yes he with a louder voyce directed his speech to the multitude in their own language. And for the first, he made them know, That if they cominued obstinate, and adhered to their King, that they would in a short time be inforced to eate their own dung, and drinke their owne urine: Secondly, he altogether disabled the King of Egypt, from whom the Judæans hoped for fuccour; and compared him to 40 a broken staffe, on which who foever leaneth, pierceth his owne hand; Thirdly, that the gods who should helpe them, Ezechins had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefely (as it is thought by some) the brasen Serpent, which had beene preserved ever fince Mofes time: and withall hee bade them remember the gods of other Nations, whom, notwithstanding any power of theirs, his Master had conquered and thrown downe; and for God himselfe, in whom they trusted, hee perswaded them by 10 meanes to relye upon him, for he would deceive them. But finding the people filent (for fo the King had commanded them) after a while, when he had understood that the King of Arabia was marching on with a powerfull Armie, he himselfe left the Affyrian forces in charge to others, and fought Senacherib at Libna in Judea, either to informe him of their resolution in Jerusalem, or to conferre with him concerning the Armie of Tarhaca the Arabian. Soone upon this there came letters from Senacherib to Executes, whom he partly advised, and partly threatned to submit himselfe, using the same blasphemous outrage against the all-powerfull God, as before. But Exechiof fending those Counsellers to the Prophet Est, which had lately beene sent to faces, received from him comfort, and affurance, that this heathen Idolater should not prevaile; against whom the King also belought aide from Almightie God, to peating the most insolent and blasphemous parts of Senacheribs letter, before the

Alrar of God in the Temple, confessing this part thereof to be true. That the King of Ahur had destroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had set fire on their gods, for they were no 2 Kin.19. gods, but the worke of mans hands, even wood and flone &c.

The reason that moved Senacherib to desire to possesse himselfe in haste of Jerusalem.was, that he might thereinto have retraited his Armie, which was departed as it feemeth from the siege of Pelusium in Egypt, for seare of Terbasa: and though the Scripmires are filent of that enterprise (which in these bookes of the Kings, and of the Chronielsor Parilipomenon, speake but of the affaires of the Jewes in effect) yet the ancient Be-10/10, and out of him Josephus and Saint Hierome, together with Herodotus, remember it Herod. 1.2 p. 69. 25 followeth. Herodotus calleth Senacherib King of Arabia and Affyria: which he might infly doe, because Tiglath his grand father held a great part thereof, which he wirested from Pekah King of Israel: as Gilead over Jordan, and the rest of Arabia Petræa adjovning the same Herodotus also maketh Sethon King of Egypt, to be Vulsans Priest and morteth that the reason of Senacheribs return from Pelusium in Egypt, which healso hesiged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in ander the Bow-strings of his Archers, and spoyled the rest of their weapons in that kinde, which no doubt might greatly amaze him : but the approach of Tarbaca, remembred by Tolephus and Berofus, was the more urgent. Saint Hierome upon the feven and thir- Fofant Lio, 6 1 rieth of Elay, out of the same Berofus, as also in part out of Herodotus, whom Josephus ci-Hor Europilas teth somewhar otherwise than his words lye, reports Senacheribs retrait in these words. Punalle autem Senacherib Regem Affyriorum contra Agyptios, & obsedife Pelusium jamqueextructis aggeribus urbe capienda, venife Taracham Regem Athiopum in auxilium es manolte juxta Jerusalem centum octoginta quinque millia exercitus Allyrii pestilentia corruife,narrat Herodotus : & plenissime Berofus Chaldaica feriptor Hiftoria, quorum fides de propriss libris petenda eft That Senacherib King of the Afferians fought against the A. Towitin part, applians, and befreged Pelusium, and that when his Mounts were built for taking of the Citie, mentioneth no. Taihacas King of the Athiopians came to help them, and that in one night, neer Jerusalem, thing neither of Tarhacas King of the Atmosphans came to new them, and that in one man specific five thousand of the Associated Armie perished by pestilence; of these faulaten, notes things (saith Hierome) * Herodotus reports: and more at large Berosus awriter of the Armiethere. Chaldean Storie, whose credit is to be taken from their owne Bookes. Out of Esay it is ga- Esay 29.6. 30 thered, that this destruction of the Assyrian Armie was in this manner: Then Shalt be reflied of the Lord of Heafts with thunder and Shaking, and a great noy fe, a whirlewinde and a tempest, and a stame of devouring fire. But Josephus hath it more largely out of the same Berofus, an authoritie (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted; Senacheribus autem ab Agyptiaco bello revertens, ostendit ibi exercitum fosantitocas quem sub Rabsacis imperio reli querat peste divinitus immissa deletum, prima nocte posteaquam Urbem oppuonare coeperat, absumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis centum octoginta quinque milibus Militum; qua clade territus, & de reliquis copiis follicitus, maximis stineribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regiam que Ninus dicitur. Ubi paulo post per inhaias Seniorum e filiis suis, Adramelechi, & Selennari, vitam amisit: occisus in ipso selomar other-Itmplo quod dicitur Arasci; quem pracipuo cultudignabatur, quibus ob patricidium à po-wise Shareger,

Phlaribus pulsis de in Armeniam fugientibus, Asaracoldas minor filius in Regnum successit; as he was pray Senacherib (saith Josephus) returning from the Egyptian Warre, found there his ing to Nefroe his Armie, which he had left under the command of Rabfaces destroyed by a pestilence sent 200 from God, the first night that bee had begunne to assault the Towne: one hundred four escore and five thousand of the Souldiers being consumed with their Chiefetaines and Coronels. With which destruction being terrefied, and withall affraid what might become of the rest of his Armie, hee made great marches into his Kinedome, to his Royall Citie, which is called Ninus, where shortly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his Sonnes, Adramelech

and Selenner or Sharezer, hee lost his life in the Temple dedicated to Arasces, or Nestroth: whom hee especially worshipped. These his Sonnes being for their parricide 2 Kin. 1937. chased away by the people: and flying into Armenia, Asaracoldas his younger Sonne suc- 1 Etd.4.2 eeeded in the Kingdome. Who in the beginning of his raigne fent new troupes out of Affyria and Samaria, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his Grand-father Salmanasar. What this Nesroth was, it is uncertaine: Hierome in his Hebrew traditions hath formewhat of him, but nothing positively. It is certaine, that Venus Utania was

worshipped by the Assyrians, and so was Jupiter Belus, as Dion, Eusebius, and Cyrillus Lye witnesse. Many fancies there are, what cause his sonnes had to murther him; but the

1 Kin. 18.21.

CHAP.25.S.4.

most likely it is, that he had formerly dis-inherited those two, and conferred the Empire on Affarhadden. Tobis tels us, that it was fiftie five dayes after Senacheribs returne, pire on Allar neaure. The formes, during which time he flew great numbers of ere hee was murthered by his formes, during which time he flew great numbers of ere nee was martineses, till the most just God turned the sword against his owne the Israelites in Nineve, till the most just God turned the sword against his owne breaft.

6. III.

Of Ezechias his fickenesse and recoverie; and of the Babylonian King that congratulated him.

Frer this marvellous deliverie, Ezechias fickned, and was told by Isaiah that he must dye: but after he had besought God with teares for his deliverie, Isaich, as hee was going from him, returned againe, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promise him recoverie after three dayes, and a prolongation of life for fifteene yeares. But Ezechias somewhat doubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth for a figne to confirme him: whereupon, arthe prayer of Isaiah, the shadow of the Sume castit selse the contrarie way, and went backe tenne degrees, upon the Dyall of A. chaz. The cause that moved Ezechias to lament (faith Saint Hierome) was, because he had as yet no sonne, and then in despaire that the Messias should come out of the house of David, or at least of his Seede. His disease seemeth to be the pestilence, by the medicine given him by the Prophet, to wit, a masse of Figges, layd to the Bothor

This wonder when the Wise-men of Cheldea had told to Meredach, King of Ba. bylon, the first of that house; he sent to Ezechias, to be informed of the cause: at which time Ezechias shewed him all the Treasure he had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet Isaiah, who told him; The dates are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and what soever thy Fathers have layd up in fore to this day , Shall becarried into Babel; nothing shall be left, saith the Lord. It may 30 sceme strange, how Ezechia should have got any treasure worth the shewing: for senacherib had robbed him of all, the yeare before. But the spoyle of the same Senecherib his Campe repayed all with advantage, and made Ezechia richer upon the sudden than ever he had beene: which unexpected wealth was a strong temptation to boatting. Afterthis time Ezechia had rest, and spending without noyse that addition which God had made unto his life; he dyed having reigned nine and twentie yeares. One onely offensive Warre hee made, which was against the Philistims with good successe. A. mong his other acts (shortly remembred in Ecclesiasticus) he devised to bring water to

In two respects they say that he offended God: the one, that he rejoyced too much so at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemie; the other, that he so much glored in his riches, as he could not forbeare to shew them to strangers. But the reason which moved Ezechias (speaking humanely) to entertaine the Embassadours of Merodachin this friendly and familiar manner, was, because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recoverie of his health; as also in that Merodach had weakned the house of Senacherib, his fearefull enemie. For Meredach, who was Commander and Lievtenant under Senacherib in Babylon, usurped that State himselfe, in the last yeare of that King, and held it by strong hand against his son Assarbaddon; who was not only simple, but impaired in strength, by the molestation of his brothers. This advantage Merodach espied, and remembring that their ancestor Phul Belachus had sethis own Master Sardanapalus besides the cushion, thought it as lawfull for himselfetorake the opportunitie which this Kings weakenesse did offer, as it had beene for Belochia to make use of the others wickednesse: and so, finding himselfe beloved of the Babyloni ans, and sufficiently powerfull, he did put the matter to hazzard, and prevailed. The fertion of this historic is made by the same arguments that were used in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching Phul Belochus; which I will not here againe to hearfe. So of this new race, which cut a-funder the Line of Ninas, there were only five Kings.

Phul Belochus Tiglath Philaffar. SalmanasTar. reigned & 10 > yeares. Senacherib. Affarhaddon.

But for as much as the last yeare of Salmana far was also the first of Senacherib his fort. wereckon the time, wherein the house of Phul held the Assyrian Kingdome, to have bin anhundred and one yeares, of which, the last five and twentie were spent with Ezechia, winder Salmanassar, Senacherib, and Assarhaddon.

6. IIII.

The Kingsthat were in Media during the reigne of Ezechia: Of the difference found between fundrie Authors in rehear sing the Median Kings. Other contemporaries of Hezechia: Of Candaules, Gyges, and the Kings descended from Hercules.

-N the time of Ezechia, Medidus, and after him Cardiceas, reigned in Media. Whether it were fo, that varietie of names, by which these Kings were called in severall Histories, hath caused them to seeme more than indeed they were; or whether the sons raigning with the fathers, have caused not onely the names of Kings, but the length of Time, wherein they governed Media, to exceed the due proportion : or whetherthe Copies themselves of Ctesias and Annius his Metasthenes, have bin faulty as neitherofthese two Authors is over-highly commended of trustinesse: so it is, that the mmes.number, and length of reign, are all very diversly reported of these Median kings, that follow Arbaces: therefore it need not feem strange, that I reckon Medidus and Cardieu ascontemporaries with Ezechia. For to reconcile fo great a difference, as is found in those writers that varie from Eusebius, is more than I dare undertake. I will only here set down the roll of Kings that reigned in Media, accordingly as fundry Authors have deli-30 vered it.

Annius his Metasthenes orders them and their reignes thus:

Arbaces. Mandanes. Sofarmon. Articarmin. Arbianes. Artæus. reigned 40 Artines. 22 Astybarus, with his 20 sonne Apanda. Apanda alone. Darius with Cyrus.

Diederus Siculus following Ctefias (as perhaps Annius made his Metasthenes follow Diedore, with some little variation, that he might not seeme a borrower) placeth them thus.

Arbaces. Mandanes. Solarmus. Articas. reigned Arbianes. Arfaus. Artines. Art abanus.

Astyleges. B the continuance of these two he do th not mention.

Mirrator hath laboured, with much diligence, to reconcile these Catologues, and to make them also agree with Eusebius. But for a fruich as it seemes to me an impossible matter, to attaine unto the truth of these forgotten times, by conjectures founded upon Ddd 3

Elay 39.

2 Kin 20

Eccles.48.

10

Ctefies and Metasthenes, I will lay the burden upon Eusebies, who lived in an age better furnished than ours, with bookes of this argument. Let it therefore suffice, that these two Kings (whom I have reckoned as contemporaries with Ezekia) Medidus and Caraiceas, are found in Eusebius: for whether Cardicess were Diodorus his Arbianes, I will not stay to fearch. The Kings of Media, according to Eusebius, raigned in this order.

Arbaces.]		28	l	
Sofarmus.		30		
Medidus.		40	Ļ	
Cardices.	reigned-	15	>yeares.	
Desoces.	i	54	Ĭ,	
Phraortes.	l	24	{	
Cyaxares.		32	l ·	
Astyages.	j	(38	3	

These names, and this course of succession I retaine; but adde unto these, Cyaxare the fon of Astrages, according to Xenophon; and sometimes follow Herodotus, in setting down the length of a Kings reigne, otherwise than Eusebrus hath it: of which variations, I will

render my reasons in due place.

The twenty nine yeares of Ezekia were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the force first that were chosen Governours of Athens for ten years, that is, of Charops, Æsimedia, 10 Elidicus, and Hippones. Touching the first of these I heare nothing fave that Rome was built in his first yeare; of which perhaps himselfe did not heare. Of the second andthrd I find only the names. The fourth made himself known by a strange example of justice, or rather of cruelty, that he shewed upon his own Daughter. For he finding that she had offended in unchastity, caused her to be lockt up with an Horse, giving to neither of them any foode: fo the Horse, constrained by hunger, devoured the unhappy Woman.

In Rome, the first King, and founder of that City Romalus, did reigne both before, and

somewhat after Ezekia.

In Lydia, Candaules the last King ruled in the same age.

This Region was first called Mæonia. Lydus the son of days reigning in it, gavethe po name of Lydia, if we believe fuch authority as we find. This Kingdome was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred upon Argon, who came of Alcaus the fonof Hercules, by Jardana, a bond-woman. The race of these Heraclida continued reigning fifty five yeares (in which two and twenty Generations paffed) the fon continually facceeding the father. Candaules the fon of Myrfus was the last of his race, who doated to much upon the beauty of his owne wife, that he could not be content to enjoy her, but would needs enforce one Gyges the fon of Dascylus to behold her naked body; and placed the unwilling man fecretly in her chamber, where he might fee her preparing tobedward. This was not so closely carried, but that the Queen perceived Gyges at his going forth, and understanding the matter, took it in such high disdaine, that she forced him the next day to require the Kings folly with treason. So Gyges being brought again into the famechamber by the Queen, flew Candsales, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdome of Lydia. He reigned thirty eight yeares, beginning in the last of EZekia, one year before the death of Romalus.

After Gyges, his fon Ardys reigned nine and forty yeares; then Sadyattes twelve; He lyattes, fifty feven; and finally Crafus the fon of Halyattes, fourteen years: who loft the

Kingdome, and was taken by Cyrus of Perfia.

And here by the way we may note that as the Lydian Kings, whom Crafus his Progenitor dispossest, are deduced from Hercules, so of the same Hercules there sprang many o ther Kings, which governed severall Countryes very long; as in Asia, the Mysians; in a Greece, the Lacedæmonians, Messenians, Rhodians, Corinthians and Argives; and from the Argives, the Macedonians, as likewise from the Corinthians, the Syracusanes: be fides many great and famous, though private, Families.

But of the Heraclida that reigned in Lydia, I have not troubled my self to take notice in the time of their severall reignes: for little is found of them beside the bare names, and

the folly of this last King Candauler.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, betweene the deliverance of Ilrael from thence, and the reigne of Ezekiah in Juda, when Egypt and Juda made a league against the Assyrians.

That many names of Egyptian Kings, found in Historie, are like to have belonged onely to Viceroges. An example proving this out of William of Tyre his Historic of the Holy



He emulation and quarrels arising in these times, betweenethe mightie Kingdomes of Egypt and Assyria, doe require our pains, in collecting the most memorable things in Egype, and setting down briefly the state of that Countrey, which had continued long a flourishing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with Affria for the Mastrie. Of Cham the son of Noah, who first planted that Countrey, and of Ofris, orus, and other ancient Kings, that reigned there, untill the Ifraelites were thence

delivered, more hath bin faid alreadie than I can stand to; though I hold it no shame to falle in fuch conjectures. That which I have delivered, in speaking mine opinion of the Egyptian Dynasties, must here againe helpe me. For it may truely be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are faid to have raigned in Egypt, were none other than 30 Viceroyes or Stewards, such as Joseph was, and such as were the Soldanes in later ages. Therefore I will not onely forbeare to fecke after those, whom Herodotus and Diodorus have reckoned up, from the mouths of Egyptian Priests, delivering them by number, without rehearfing their names; but will fave the labour of marshalling them in order, whose names onely are found; the yeares of their raigns, and other circumstances pro-

ving them to have bin Kings indeed, being not recorded.

Butthat I may not seeme before hand to lay an imaginarie ground, whereupon after I may build what I list; it were not amisse, to give unto the Reader such satisfaction in this point, as apparent reason, and truth of Historie doth afford. First therefore, we ought not to believe those numbers of Generations, which the lying Priests have reckoned up, 6 to magnifie their Antiquities. For we know, that from Abraham our Saviour Christ was removed onely fortie two descents; which makes it evident, that in farre shorter time, namely before the Persian Empire, there could not have passed away twice as many succeffions in Egypt: especially confidering, that many of these, whose continuance is expressed, having raigned longer than fortie years. It followes that we should square the number of the Egyptian Kings in some even proportion, to those which did beare rule mother Countries. As for the rest, whose names we finde scattered here and there any man that will take the paines to reade the ninteenth booke of the holy War, written by William Archbishop of Tyre, may easily perswade himselfe, that it is not hard to find names enow, of fuch as might bethought to have reigned in Egypt, being none other than Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here infert, as briefly as I can, some things making to that parpole for the pleasure and information of such, as will not trouble themselves With turning over many Authors.

When Elabdech the Caliph ruled in Egypt, one Dargan, a powerfull and a subtle man, made himselfe Soldan, by force and cunning, chasing away Sanar an Arabian, who was Soldan before and after him. This Dargan ministred matter of quarrel to Amalrick king of Jerufalem; and fustained, with little losse, an invasion, which Amalrick made upon Egypt. Hereupon he grew so insolent and proud, that Sanar the former Soldan hoped to make his partie good against him, if he could get any forces wherwith to enter Egypt.

Briefly, Sanar fueth to Noradine, King of Damasco, for aide, who sends an Armie of his Turks, under the command of Syracon, against the Soldan Dargan. So Dargan and Sanar met, and fought: The victorie was Dargans; but he enjoyed it not: for in few dayes after, he was slaine by treason, whereby Sanar did recover his Dignitie: which to establish, he slew all the kindred and friends of Dargan, that he could finde in the great Ci-

The second Booke of the first part

tie of Cairo.

To all these doings, the Caliph Elhadech, gave little regard : for he thought it little concerned him, which of them lived, and had the administration of the Kingdome, whilest Le might have the profit of it, and enjoy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would thinke) do neerly touch the Caliph himselfe. Syracon with his Turkes, 10 whom Sanar had gotten to come into Egypt, will not now be intreated there to leave him, and quietly go their way home. They seize upon the Town of Belbeis, which they fortifie, and there attend the arrivall of more companie from Damasco, for the conquest of all Egypt. The Soldan perceives their intent, and findes himselfe not strong enough to expell them, much leffe to repell the Turkish Armie, that was likely to second them. He therefore fends Messengers to King Almaricke of Jerusalem, whom with large promises, he gets to bring him aide, and so drives out the Turkes. Of all this trouble the great Caliph heares nothing, or not fo much as should make him looke to the playing of his own game.

A greater mischiefe ariseth, concerning the Caliph Elhadech particularly in hisowne 10 Title. Syracon, Captaine of the Turkes that had been in Egypt, goes to the Caliphof Baldach (who was opposite to him of Egypt, each of them claiming as heire to Mahomet that false Prophet, the Soveraigntie over all that were of the Saracen Law) and tels him the weakenesse of the Egyptian, with his owne abilitie of doing service in thosepans, offering his best means for the extirpation of the Schismaticall Calipb, and the reduction of all Egypt, with the Western parts, under the subjection of the Babylonian. This motion is readily and joyfully entertained; all the Eastern Provinces are up in Armes, and Syracon, with a mightie power, descendeth into Egypt. The noyse of this great expedition so affrighteth King Almaricke, that with all his forces he hasteth into Egypt: well knowing how nearely it concerned him and his Kingdome of Jerusalem, to keepe the jo Saracens from joyning all under one head. Sanar the Soldan perceiving the faithfull care of the Christians his friends, welcomes them, and bestirs himselfe in giving them all manner of content, as it behoved him: for by their admirable valour, he finally drave the enemies out of the Countrie-But this victorie was not so soone gotten, as it is quick-

Strange it is (which most concernes our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the Caliph, as yet, seemes to know nothing. May we not thinke him to have been king in title onely, who meddled so little in the Government . The Soldan, finding that the Christians (without whose helpe all was lost) could not well stay so long as his necessities required: makes large offers to King Almaricke, upon condition that he should abide 40 by it. He promiseth a great Tribute(William of Tyrecalls it a Tribute; the Saracens, perhaps, called it a Pension) which the Kings of Jerusalem should receive out of Egypt, for this behovefull assistance. But the Christians understanding that the Soldan (how much seever he tooke upon him) was subject to a higher Lord, would make no bargain of such importance with any other than the Caliph himselfe. Hereupon Hugh Earle of Cafarea, and a Knight of the Templars, are fent unto Elbadech to ratifie the covenants. Now shall we

fee the greatnesse of the Calipb and his estate.

These Embassadours were conveighed by the Soldan to Cairo, where arriving at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troupes of Souldiers. The first entrance was through dark Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of Ethiopians, which with all diligence, did reverence to the Soldan as he passed along. Through these streights the Warders led them, into goodly open Courts, of such beautie and riches, that they could not retaine the gravitie of Embassadours, but were inforced to admire the things which detained their eyes. For therethey faw goodly Marble Pillars, gilded Beames, all wrought over with embossed workes, curious pavements, fish-ponds of marble with cleare waters, and many forts of strange birds, unknown in those parts of the World, as comming perhaps from the East Indies, which then was undiscovered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the Calipb his Eunuches conveyed them into

other Courts within these, as far excelling the former, as the former did surpasse ordinarie houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearse how the further they entred, the more high state they found, and cause of marvaile; suffice it, that the good Archbishop, who wrote these things, was never held a vaine Author. Finally they were brought into the Caliphs owne lodgings, which were yet more stately and better guarded; where entring the Presence, the Soldan having twice prostrated himselfe, did the third time cast off his Sword that he wore about his necke, and throw himselfe on the ground before the curtaine, behinde which the Caliph fate. Presently the traverse wrought with Gold and Pearles was opened, and the Caliph himselfe discovered, sitting with great majesty on a throne of gold, having few of his most inward servants and Euruches about him. When 10 the Soldan had humbly kissed his Masters feet, he briefly told the cause of his comming, the danger wherein the land stood, and the offers that he had made unto King Almerick, desiring the Caliph himselfe to ratisfie them in presence of the Embassadors. The Caliph answered, That he would throughly perform all which was promised. But this contented not the Embaffadors: They would have him to give his handupon the bargaine; which the Egyptians that stood by thought an impudent request. Yet his greatnesse condescended at length, after much deliberation at the carnest request of the Soldan, to reach out his hand. When the Earle of Cæsaria saw that the Caliph gave his hand neither willingly nor bare, he told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, Truth feekes no holes to hide it felfe; Princes that will hold covenant, must deale openly, nakedly and fincerely; Give us therefore your bare hand, if you meanethat we shall trust you, for we will make no bargaine with your Glove. Much adoe there was about this : for it feemed against the Majesty of such a Prince to yeeld so far. But when it would none otherwise be, with a smiling cheare (though to the great griefe of his Servants) hee vouchsafed to let the Earle take him by the bare hand; and fo rehearfing the covenants word by word, as the Earle spake them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the Embassadors with such rewards as testified his greatnesse.

Inthis Caliph and his Sultan, we may discerne the Image of the ancient Pharaob, and his Viceroy: we see a Prince of great estate, sitting in his Palace, and not vexing himselfe with the great preparations made against him, which terrefie his neighbour Countries: we fee his Viceroy, in the meane feafon, using all Royall power; making war and peace; entertaining and repelling Armies of strangers; yea, making the Land of Egypt tributary toa forrain Prince. What greater authority was given to Joseph, when Pharaoh faid unto him, Thou shalt be over mine house, and at thy word shall all my people be armed, only in the

Kingsthrone will I be above thee. Behold I have let thee over all the Land of Egypt? Idoe not commend this forme of Government; neither can I approve the conjecture ofmine Author, where he thinkes, that the Egyptians, ever fince Josephs time, have felt the burden of that fervitude which he brought upon them, when he bought them and their Lands for Pharaoh. Herein I finde his judgement good; that he affirmes this manto her of the Egyptian Kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customes practifed by the Pharaohs. For we find, that even the Ptolomies (excepting Ptolomaus Lagi, and his fon Philadelphus, founder and establisher of that race) were given, all of them wholly to please their owne appetites, leaving the charge of the Kingdometo Women, Eunuches, and other ministers of their desires. The pleasures which that Country afforded, were indeed sufficient to invite the Kings thereof unto a voluptuous life; and the awfull regard wherein the Egyptians held their Princes, gave them fecurity, whereby they might the better trust their Officers with so ample commission. But of this matter, I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to have shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroyes governing Egypt, is set down by Moofes, and that a lively example of the same is found in William of Tyre; who lived in the fame age; was in few yeares after Chancellour of the Kingdome of Jerusalem; and had full discourse with Hugh Earle of Cæsaria touching all these matters. Wherefore it remaines, that we be not carried away with a vaine opinion, to believe that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous Egyptians have honoured with that stile; but rest contented with a Catalogue of fuch, as we find by circumstance, likely to have reigned in that Country; after whom it followes that we should make inquiry.

CHAP.26.5.3.

Of Acherres; whether he were Uchoreus that was the eighth from Osymandyas. of Osya mandyas and his Tombe.

N this businesse I hold it vaine to be to o curious. For who can hope to attaine to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as Diodorus varies from Herodorus, Eu-A feb:us from both of them; and late Writers that have fought to gather the truth out of these and others, finde no one with whom they can agree? In this case Annius would doe good service, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to be beholding 10 to him, when others doe either say nothing, or that which may justly be suspected. I will therefore hold my selfe contented with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of Ofiris, 16s, Orus, and those antiquities removed so farre out of fight: as for the Kings following the departure of Ifrael out of Egypt, it shall suffice that Herodorus. Diodorus, and Eusebius have not beene filent, and that Reineccius hath taken paines to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or else found scattering in others.

From the departure of Israel out of Egypt, unto the reigne of Thuris (who is generally taken to be the same that the Greeks call Proteus) there is little or no disagreement about the Egyptian Kings. Wherefore I fet down the fame which are found in Eufebiun, 20

and give to every one the fame length of reigne.

Acherres was the first ofthese, who succeded unto Chencres, that perished in the Red Sea. This King seemes to Reineccius to be the same whom Diodorus calls Uchoren, the founder of Memphis. But whereas mention is found in Diodorus of a great King, named Ofymandya, from whom Wehereus is faid to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that Timaus (as Reineccius conjectures) was the great Offmandyas; or else that this dehures was uchoreus : for the distance between them was more than eight generations. Mr. cator judgeth Ofmandyas to have bin the husband of Ancheres, Orus the seconds daughter; thinking that Manethon (cited by Josephus) doth omit his name, and insert his wives into the Catalogue of Kings, because he was King in his wives right. As for Uchoreus, it 20 troubles not Mercator to find him the eighth from this man: for he takes Ogdons, notto fignifie in this place of Diodore (as that Greek word elfe doth) the eighth, but to bean Egyptian name, belonging also to uchoreus, who might have had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vexe my braines in the unprofitable search of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that Diedore hath found of this O (ymandyas, was wrought upon his monument; the most thereof in figures, which I think the Egyptians did fabilities ly expound. For whereas there was portrayed a great Army with the fiege of a Town, the captivity of the people, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the Egyptians faid to denote the conquest of Bactria made by that King: which how likely it was, let others judge. I hold this goodly piece of worke, which Diodore to particularly de-40 scribes to have beene crected for a common place of buriall to the ancient Kings and Queens of Egypt, and to their Viceroyes; whilest yet they were not so ambitious, as every one to have his owne particular monument, firriving therein to exceed all others. This appeares by the many statuaes therein placed, by the Wars, the judgement seate, the receiving of Tribute, the offering facrifice to God, the account of revenues, and plenty of all cartell and food; all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the severall Offices of a Governour. On the Tombe of Ofymandy as was this inscription. I am Ofyman dyas King of Kings; If any desire to know what I am, or where I lye, let him exceed some of my workes. Let them that hope to exceed his works, labour to know what he was. But fince by those words, or where I lye, it should feem that he lay not there interred, we may s lawfully suspect that it was Joseph, whose body was preserved among the Hebrewes, to be buried in the land of Canaan, and this empty Monument might King Orus, who outlived him, erect in honor of his high deferts, among the royal fepulchres. To which put pose the plenty of Cattell, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name of of mandy as doth not hinder this conjecture 3 feeing Joseph had one new name given to him by Pharach, for expounding the dream, and might, upon further occasions, have another, to his increase of honour. As for that stile, King of Kings, it was perhaps no more than Beglerbeg, as the Turkish Bassare called, that is, Great above the Great. NOW

Now although it be forthat the reckoning fals out right, between the times of Joseph and Acherres (for Acherres was rhe eight in order, that reigned after the great Orus, whose Viceroy Joseph was) yet will I hereby seeke, neither to fortiste mine ownconjecture, as touching Foleph, nor to infer any likelihood of Acherres his being Uchoreus. For it might well be that Memphis was built by some such King as was Geboar, Lievtenant unto the John Leo, Hist. Caliph Eleain; who having to his Masters use conquered Egypt, and many other Coun-afficiations ries, did build, not far from old Memphis, the great Citie of Cairo (corruptly fo pronounced) naming it El Cahira, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Mistresse, though he himfelfe were a Dalmatian flave.

6. III.

of Cherres, Armeus, Ramesses, and Amenophis. of Myris, and the Lake that beares

THen Acherres had raigned eight years, Cherres succeeded and held the kingdome fifteen years: then raigned Armew five years, and after him Rameffes, threescore and eight. Of Armew and Ramesses is that Historie understood by Eufebius, which is common among the Greekes, under the names of Danaus and E-20 ceptus. For it is faid that Danaus, being expelled out of Bayps by his brother, fled into Gruse: where he obtained the Kingdome of Argos: that he had fiftie Daughters, whom mon seeming reconciliation, he gave in marriage to his brothers fiftie fons, but commanded every one of them to kill her husband the first night; that onely Hypermaestra, one of his Daughters, did fave her husband Lyncens, and luffered him to escape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloudie fifters, when they dyed, were enjoyeed this foolish punishment in Hell, to fill a leaking veffell with water.

Thereign of Danaus in Argos was indeed in this age; but that Armeus was Danaus and Aumsses, Express; is more than Reineccius beleeves: he rather takes Armeus to have bin 30 Myris, or Meris, who caused the great lake to be made which beares his name. For my ownpart, as I can eafily believe, that he which fled out of Egypt into Greece, was amon offuch qualitie as the Soldan Sanar, of whom we spake before; so doe I not find how insoshort a raigne, as five years, a worke of that labour could be finished, which was required unto the Lake of Myris, and the Monuments therein; whereof his own Sepulchre and his wives being fome part, it is manifest that he was not buried in Argos. Whereforcof Myris, and of all other Kings, whose age is uncertaine, and of whose raignes we haveno affurance, I may truly fay, that their great works are not enough to prove them of the house of Pharaoh, seeing that greater deeds or more absolute, than were those of Joseph, who bought all the people of Egypt as bondmen, and all their land for breads of Gihar, who founded Cairo; and of Sanar, who made the Countrey Tributarie; were to performed by none of them.

Itsfall therefore be enough to fet down the length of their reignes whom we finde to havefollowed one another in order of succession : but in rehearing the great acts which were performed. I will not stand to examine, whether they that did them were kings or

The Lake of Maria, is, by the report of Diodore and Herodotus, three thousand fix hundred furlongs in compasse, and fiftie fadomes deep. It served to receive the waters of Nihas, when the over-flow, being too great, was harmefull to the Countrie: and to supply the defect, by letting out the waters of the lake, when the riverdid not rife highenough. In opening the fluces of this lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were spent liftie talents but the Lake it self defraied that cost; seeing the tribute imposed upon fish taken therein was every day one talent, which Myris gave to his Wife to buy fweet oyntments, and other omaments for her bodie. In the middest of it was left an Iland, wherein were the Sepulchres of Myris and his Wife, and over each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, or (according to Herodotus) fiftie paces high; having on the tops their statues, fitting in Thrones. I find not the description of this Lake in Maps, answerable to the report of Hi-Rorians: yet it isvery great. The years of Armeus are by Manethon divided, by inferting One Armefis (whom Eufebius omits) that should have raigned one year and odde moneths of the time: but I hold not this difference worthie of examination.

Fohra Leo 8.

After Ramesses, his son Amenaphis held the Kingdome fortie years. Some give him on-Ty nineteene yeares; and Mercasor thinkes him to have been the King that was drowned in the Red Sea: whereof I have alreadic spoken in the first Booke.

6. IV. Of the Kingsthat reigned in the Dynastie of the Larthes.

Ethofis, or Zethus, reigned after his Father Amenophis, fiftie five yeares. To himate afcribed the famous acts of that ancient Sefoftris. But the state of the world was not such at these times, that so great an expedition as the old Sesoftris made, could to have been either eafily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which hepaf. fed, had it now been performed; as any man will perceive, if he looke upon my Chronologicall Table, and consider who lived with this Zeshus. With this King began the Dynastic of the Larths; which Reinescius conjectures to have had the same fignification, wherein the old Kings of Hetruria, were called Lartes, (the Hetrurians being iffued our of Lydia, the Lydians out of Egypt) and to have fignified as much as Imperator, or Ge. nerall. The wars in which thefe Kings were Generals, I take to have been against the Athiopians: for fure I am, that they troubled not the Countrie of Palaftina, that lav next unto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they travelled over the defart fands, to on the other hand; to feek matter of conquest, in the poore Countries of Africa. But these Generals (if the Larthes were such) were not many. Five only had that title; and the last of these rooke it, perhaps, as hereditarie from the first; in such fort as the Remane Emperours were proud, for a while, to be called Antonini, till the most unsuble conditions of Heliogabalus, made his successors forbeare the name,

Here it may be objected, that the Dynastics (as appeares by this particular) took name from the Kings; that the Kings also did administer the government themselves, and that therefore I am deceived in ascribing so much unto the Viceroyes. But it is to be consdered, that what is faid of these Larthes, depends only upon conjecture, and that the arthoritie of the Regents, or Viceroyes, might be great enough, though some few Kings 10 took the conduct of Armies into their owne hands. For so we finde in John Leo, that the Soldan of Egypt (after fuch time as the Soldan Saladine, murdering the Caliph, gor the Soveraigntie to himselfe) had under him a Viceroy, stilled Eddaguadare, who hadauthoritie to place, or displace, any Magistrates, or Officers; and that this mans Familie was almost as great, as the Soldans owne. Yet was there also the Amir Cabir, or Lord Generall of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might, as he thought good, spend of the Soldans treasure. So might the office of the Viceroyes continue, though the Kings themselves, taking the charge, or title of Generals upon them, did somewhat abridge the greatnesse of that second place. As for the names of the Dynasties, it skills not whence they were drawn, whether from their Countrey, as those so of the Thebans and Diapolitans; or from some eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time; as many think, that the seventeenth Dynastie was called of the Shepheards, because Joseph governed in part thereof; or from the Kings themselves that reigned; asthis was faid to be of the Larthes or Generals. The next, as Manetho (but Annius his Manthe) hath it, was without any Larths or Generals, yet was it not without kings, for almuch as Vaphres, and Sefac, raigned therein, if many others did not. But let us now return to the

Rameses was King after Zethus, or Sethosis, threescore and sixe yeares. He is mistaken for that second Sefostris, of whom I have spoken in the first booke. I find nothing worth rehearfall of this Rameses, or of Amenophis and Annemenes, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned fortie, the latter fixe and twentie yeares. Wherefore it may very well be, that the name which Zethus had from valour, was taken by theseas he-

reditarie. Thurris, the last of the Larthes, reigned only seven years; yet is he thought to have bin that Proteus, of whom Herodotus hath mention, faying, That he took Helena from Paris, and after the fack of Troy, restored her to Menelaus. I need say no more in resutation of this, than that the time of T buoris his raign lasted not so long as from the Rape of Heles to her restitution.

This Proteus or Cetes (as he is named by some) together with Thon, and others, mentioned by Greek Writers in this businesse, or in other such matters, may seeme to be under-Officers: for fuch only are like to have had their residence about Phares, and the sea-

Of Proteus, who detained Helen, it is faid that he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himselfe into all shapes: whereby is signified his crasty head, for which he is grown into a Proverb. The Poets fained him a Sea-God, and keeper of Neptunes Seale-fishes, for belike he was some under-Officer to the Admirall, having charge of the

Fishing about the Isle of Pharos, as was said before.

CHAP.26.5.5.

Remphes the Son of Proteus, is reckoned the next King, by Diodore, as also by Herodo-To tus, who calls him Ramfinitus, and tells a long tale fit to please children, of his coverousnesse, and how his treasure-house was robbed by a cunning thiefe, that at last married his Daughter. But of this a man may beleeve what he lift. How long this King reigned I knownot, nor think that either he or his father did reigne at all.

6. V.

Of the Egyptian Kings, whose names are found scattering in sundry Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of Egypt, according to Cedrenus. Of Vaphres and Sesac.

Any other names of Egyptian Kings, are found scattered here and there; as To nephersobis, of whom Suidas delivers onely the bare name and title; Senemures, or Senepos, mentioned in Macrobius, who perhaps was the same that by Suidas is called Senyes, or Euenes, noted by occasion of a great Physician that lived under him; Banchyris, recorded by the same Suidas for his great justice; and Thulis, of whom Suidas telsgreat matters; as, that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gave name to the Isle of Thule, which some take to be Iseland; and that he consulted with the Divell, or (which is all one) with Seraphis, defiring to know, who before him had beene, or afterhim should be so mighty as himselse. The answer or consession of the Divell was remarkeable; which I find Englished in the translation of Plesishis work, Of the truenesse of Christian Religion. The Greek Verses are somewhat otherwise, and much more imperfectin those Copies that I have of Cedrenus and Suidas, but the sense is all one; which is

First God, and next The Word, and then The Spirit, Which three be one, and joyne in one all three: Whose force is endlesse. Get thee hence fraile wight, The man of Life unknowne excelleth thee.

I should have thought that Suidas had borrowed all this of Cedrenus, had I not found somewhat more in Swidas than Cedrenus hath hereof; as the forme of invocation which o Thulis used, and that clause of his giving name to the Hand: though in this last point I hold said to be deceived; as also Cedrenus is, or (at least) feems to me, in giving to this Kingfuch profound antiquity of reigne. Indeed the very name of that booke, cited often by Cedrenus, which he calls Little Genefis, is alone enough to breed suspition of some imposture : but the Frierly stuffe that he alledgeth out of it, is such as would serve to discredit himselfe, were it not otherwise apparent that he was a man both devout and of good judgement in matters that fell within his compasse. I will here set downe the List of old Egyptian Kings delivered by him, and leave the censure to others.

The first King of Egypt that he sets downe, is Milraim the sonne of Cham. After him he finds many of a new race, deriving their pedegree thus: Nimrod the sonne of Chus was also called orion, and further took upon him the name of the Planet Saturne, had to wife Semiramis, who was of his owne Linage, and by her three fons; Picus, surnamed Jupiter, Belius and Ninus. Picus chasing his father out of Assiria into Italie, reigned in his stead thirtie yeares, and then gave up that Kigndome to Juno his fifter and wife, and to Belus his son :after which Belus, who reigned onely two yeares, Ninus had the Kingdome, and marriedhis owne Mother Semiramis. But Pieus went into Italie to visit his old Father Saturne; Saturne forth with refigned the Kingdome unto him. Picus Jupiter reigned in Italie threescore and two yeares, had threescore and tenne Wives or Conubines, and about as many children: finally dyed, and lyes buried in the Isle of Crete.

clem.Strom.l 1.

Evang. 19.C.4.

€ 11.v.18.

The Principall of Jupiters sons were Faunus, Perseus, and Apollo. Faunus was called by the name of the Planet Mercurie: heer eigned in Italie, after his Father, five and therety yeares: and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went in. to Egypt, with abundance of Treasure; where, asserthe death of Misraim, he got the Kingdome, and held it nine and thirty yeares. After Mercury, Vulcan reigned in Egypt, foure yeares and a halfe. Then Sol, the sonne of Vulcan, reigned twenty yeares and a halfe. There followed in order sosis, ofiris, orus and Thules, of whom we spake before, the length of their severall reignes is not set downe. After Thules, was the great Sesofru King twenty yeares. His successor was Pharaob, called Narecho, that held the Crowne fiftie yeares, with which there passed from him the surname of Pharaoh, to a very long to These reports of Cedrenus I hold it enough to set downe as I find them: let their creposteritie.

The Second Booke of the first part

dit rest upon the Author.

Others yet we find, that are faid to have reigned in Egypt, without any certaine note. when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vaine curiofitie, in the fearch made after these already rehearsed, than of negligence,

inomitting such as might have been added.

Vaphres, the father in law to Salomon, and Sefae, the afflicter of Rehoboam, lead us again into faire way, but not farre. The name of Vaphres is not found in the Scriptures; but we are beholding to Clemens Alexandrinus and Eusebius for it. These give us not the length to of his reigne; but we know that he lived in the times of David and of Salomon. Hecame into Palestina with an Armie, took Gezar from the Canaanites, and gave it to his daugh. ter, Salomons wife: though for her fake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) Sefac his fon did favour the enemies of Salomon, who kept formany Wives and Concubines, besides this Egyptian Princesse. In the life of Rehoboam all hun bin written that I find of Sefac, excepting the length of his reigne, which must have bin fixe and twenty yeares, if he were that Smendis with whom Eufebius begins the one and twentieth Dynastie.

Now forasmuch as it would serve to no great purpose, that weeknew the length of Sefae his reigne, and of theirs that followed him, unlesse therewithall we knew thebe. ginning of Sefac, upon which the rest have dependance; this course I take. From the fourth year of Jebojakim king of Juda, in which Pharao Neco was flain, I reckonupwards the yeares of the same Neco, and of his Predecessors, unto the beginning of Sefae: by which accompt, the first year of Sefac is found concurrent with the twentieth of Salomons reigne, and the twenty fixe of Sefac with the fifth of Rehoboam: wherein Sefac spoyledthe Temple, and dyed, enjoying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer than Joas the Ifrallie, and Crassus the Romane did; who after him spoyled the Temple of Jerusalem.

To fill up the time between Sefac and Neco, I have rather taken those kings that I find in the Greeke Historians, than them which are in Eusebius his Catalogue. For of those that are delivered by Eusebius, we find no Name nor Act recorded elsewhere, save only 10 of Bocchoris, who is remembred by Diodore, Plutareb, and others, much being spokenof him, that makes him appeare to have bina King. Hereunto I may adde, that the succession on is often interrupted in Eusebius by Athiopians, which got the kingdome often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appeares by the Prophet Esay, that the Counsellors of Pharaoh did vaunt of the long and flourishing continuance of that house, insomuchthat they faid of Pharach, I am the sonne of the wife, I am the sonne of the ancient King. Butthat which overthrows the reckoning of Eusebius, is the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the Kings of Juda. For though it please him well to see how the reigns of Josias and Neco meet by his computation, yet this indeed marres all; the reignof Josias being misplaced. This errour growes from his omitting to compare the reignes of the Kings of Juda with theirs of Ifrael: by which occasion Joran King of Ifrael, is made to reigne three yeares after AhaZia of Juda; Samaria is taken by Salmanasfar before Helichiawas King: and in a word, all, or most of the Kings have their beginnings placeding some other yeare, of their collaterals than the Scriptures have determined.

of Chemmis, Cheops, Cephrenes, and other Kings recited by Herodorus and Diodorus Siculus, which reigned betweene the times of Rehoboam and Ezechia.

Ollowing therefore the Greeke Hiftorians, I place Chemmis, or (according to Diodore) Chembis, first in the ranke of those that were Kings after Sefac. Hee reigned fiftie yeares, and built the greatest of the three Pyramides, which was accounted one of this worlds Wonders. The Pyramis hath his name from the shape, in that irrefembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottome upwards narrower and narrower to the top. This of Chemmis being foure-fquare, had a Base of seven acres every way, and was about fixe acres high. It was of a very hard and durable stone, which hadlasted, when Diodore saw it, about a thousand yeares, without complaining of any injurie that it had suffered by weather in so long space. From the reigne of Chemmis, untotheage of Augustus Casur, wherein Diodore lived, are indeed a thousand yeares; which doth give the better likelihood unto this time wherein Chemmis is placed. As for this and other Pyramides, late Writers doe testifie, that they have seene them yet

After Chemmis, Diodore placeth Cephrenes his brother; but doubtfully, and enclining Diodor Las ratherto the opinion, that his fon Chabreus succeeded. Herodotus hath Cheops (who Herod.las might be Chabrens) and Cephrenes after him. These are said to have been brethren; but the length of their reignes may argue the latter to have been fonne to the former: for Chups reigned fifty yeares; Cophrenes fifty fixe. These were, as Chemmis had beene, builders of Pyramides, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who alreadyhad over-laboured themselves in creeting the first. These Pyramides were ordained to be Tombes for those that raised them; but the malice of the Egyptians is faid to have cast out their bodies, & to have called their Monuments by the name of an Heardsman, that kept his Beafts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honour, andentiuling a poorefellow to their works, was held to be the casting out of their bodies; otherwise it is hard to conceive how it might be, that they, who had not power to avoyd the like flavery laid upon them by the younger brother or forme, should have power or leafure to take fuch revenge upon his Predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale devised against Cheops his Daughter; That her Father wanting money, didprostitute her, & that she getting of every man that accompanyedher, one stone, did build with them a fourth Pyramis, that stood in the midst of the other three. Belike she was an infolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery for her fake, longer a while than they thought to have done, in raising a Monument with the superfluity of her Fathers provisions.

Mycerinus the fon of Cephrenes reigned after his Father fixe yeares. He would have built as his fore-goers did, but prevented by death, finished not what he had begun. The People thought him a good King, for that he did fet open the Temples which Cheeps and cephrenes had kept shut. But an Oracle threatned him with a short life of fixe years only, because of this his devotion; For (faid the Oracle) Egypt should have beene afflitted an hundred and fiftie yeares, which thy Predecessors knew, and performed for their parts; but thou hast released it therefore shalt thou live but sixeyeares. It is very strange, that the gods should be offended with a King for his piety; or that they should decree to make Countrey impious, when the people were defirous to ferve them; or that they having fodecreed, it should be in the power of a King to alter destinie, and make the ordinance of the gods to faile in taking full effect. But thefe were Egyptian gods. The true God was doubtleffe more offended with the institution of such Idolatry, than with the interruption. And who knowes whether Chemmis did not learne somewhat at Jerusalem in the last yeare of his Father Sesac, that made him perceive, and deliver to those the chi that followed him, the vanity of his Egyptian superstition ? Most fure it is, that his reins reigne, and the reignes of Cheops and Cephrenes were more long and more happy than that of Mycerinus, who, to delude the Oracle, revelled away both dayes and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, he had changed his nights into dayes, and for doubled the time appointed: a fervice more pleasing to the Divell, than the restitution of Idolatry durft then feeme, when it could speed no better. I finde in Reineceius fiftie

Efai 19.11.

years affigned to this King; which I verily believe to have bin some errour of the print, though I find it not corrected among other such oversights: For I know no Author that gives him so many years, and Reineceius himselfe takes notice of the Oracle, that threatned Mycerinus with a short life, as is before shewed.

Boschorus is placed next unto Mycerinus, by Diodore, who speakes no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, & excelling his predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by divers Authors, as one that loved justice; and may be taken for that Banchyris whom Suidas commends in that kinde: Eusebius reckons 44 years of his reigne.

After Boccorus, one Sabacus an Athiopian followes in the Catalogue of Diodore; but certaine ages after him. Herodotus quite omitting Bocchorus, hath Ajychis; who made a to sharpe law(as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition, till the debt were paid. This Asychis made a Pyramis of brick. more costly and faire, in his owne judgement, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Besides this Asychis, Herodosus placeth one Anysis, a blind man, beforethe Ethiopian. The reignes of these two are perhaps those many ages which the Egypti. ans, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted betweene Boschorus and him that followed them. But all this could make but fixe yeares; and fo long doth Functions, fo long doth Reineceius hold, that these two Kings bet ween them both did govern If any man would lengthen this time, holding it unprobable that the reignes of two Kings should have bin fo soone spent; he may doe it by taking some yeares from Sethon or Pfammiticus, and 10 adding them to either of these. To adde unto these without subtracting from some ther, would breed a manifest inconvenience : forasmuch as part of Sefac his reigne, TKing 14-25. must have beene in the fifth of Rehoboam, as also the last of Pharas Neco was the fourth 2 Chro, 12.02. of Jehojakim, and the first of Nebuchadne Zzar. For mine owne part, I like it bettertoal low fixe years only to these two Kings, than to lose the witnesse of Herodotus, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speak of Sennacheribs war: at which time Seihon was King of Egypt. I will not therefore adde years unto these obscure names; for byadding unto these men three years, we shall thrust the beginning of Sethen out of place, and make it later than the death of Semacherib. In regard of this agreement of Herodotas with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him in his Egyptian Kings. Otherwife 30 it were a matter of no great envie to leave both Afychis and Anylis out of the roll; which were eafily done, by placing Sefac lower, and extending his life yet fixe years further, or more(if the like abridgement shall be required of Pfammiticus his reigne) into the years

Of Sabacus the Athiopian, who took the Kingdome from Anysis, it is agreed by the most, that he reigned fiftic years. He was a mercifull Prince, not punishing all capitall offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour upon malefactors; by whose toile he both got much wealth into his owne hands, letting out their service hire, and performed many works of more use than pompe, to the singular benefit of the Countrey. Zonoras calls this King Sna; the Scriptures call him So. Hosea, the last King of the Israel, made a league with him against Salmanassar, little to his good: for the Egypuss was more rich than warlike, and therefore his triendship could not preserve the Israelian formed and the salmanssar.

It seemes, that the encroaching power of the Assirian grew terrible to Egyptabout these times; the victories of Tiglath Phulassar and Salmanassar having earen so fare into Syria, in the reigne of this one King So or Sabacus. Yea, perhaps it was in his daies for his reigne began in the fourth of Menahem) that Phul himselfed did make the first entrance into Palassina. This caused So to animate the halfe subdued people against their Conquerors; but the helpe which he and his Successor gave them was so faint, that Seemecheribs Embassador compared the Egyptian succour to a broken staffe of Reed. Such so indeed had Hose sound it, and such Ezechia might have found it, had he not beene supported by the strong staffe of him that ruleth all Nations with a rodde of you. It appeares by the words of Rabsake, that the opinion was great in Juda, of the Egyptian sorces, for Chariet sand Horse-men; but this power, what soever it was, great needfull, within a little while, for the desence of Egypt it selfe, which So less und Diseased have both one tale, from the relation of Egyptian Priess, concerning the departure of this King; saying, that he less the Countrey, and willingly retired into Bishiopia, because

because it was often fignified unto him in his dreames, by the god which was worthipded at Thebes, that his reigne should be neither long nor prosperous, unlesse he slewall the Priests in Egypt; which rather than to do, he resigned his Kingdome. Surely, these Egyptian gods were of a strange quality, that so ill rewarded their servants, and invited Kings to doe them wrong. Well might the Egyptians (as they likewife did) worthip Dogs as gods, when their chiefe gods had the property of Dogs, which love their Masters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priests should have seigned this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I thinke that it might be some device of the searcefullold man, who feeing his Realme in danger of an invation, fought an honest excuse for his departure out of it; and with-drawing himselfe into Ashiopia, where he had bin bred 10 inhisyouth. What if I should say, that the Athiopia into which he went, was none otherthan Arabia, whereof Tirhaka the King (perhaps at the instigation of this man) raifedan Armie against Sennacherib, when he meant to invade Egypt within two or three years after : but I will not trouble my felf with fuch enquirie. This I hold, that So, or Sebeens was not indeed an Athiopian (for in his time lived the Prophet Efer, who mentioneth the antiquity of Phar ashs house) but only so surnamed for his education, and because iffling from thence, he got the kingdome from Anylis, who was his opposite. The quiet and milde form of his government, his holding the kingdome folong without an Army, and many other circumstances argue no leffe. But whether finally he betooke a private life, or whether he fore-went his life and kingdom at once, being now very old, it is time that we leave him, and speake of Sethon his next Successor, who is omitted by Diodore, but remembred by Herodotus, by a fure token of his having been King.

6. VII.

of Sethon who reigned with Ezechia, and fided with him against Sennacherib.

He first yeare of Sethons reigne falls into the twelfth of Ezeshia, which was the fift of Sennacherib. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger; the two great Kingdomes of Assyria and Ezypt, being then ingaged in a warre, the issue where of was to determine, whether of them should rule or serve. The Assyrian had the better men of Warre; the Ezyptian better provision of necessaries: the Assyrian more Subjects; the Ezyptian more Friends: and among the new conquered halfe Subjects of Assyrian that were Ezyptian in heart, though Assyrian in outward shew.

Of this last fort were Ezebia and his people; who knowing how much it concerned Pharao, to protect them against his owne great Enemy, preserved the friendship of so neare and mighty a Neighbour, before the service of a terrible, yet sarreremoved King. But herein was great difference betweene Ezebia and his Subjects: For the good King sixing his especial considence in God, held that course of policy, which he thought most slikely to turne to the benefit of his Country: the multitude of Judea looking into the faire hopes which this Egyptian league promised, were pussed up with vaine conceits, thinking that all was safe, and that now they should not need to feare any more of those injuries which they had suffered by the Asyrtans, and so became forgetful of God, taking counsell, but not of him. The Prophet Esay complained much of this presumption; Esay 30.1. giving the people of Juda to understand, That the Egyptians were men, and not God, and their Horses stell, and not spirit; that God himselfe should defend the and not God, and they should fall by the sword, but not of man. As for the Egyptians (said the Pro-Esay 30.7. phet) they are vanity, and they shall help in vaine, their strength is to sit still.

According to the prophers words it came to passe. For in the treaty of Confederacy of that was held at Zoan, all manner of contentment and assurance was given to the Jewes by they did not looke (as Esay saith) unto the holy One of Israel, nor seeke unto the Lord. But he Esay 31.1.2.

After a while came Sennacherib with his Army, & wakened them out of these dreams; for Sethon their good Neighbour, as neare as he was, did seeme farre off, being unready, when his helpe vias most needfull. It may seem that he purposed rather to make Pale. Sina than Egype, the stage whereon this great Warre should be acted, and was not without hope, that the Assignment and Jewes, weakening one another, should yield unro him.

2 Kin. 18. 29

Efay 30.6.

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faire advantage over both. Yet he fought with monie; for he sent Horses and Camels laden with treasure, to hire the Arabians, whom Esay calleth a people that cannot profit These Arabians did not profit indeed; for (besides that it seemes by the same place of Esay, that the rich treasures miscarried, and fell into the enemies hands before any helpe appeared from Tirbaca, all the strong Cities of Juda were taken by Senacherib, except Libna, Lachie, and Jerufalem it selfe, which were in sore distresse, till the sword of God and not of Man, defeated the Affrian, who did goe, for feare, to his Tower, that is, he fled to Nineve, where he was flaine.

Elay 349.

Concerning this expedition of Senacherib, Herodotus takes this notice of it: That it was purposed against Egypt, where the men of warre, being offended with Sethon their, King, who had taken away their allowance, refused to beare armes in defence of him and their Countries that Sethon being Vulcans Priest, bemoaned himselfe to his god, who by dream promifed to fend him helpers; that hereupon Sethon, with fuch as would follow him, (which were craftf-men, shop-keepers, and the like) marched towards Pelasium; and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the Campe of Senacherib by night, dd fo gpaw the bowes, quivers, and ftraps of his mens armour, that they were faine thenext day to flie away in all hafte, finding themselves disarmed. In memorie hereof (faith Herodotus) the statue of this King is set up in the Temple of Vulcan, holding a Mouse in his hand, with this inscription: Let him that holds mee ferve God. Such was the relation of the Egyptian Priefts, wherein how farre they fwarved from the truth, being defirousto to magnific their owne King, it may eafily be perceived. It feemes that this Image of sethon was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in Diodorus his time, or elfe perhaps, the Priests did forbeare to tell it him (which caused him to omit it) for that the nation of the Jewes was then well knowne to the world, whereof every childe could have told, how

much falsehood had beene mingled with the truth.

We find this historie agreeable to the Scriptures, thus farre forth; That Senathrib King of the Affrians and Arabians, (fo Herodotus calleth him : the Syrians, or peradventure some borderers upon Syria, being meant by the name of Arabians) lived in this age, made Warre upon Egypt, and was miraculously driven home. As for that exploye of the Mice, and the great pleasure that Fulcan did unto his Priest; happie it was (if Scibon 30 were a Priest) that he tooke his god now in so good a moode. For within three or some yeares before this, all the Prices in Egypt should have been slaine, if a merciful King had not spared their lives, as it were halfe against the gods will. Therefore this last good turne was not enough to ferveas an example, that might fir up the Egyptians topicite, feeing that their devotion, which had lasted so long before, did bring all the Priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I thinke, that this Image did representations. cherib himselfe, and that the Mousein his hand, signified Hieroglyphically (as was the Egyptian maner of expressing things) the shamefull issue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his Armie, by meanes which came, no man knew from whence. For the vengeance of God, shewed upon this ungodly King, was indeed a very good mo-40 tive to pietie. Butthe Embleme, together with the Temple of Vulcan (being perhaps the chiefe Temple in that Towne where this Image was erected) might give occasion to such a fable; the Divell helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be robbed of his honour. Yet that we may not belie the Divell, I hold it very likely, that Sethon finding himselfe in danger, did call upon his gods, that is, upon Vulcan, Serapu, or any to whom he had most devotion. But so had other of his predecessors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained fuccour by the like miracle: Surely the Jewes (even such of them as most were given to Idolatrie) would have bin ashamed of the confidence which they reposed in the Chariots of Egypt because they were many bin the Horsemen, because they were very firong ; had it bintold them, that Sethon, in freed of ge fending those Horse menand Chariots, was beseeching Vulcan to send him and them good lucke; or else (for these also were Egyptian gods) addressing his prayers to some Onyon or Cat. Howfoever it was, doubtlesse the Prophecie of Esay tooke effect, which laid, They ball be all ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor help, nor doe them god, but shall be a shame and also are proach. Such is commonly the iffue of humane wisedoms, when resting secure upon provision that it self hath made, it will no longer seem to stand innecd of God.

Some there are who take Sethon to have bin fet down by Enfebins under the name of

Tarachus the Athiopian; and therefore the twenty years which are given to Tarachus, they allow to the reigne of Sethon. These have wellobserved that Tarachus the Ethiopian is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a King of Egypt, but as a friend to that Country, or at least an enemy to Sennacherib, in the war last spoken of; the Æthiopians (as they are englished) over which he reigned, being indeed Chustes or Arabians. Hereupon they suppose aright, that Eusebius hath mistaken one king for another. But whereas they think that this Tarachus or Tirhaka is placed in the roome of Sethon, and therefore give to Sethen the twenty years of Tarachus, I hold them to have erred on the other hand. For this Ethiopian (as he is called) began his reigne over Egypt, by Eusebins his accompt, after the death of Sennacherib and of Ezechia, in the first year of Manaffes King of Juda. Therefore he or his years have no reference to Sethon.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long Sethon reigned; Functions peremptorily, citing no author, nor alledging reason for it, sets him downe thirty three yeares; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not carefull to examine his continuance. In this case, Ifollow that rule which I propounded unto my felf at the first, for measuring the reigns of these Egyptian Kings. The yeares which passed from the fifth of Rehoboam, unto the fourth of Jehojakim, I so divide among the Egyptians, that giving to every one the proportion allowed unto him by the Author in whom he is found, the rest is to be conferredupon him whose length of reigne is uncertaine; that is, upon this Sethon. By this accompt I find the thirty three years that are fet downe by Functius, to agree very nearely, if not precifely, with the time of Seebons reigne; therefore I conforme my owne reckoning to his, though I could be content to have it one yeare leffe. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arrive at the time of Plammisicus, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the course of this History will shortly bring me, the Egyptian affaires growing now to be interlaced with the matters of Juda, to which it is meet that I returne.

CHAP. XXVII

Of Manasses and his Contemporaries.

6. I.

The wickednesse of Mahasses. His imprisonment, repentance and death.

Anasse the Sonne of Exechias, forgetting the piety of his Father, and the prosperity which followed him, set up, repaired, adorned and furnished all the Altars, Temples and high Places, in which the Divell was by the Heathen worshipped. Besides, he himselfe esteemed the Sun, the Moone, and the Starres, with all the Hoast of heaven, as gods, and worshipped them: and of all his acts the most abominable was, that he burnt his sons for a Sacrifice to the Divel Means of Malchar in the Valley of Himselfe and the Size of Sacrifice to the Divel Means loch, or Melcher, in the Valley of Hinnon, or Benhinnen: wherein was kindled the fire of

Sacrifice to the Divels.

He alfo gave himselfe to all kind of Witcheraft and Sorcery, accompanied and maintained those that had familiar Spirits, and all sorts of Enchanters: besides, hee shed so much innocent bloud, as Jerusalem was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, when he was reprehended by that aged and reverent Prophet E (ay) (who was also of the Kings race, and as the Jewes affirm, the Father-in-law Just Marty). of the King) he caused the Prophet neer unto the Fountaine of Silve, to be sawne in sunCedrenus c.gt. der with a wodden Saw, in the eightieth year of his life: a cruelty more barbarous and Glyaspa.275.
Torust del'ar, monstrous than hath beene heard of. The Scriptures indeede are silent hereof, yet the fame is confirmed by Epiphanius, Isidore, Eusebius, and others, too many to rehearle, and too good to be suspected. Therefore the Lord brought upon them the Captaines of the Heast 2'Chr.33.126 of the Kings of Ashur, which took Manasse, and put him in fetters, and bound him in chains, and carried him to Babel: Where, after he had lyen twenty yeares as a captive, and dispoyled of all honour and hope; yet to his hearty repentance and continuall prayer, the

Elay 31.1.

God of infinite mercy had respect, and moved the Assirians heart to deliver him.

It is also likely that Merodach, because he loved his father Ezechias, was the easilier perswaded to restore Manasse to his liberty and estate. After which, and when he was againe established, remembring the miseries which followed his wickednesse, and Gods againe established, remembring the miseries which followed his former foolish and divellish greatmercies toward him, he changed forme, detested his former foolish and divellish squared as a downe the Idols of his owne erecting, prepared the Altar of God, and Idolatry, and cast downe the Idols of his owne erecting, prepared the Altar of God, and sacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of Jerusalem: and dyed after the long reigne facrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of Jerusalem: and dyed after the long reigne facrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of Jerusalem: and dyed after the long reigne facrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of Jerusalem: and dyed after the long reigne facrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of Jerusalem: and dyed after the long reigne facrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of Jerusalem: and dyed after the long reigne facrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of Jerusalem: and dyed after the long reigne facrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of Jerusalem: and dyed after the long reigne facrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of Jerusalem: and dyed after the long reigne facrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of Jerusalem: and dyed after the long reigne facrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of Jerusalem: and dyed after the long reigne facrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of Jerusalem: and dyed after the long reigne facrificed thereon.

6. II.

Of troubles in Egypt following the death of Sethon. The reigne of Pfammiticus.

The occasion of this diffention feems to have bin the uncertainty of title to that king-dome (for that the crowne of Egypt passed by succession of bloud, I have often shewed) which ended for a while, by the partition of all among twelve, though things were not

ferled untill one had obtained the Soveraignty. These twelve Rulers governed fifteene yeares in good seeming agreement, which to preserve, they made strait covenant & alliances one with another, being jealous of their estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drink-offering in Vulcans Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whilest this un'y lasted, they joyned together in raising a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, built near unto the Lake of Meris; a worke to fo admirable, that (as Herodotus, who beholding it, affirmes) no words could give ir commendation answerable to the statelinesse of the worke it selfe. I will not here set downs that unperfect description which Herodotus makes of it, but think enough to fay that he preferres it farre before the Piramides, one of which (as he faith) excelled the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, or any of the fairest workes in Greece. Diodorus reports this Labyrinth to have bin the worke of Marus or Menides, a King which lived five generations before Proteus, that is, before the warre of Troy; and from this Labyrinth (faith he) Dedalus took the patterne of that which he made for Minos in Crete. Who this Marus, of Menides was, I cannot tell. Reineccius takes him to have bin Annemenes, which reigned immediatly before Thuoris. But this agrees not with Diodore: for Dadalus & Minos wert 9 both dead long before Annemenes was King. Belike Reineccins, desiring to accommodate thefabulous relations of Manethon, Charemon, & others, that are found in Josephus, touching Amenophis and his children, to the story of Amasis and Actis fanes the Ethiopian, mentioned by Diodore; held it consequent, after he had conjectured Manethons Amenophi, to be Diederus his Amasis; that Sethon should be Actisanes, and that Annemenes should be Marus. If in this case I might intrude a conjecture, the times which we now handle are those about which Reineccius hath erred in making search; Amasis was Anysis, Allifanes was Sabacus 3 & Marms was one of these twelve Princes to whom Herodorus gives

the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For Actifanes the Athiopian deposed Anassis, Sabacus the Athiopian deposed Anysis, Actifanes governed well, and was milde in punishing offenders; folike wise was Sabacus; Marus the next King after Actifanes built this Labyrinth; and the next (saving Sethen, whom Diodore omits, as having not heard of him) that ruled after Sabacus, performed the same work, according to Herodotus, who was more likely to heare the truth, as living nearer to the Age wherein it was performed. The variety of names, and difference of times wherein Diodore believed the Priests, might be a part of the Egyptian vanity, which was familiar with them in multiplying their Kings, and boasting of their antiquities. Here I might adde, that the twelve great Halls, Parlours, and other circumstances remembred by Herodotus, in speaking of this building, doe helpe to prove that it was the worke of these twelve Princes. But I hasten to their end.

At a folemne feast in *Vulcans* Temple, when they were to make their drinke-offerings, the Priest, forgetting himselfe, brought forth no more than eleven Cuppes. Hereupon, *Psammitteus*, who standing last, had not a Cup, tooke off his brazen Helmet, and therewith supplyed the want. This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traytor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him upon set purpose or ill intent, they forbare to kill him, but being jealous of their estate, they banished him to the marish Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the event is held by *Diodore* as fable, which I beleeve to have bin none other: Inthe rest *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, saying, that *Psammiticus* hired Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whose aide he vanquish his Companions, and made himselfe sole King.

They are so of his reigne, according to Herodotus, were fiftie foure; according to Eule-bius, forty foure; Mercator, to reconcile these two, gives fortie foure years to his single reigne, and ten to his ruling joyntly with the Princes before spoken of. Indeede, he that was admitted, being a man growne (for he cannot in reason be supposed to have beene then a young fellow) into the number of the twelve Governours, must be thought to have lived unto extreme age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threescore and nine years. It therefore yeeld rather to Eusebius; but will not adventure to cut five years from the Arestocratic: though peradventure Psammiticus was not at first one of the twelve, but succeeded (either by election, or as next of bloud) into the place of some Prince that dyed, and was ten years companion in that government.

Another scruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The years of the Egyptians, as we finde them set downe, are more by one, than serve to fill up the time between the fift of Rebeboam and the sourth of Jehojakim. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one yeare from Sethons reigne, that was of uncertain length; or else (which I had rather doe; because Functions may have followed better authority than know, or than himselfe alledgeth, in giving to Sethons a time so nearely agreeing with the truth) we must consound the last yeare of one reigne with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are set downe in Chronological tables, reigned precisely so many yeares as are prescribed unto them, without any fractions: it is enough to thinke that the surplusage of one mans time supplyed the defect of anothers. Wherefore I confound the last yeare of those fifteene, wherein the twelve Princes ruled, with the first of Psammiticus; who surely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, and make himselfe Lord alone all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in Egypt who entertained any strait amity with the Greekes; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of Caria, Ionia, and Arabia, to whom he gave large rewards and possessing and that he greatly offended his Egyptian Souldiers, by bestowing them in the lest wing of his Armie, whilest his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honourable place) in an expedition that he made into Syria. Upon this disgrace it is said, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, for sook their natural Countrey of Egypt, and went into Ethiopia, to dwell there: neither could they be revoked by kind Messages, nor by the King himselse, who over-took them on the way; but when he told them of their Countrey, their Wives and Children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a Countrey, and that nature had enabled them to get other Wives and Children.

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CHAP.27.5.3.

It is also reported of him, That he caused two Infants to be brought up in such son. as they might not heare any word spoken; by which meanes, he hoped to find out what Nation or Language was most ancient; for a finuch as it feemed likely, that nature would teach the children to speake that Language which men spake at the first. The issue hereof was, that the children cryed, Beccus, Beccus, which word being found to fignific Bread in the Phrygian tongue, served greatly to magnifie the Phrygian antiquity. Goropius Beca. nus makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his Low-Dutch; in which the word Becker fignifies (as Baker in English) a maker of bread. He that will turne over any part of Gorepius his works, may find enough of this kind, to perswade a willing man, that 4. dam and all the Patriarks used none other tongue than the Low-Dutch, before the confufion of languages at Babel; the name it felf of Babel being also Dutch, and given by occafion of this confusion; for that there they began to babble and talke one knew not what.

But I will not infift upon all that is written of Psammiticus. The most regardable of his acts was the fiege of Azotus in Palastina, about which he spent nine & twenty years. Never have we heard (faith Herodotus) that any City endured folong a fiege as this; yet Psammiticus carryed it at the last. This Towne of Azotus had been won by Tartan, a Captain of Sennacherib, and was now, as it feemeth, relieved, but in vaine, by the Babib. nian, which made it hold out so well.

6. III.

What reference these Egyptian matters might have to the imprisonment and enlargements Manasses. In what part of his reigne Manasses was taken prisoner.

Fere it certainly knowne, in what year of his reigne Manaffes was taken prifoner, and how long it was before he obtained liberty; I thinke we should finde these Egyptian troubles to have been no small occasion, bothoshis captivity and enlargement: God fo disposing of humane actions, that even they, who intended onely their owne businesse, fulfilled onely his high pleasure. For either the civill Warres in Egypt that followed upon the death of Sethon, or the renting of the 20 Kingdome, as it were, into twelve pieces, or the Warre betweene Psammiticu and his Colleagues, or the expedition of Pfammitieus into Syria, and the fiege of Mistus, might ministerunto the Babylonian, either such cause of hope to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts; or such necessity of sending an Armie into those parts, to defend his owne, as would greatly tempt him to make fure worke with the King of Juda. The same occasion sufficed also, to procure the deliverie of Manasses, afterhe was taken. For he was taken (as Josephus hath it) by subtlety, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, winne his Countrey, but onely wasten. So that the Jewes, having learned wit by the ill successe of their folly, in redeeming 4maZia, were like to be more circumspect, in making their bargaine upon such another 40 accident: and the Babylonian (to whom the Egyptian matters prefented more weighty arguments of hope and feare, than the little Kingdome of Juda could afford) hadnoresfon to spend his forces in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficulty as a greater, whereby he should compell his mightiest enemies to come to some good agreement; when by quitting his present advantage over the Jewes, he might make his way the fairer into Egypt.

Now concerning the year of Manaffes his reigne, wherein he was taken prisoner; or concerning his captivity it felfe, how long it lasted, the Scriptures are silent, and Josephus gives no information. Yet I find cited by Torniellus three opinions, the one of Bellarmine, who thinks that Manaffes was taken in the fifteenth year of his reigne; theother so of the Author of the greater Hebrew Chronologie, who affirmes, that it was in his twenty seventh yeare; the third of Rabbi Kimbi upon Ezecbiel, who saith, that he was for ty yeares an Idolater, and lived fifteene yeares after his repentance. The first of these conjectures is upheld by Torniellus, who rejects the second, as more unprobable, and condemnes the third as most false. Yet the reasons alledged by Torniellus inde fence of the first, and refination of the last opinion, are such, as may rather prove him to favour the Cardinall as farre as he may, (for where neede requires, hee doth freely diffent from him) than to have used his accustomed diligence in examining the maner,

before he gave his judgement. Two arguments he brings to maintaine the opinion of Bellarmine: the one, that ammon the Sonne of Manasses, is said by Fosephus to have followed the workes of his fathers youth; the other, that had Manafes growne old in his finnes, it is like that hee should have continued, as heedid, in his amendment unto the endofhislife. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason why the sinnes of Manafes might not be diftinguished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them works of his youth, which appeared when he was twelve yeares old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of Rabbi Kimki) untill he was but fifteen yeares from death. Touching the second; howsoever it be a fearefull thing, to catoffunto the last those good motions unto repentance, which we know not whether 10 ever God will offer unto us againe; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the fins which

are not for faken before the age of two and fiftie yeares, shall be punished with finallimpenitencie. But against these two collections of Torniellus, I will lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not unlikely, That Manaffes continued longer in his wickednesse than Bellarmine hath intimated, if not as long as Rabbi Kimki hath affirmed. In the second Booke of Kings, the evill which Manasses did, is remembred at large, and his repentance utterly omitted; fo that his amendment may feeme to have taken up no great part of his life; the storie of him being thus concluded in the one and twentieth Chapter: Concerning the rest of the Acts of Manasses, and all that he did, and his sin that 2 Kings 21. 17.

20 he suned, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Juda? The other place is in the foure and twentieth Chapter of the fame Booke, where, in rehearling the clamities with which that Nation was punished in the time of Jehojakim, the great Grand-childe of this Manasses, it is said; Surely by the commandement of the Lord came this 2 Kings 24.3.4. soon Juda; that he might put them out of his fight, for the sinnes of Manastes, according to all that hadid, & for the innocent bloud that he shed (for he filled Jerusalem with innocent blond) therefore the Lord would not pardon it. Who fo confiders well these places, may find finall cause to pronounce it most false, That the repentance and amendment of Manasses was moralier than fifteen yeares before his death; or most probable, That when he was

30 twentie seven yeares old, he repented, and becomming a new man, lived in the seare of God fortie yeares after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth camothe discovered. It sufficeth to say, that two yeares of civill diffention in Egypt, fourteene or fifteene yeares following, wherein that Kingdome was weakned by partition of the Soveraigntie: the warre of Pfammiticus against his Associates: and foure and twentie yeares of the nine and twentie, wherein the fiege of Azotus continued; beingall within the time of Manasses, did leave no one part of his raigne (after the first fiftecneyeares) free from the danger of being oppressed by the Baby lonean, whose men of warrehad continual loccations of vifiting his Countrey. All which I will adde hereto, is this; that the fifteenth of Manaffes was the last yeare of Sether in Egypt, and the one andthirtieth of Merodach his reigne, or (accounting from the death of Afarhaddon) the so twentieth: The fever and twentieth of Manaffes was the tenth of the twelve Princes. and the three and fortieth of Merodach: his fortieth, was the twentie third of Planmi. tions, and the fift of NabulaBar, the sonne of Merodach, in Babylon: but which of these was the yeare of his imprisonment, or whether any other, Iforbeare to shew mine

opinion, lest I should thereby seeme to draw all matters over-violently to mine owice computation. This was the first great mastrie that the Babylonians had of the kingdome of Juda. For though Achaz promised Tribute to Salmanasar, yet Ezechias never payed it. True it is, that he hoped to flay Senacheribs enterprise against him, by presenting him with three 2 King 18 hundred talents of filver, and thirtie of gold, befides the plate which covered the doores

50 and fillars of the Temple.

But Manaffes being pressed with greater necessitie, could refuse no tolerable conditions, that the Baby lonian would impose upon him; among which it seems, that this was one, (which was indeed a point of servitude) that he might not hold peace with the E-37 prians, whilest they were enemies to Babylon. This appeares not onely by his fortifiing with men of warre all the strong Cities of Juda after his return (which was rather against Planmiticus, whose partie he had for saken, than against the Baby lonian, with whom hehad thenceforth no more controversie) but likewise by that opposition, which Josias madeafterwards to Pharas Neco, infavour of Nabulassar, which had beene against all

reason and policie, if it had not bin his dutie by covenant. Of this I will speake more in convenient place.

6. IV.

of the first and second Messenian Wars, which were in the reignes of Ezechia and Manasses. Kings of Juda.

TOw concerning fuch actions as were performed abroad in the world, about these times of Manasses, the most remarkeable were the Messenian Wars; which hap pened in this age, and being the greatest action performed in Greece, betweene

the Trojan and Persian Wars, deserve not to be passed over with silence.

The first Messenian Warre began and ended in the daies of Ezechia; the second in the raign of Manaffes: but to avoyd the trouble of interrupting our Historie, I have thought it best, to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is needlesse, than to lay, that the posteritie of Hercules, driving the issue of Pelops and the debeans out of their feats, divided their lands between themselves, and erected the kingdomes of Lacedamon, Argos, Messene, and Corine b; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards for get the bond of kindred, and fought one anothers ruine with bloudie wars, whereof these

Messenian were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the Messenian war are scarce worth remembrance, they were fo fleight. Ambition was the true cause of it: wher with the Laced emonians were so transported, that any thing served them as a colour to accomplish their greedie desires. Yao ther matter was alledged; namely, that one Polychares a Messenian had sain many Lacde. monians, for which the Magistrates of Sparsa desiring to have him yeelded into their hands, could not obtain it. The Messenians on the other fide, excused Polychares, for thatle was grown frantick, through injuries received from Eucephnes a Lacedamonian. This Euaphnes had bargained to give pasture to the Cattell of Polychares, & was therefore to receive part of the increase: but not contented with the gain apponted, he fold the Cattell, & flaves that kept them, to Merchants, which done, he came with a faire tale to his friend, 19 faying, that they were stollen. Whilst the lye was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the flaves that had escaped from the Merchants came in with a true report of all. The Laudamonian being thus deprehended, confessed all, and promised large amends; which to receive he carried the fon of Polychares home with him; but having him at home; hevillanously slew him. Wherefore the Lacedamonians having refused, after long suite made by the wretched Father, to do him right against this Theese and Murderer, ought not to pick matter of quarrel out of those things which he did in that madnesse, whereintothey themselves had cast him. So said the Meffenians, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand unto the judgement of the Amphietyones, who were as the generall Counsell of Greece, or to any other faire course. But the Lacedemonians, who had a 40 great defire to occupie the fair Countrie of Meffene, that lay close by them, were not content with fuch allegations. They thought it enough to have some shew for their doings, which the better to colour, they reckoned up many old injuries, and fo without fending any defiance, secretly took an oath to hold war with Messene till they had masteredit: which done, they seized upon Amphia, a frontier Town of that Province, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercie, very few escaped.

Hereupon the Messenians tooke Armes, and were met by the Enemie. A furious bat. tell was fought between them, which ended not untill darke night, with uncertaint victorie. The Messenians did strongly encampe themselves; The Lacedamonians, unable to force their Campe, returned home. This Warre began in the second yeare of the so ninth Olympiad, and ended in the first of the fourteenth Olympiad, having lasted twentie yeares. The two enemie Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper for ces; the Lacedemonians wasting the inland parts of Messene; and the Messenians, the Sea-coast of Laconia. But it was not long ere friends, on both sides, were called in to helpe. The Arcadeans, Argives, and Siegonians, tooke part with Meffene; the Spartans had, besides many Subjects of their owne, aide from Corinth, and hired Soulds ers out of Crete. So a fecond, third, and fourth battell, were fought, with as great ob stinacic as the first, faving that in the fourth battell the Laced mornians were enforced to turn their backs; in the other fights, the victorie was still uncertain, though in one of them the Messensans lost Enphases their King, in whose stead they chose Aristodemus,

Many years were spent ere all this bloud was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of money to entertaine Souldiers, caused the warre to linger. And for the same reasons. did the Messenians for sake all their inland towns, excepting Ithorne, which was a Mounraine with a Town upon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to doe. But as some Authors tell us, the Lacedemonians were so obitinate in this War, because surable. of their vow, that having absented themselves ten yeares from Sparta, their wives sent orginal control them word, that their Citie would grow unpeopled, by reason that no children had been homethem in all that time: Whereupon they fent backe all their ablest young men. o promifcuoufly to accompany the young women, who got fo many of them with child, prodless asther became a great part of their Nation, and were called parthenians. Diodorus referres the begetting of these Parthenians to a former time. But in processe of this Messenian Warre, when the Divellin an Oracle had advised the Messenians to facrifice a Virgin of the stocke of * Azyptus, that so they might be victorious against the Laceda- * This Acqueus monians; the lot falling upon the Daughter of one Lycifcus; Epibolus the Priest, willing was the younto save her, said, she was only a fostered childe, and not borne of the wife of Lycifcus : gett son of crej which answer giving delay to the execution of the Maide, Lycifeus secretly fled away the daughter of with her into Sparta. Then Aristodemus, which afterwards was King, voluntarily Cypilus King of Arcadia; of offered his owne Daughter: but a young Nobleman; being in love with the Maide, which crefphon when otherwise he could not prevaile, said openly that she was no Virgin, but that he thechiefe Nohaddefloured her, and got her with childe: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped Meffenians was un his innocent Daughters belly, to disprove the Lovers slander: at the grave of which propagated. Daughter of his, afterwards falling, by other superstitions, into despaire of prevailing against the Lacedemonians, he slew himselfe, to the great hurt of his Countrey, which he loved most dearly. For after his death the Messenians lost their courage, and finding themselves distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craved peace, which they obtained with most rigorous conditions. Halfe the yearely fruits of their Land they were bound to fend unto Sparta; and they, with their Wives, to make for lemnelamentations at the death of every Spartan King; they were also sworne to live intrue subjection to the Laced amonians; and part of their Territorie was taken from them, which was given to the Asmai, and such as had followed the Spartans in this Warre.

This peace being made upon fo uneven termes, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirtie yeares it continued (the Messenians not finding how to helpe themselves) and then brake out into a new and more furious Warrethan the former. The able young men, that were growne up in the roome of those Messenians whom the former Warre had confumed, began to confider their owne strength and multitude, thinking themselves equall to the Lacedamonians, and therefore scorned to serve such Masters as had against all right, oppressed their Fathers. The chiefe of these was Aristomenes, a Noble Gentleman, of the house of Agratus; who perceiving the uniform defires of his Countrie-mensadventured to become their Leader. He therefore founding the affections of the Argives and Areadians, which he found throughly answerable to his purpose, began open warre upon the State of Lacedamon. This was in the fourth yeare of the three and twentieth olympiad; when the Lacedamonians hasted to quench the fire before it should grow too hot, with such forces as they could raise of their owne, without troubling their friends, meaning to deale with their enemies, ere any fuccour were lent them. So a strong battell was fought between them, and a doubtfull; save that the Messenians were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords, to thinke their their equals. Particularly, the valour of Aristomenes appeared fuch in this fight, that his people would have made him their King: but he, refufing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one yeare another battell was fought, whereinto each part camebetter provided. The Lacedamonians brought with them the Corinthians, and some other friends to helpe: the Messenians had the Argives, Arcadians, and Sicyonians. This also was a long and bloudie fight; but Aristomenes did so behave himselfe, that finally he made the Enemies runne for their lives. Of such importance was this victorie, that the Letedamonians began to bethinke themselves, of making some good agreement.

But

But one Tyrtau an Ashenian Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them re-inforced their spirits with his Verses. After this, Aristomenes took hu furprise a Town in Laconia, and vanquished in fight Anaxander King of Sparta, who did fet upon him in hope to have recovered the bootie.

The second Booke of the first part

But all these victories of Aristomenes perished, in the losse of one battell, whereofthe honour (if it were honour) or furely the profit, fell upon the Lacedamenians, through the treason of Arefocrates, King of Arcadia, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the Mefenians exposed to a cruell butcherie. The losse was fo great, that together with Andania their principall Citie, all the Towns of Messene. standing too farre from the Sea, were abandoned for lack of men to defend them, and the Mount Ers fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be fafe abroad, was convey. ed into a place of fafetie. Here the Lased amonians found a tedious work, that held them eleven yeares. For besides that Era it selfe was a strong peece, Aristomenes with three hundred front Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the siege. He wasted all the fields of Messene, that were in theenemies power, and brake into Laconia, taking away Corn, Wine, Cattell, and all provifions, necessary for his owne people; the Slaves and houshold stuffe he changed into money, fuffering the owners to redeeme them. To remedy this mischiefe, the Laceda monians made an Edict, that neither Messene, nor the adjoyning parts of their owne Countrey, should be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great turnult among private 10 men, that were almost undone by it. Yet the Poet Tyrteus appealed this uprore with pleasing Songs. But Aristomenes grew so bold, that he not only ranged over all the fields. but adventure dupon the Towns, surprised, and fackt Amycla, and finally caused the enemies to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking Era.

In performing these and other services, thrice Aristomenes was taken prisoner ; vet fill he escaped. One escape of his deserves to be remembred, as a thing very strange and marvellous. He had with too much courage adventured to fet upon both the Kings of Sparta; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken up fenfeleffe, and carried away prisoner, with fiftie of his Companions. There was a deepena- 39 turall Cave into which the Spartans used to cast head-long such as were condemned to dye for the greatest offences. To this punishment were Aristomenes and his companions adjudged. All the rest of these poore men dyed with their fals; Aristomenes (howsoever it came to passe) tooke no harme. Yet was it harme enough to be imprisoned in a deepe Dungeon, among dead carcaffes, where he was like to perish through hunger and stench But after a while he perceived by fome small glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Foxe that was gnawing upon a dead bodie. Hereupon he bethought himselfe, that this beast must needs know some way to enter the place and get out-For which cause he made shift to lay hold upon it, and catching it by the taile with one hand, faved himselfe from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his coate into the 40 mouth of it. So letting it creepe whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, untill the way was too strait for him; and then dismissed it. The Foxe being loofe, ran through an hole at which came in a little light; and there did Aristomenes delve so long with his nailes, that at last he clawed out his passage. When some sugitives of Messen brought word to Sparta, that Aristomenes was returned home, their tale founded alike, as if they had faid, that a dead man was revived. But when the Corinthian forces, that came to helpe the Lacedamonians in the fiege of Era, were cut in pieces, their Captains flain, and their Camp taken; then was it eafily beleeved, that Aristomenes was alive indeed.

Thus eleven yeares passed whilest the enemies hovering about Era, faw no likelihood 19 of getting it; and Aristomenes with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a flave, that had fled from Sparta, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdnesse the wife of a Messenian, and was entertained by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainie-winter-night, that the husband came home unlooked for, whilest the Adulterer was within. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asking him by what good fortune he was returned so soone. He told her, that the storme of soule weather was fuch, as had made all his fellowes leave their Stations, and that him felfe had done as the

reft did; as for Aristomenes, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not look abroad: neither was it to be feared, that the enemies would stirre in such a darke rainie night as this was. The flave that heard thefe tidings, rofe up fecretly out of his lurking hole, and gothim to the Lacedæmonian Campe with the newes. There he found Emperames his Master commanding in the Kings absence. To him he uttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Army into the Town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarme was prefently taken; and the extreme darknesse, together with the noise of winde and raine, hindred all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruell fight; one part being incited by meere hope of ending a long worke; the wherenraged by meere desperation. The great advantage that the Spartans had in num-10 hers, was recompensed partly by the assistance, which women and children (to whom the hatred of fervitude had taught contempt of death) gave to their husbands and fishers; partly by the narrownesse of the streetes and other passages, which admirrednot many hands to fight at once. But the Messenians were in continual toyle; their Enemies fought in course, refreshing themselves with meate and sleep, and then remining supplyed the place of their wearie fellowes with fresh Companions. Aria flomenes therefore, perceiving that his men for want of reliefe were no longer able to holdout. (as having beene three dayes and three nights vexed with all miseries, of labour, watchings, fighting, hunger and thirst, besides continuall raine and cold) gathered together all the weaker fort, whom he compassed round with armed men. and sattempted to breake out through the midst of the Enemies. Emperamus Generall of the Lacedamonians was glad of this: and to further their departure, caufed his Souldiers to give an open way, leaving a faire passage to these desperate mad-men. Sothey iffued forth, and arrived fafe in Arcadia, where they were most lovingy en-

Upon the first bruit of the taking of Era, the Arcadians had prepared themselves to therescue: but Aristocrates their false-hearted King, said it was too late, for that all was alreadie lost. When Aristomenes had placed his followers in safetie, he chose our five hundred the luftiest of his men, with whom he resolved to march in all secret haste unto 30 Sparta, hoping to finde the Towne secure, and ill manned, the people being runne forth to the spoyle of Messene. In this enterprise, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the Laced emonians would be glad to recover their owne, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred Arcadians that offered to joyne with him; but Arifforates marred all, by fending speedie advertisement thereof to Anaxander King of Sparta. The Epistle which Anaxander sent back to Aristocrates was intercepted by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falshood, which being published in open affemblie, the Arcadians stoned him to death, and casting forth his bodie unburied, erected a monument of his treacherie, with a note; That the Perjurer o cannot deceive God.

Of Aristomenes no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people to the charge of his fon Gorgus and other fufficient Governors, who should plant them in some new seate abroad, he resolved himselse to make aboad in those parts, hoping to finde the Lacedamonians work at home. His daughters he bestowed honourably in mariage. One ofthem Demagetus, who reigned in the Ile of Rhodes, tooke to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marry the daughter of the best man in Greece. Finally, Aristomenes went with his daughter to Rhodes, whence he purposed to have travelled unto Ardys the Sonne of Gyges King of Lydia, and to Phraortes King of Media: but death prevented him at Rhodes, where he was honourably buried.

The Messenians were invited by Anaxilas (whose great Grandfather was a Messenian an, and went into Italie after the former war) being Lord of the Rhegians in Italie, to take his part against the Zaneleans in Sicilie, on the other side of the Streights. They did fo; and winning the Towne of Zancle, called it Messene, which name it keeps to this

This second Messenian warre ended in the first yeare of the twentie eighth Olympiad. Long after which time, the rest of that Nation, who staying at home served the Lacedamonians, found meanes to rebell; but were foone vanquished, and being driven to forfake Peloponnesus, they went into Acarnania; whence likewise, after few ages, they Fff 2

CHAP.27. \$.5.

were expelled by the Lacedamonians, and then followed their ancient Countrie-men into Italie and Sicilie; some of them went into Africa, where they chose unto themselves

It is very strange, that during two hundred and sourescore years, this banished Nation retained their name, their ancient customes, language, hatred of Sparta, and love of their for saken Country; with a defire to return unto it. In the third year of the hundred and se. cond Olympiad, that great Epaminondas, having tamed the pride of the Laced amonians. revoked the Messenians home, who came flocking out of all quarters where they dwell abroadinto Peloponnesus. Thereldid Epaminondas restore unto them their old possess. on, and help them in building a fair Citie, which by the name of the Province, was called in Messene, and was held by them ever after, in despight of the Lacedamonians, of whom they never from thenceforth stood in seare.

Of the Kings that were in Lydia and Media, while Manasses raigned. Whether Deiocesthe Mede were that Arphaxad which is mentioned in the Booke of Judith. Of the bistorie of Tudith.

Rdys King of Lydia, and Phraortes of the Medes, are spoken of by Pausanias, as to reigning Thortly after the Meffenian war. Ardys succeeding unto his father Gyes, began his reigne of nine and fortie yeares, in the fecond of the five and twentieth Olympiad. He followed the steps of his father, who encroaching upon the lomans in Afia, hadtaken Colophon by force, and attempted Miletus and Smyrna. Inlikemmer Ardys wan Priene, and affailed Milesus; but went away without it. In his reigne, the Cimmerians, being expelled out of their own countrie by the Scythians, over-rana greatpart of Afia, which was not freed from them before the time of Alyattes this mans Grandchilde, by whom they were driven out. They had not only broken into Lydia, butwan the Citie of Sardes; though the Castle or Citadell thereof was defended against them, and held still for King Ardys; whose long reigne was unable, by reason of this great 30 storme, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King untill the third yeare of the nine and twentieth Olympial, which was fixe years after the Messenian war ended; the same being the last year of Mamasses his raigne over Juda.

Deioces the father of this Phraortes, was King of Media, three and fiftie of these sive and fiftie yeares in which Manaffes reigned. This Deioces was the first that ruled the Medes in a strict forme, commanding more absolutely than his Predecessours had done. For they, following the example of Arbaces, had given to the people so much licence, as caused every one to defire the wholesome severitie of a more Lordly King. Herein Deioces answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately 40 Palace; he tooke unto him a Guard, for defence of his person; he seldome gave presence; which also when he did, it was with such austeritie, that no mandurst presume to spit or cough in his fight. By these and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly upheld the Majestie, which his predecessors had almost letten fail, through neglect of due comportments. In execution of his Royall Office, he did uprightly and severely administer justice, keeping secret spies to informehim of all that was done in the Kingdome. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching upon others; but studied how to govern well his own. The difference found between this King, and fuch as were before him, seems to have bred that opnion which Herodotus delivers, that Deioces was the first who reigned in Media.

This was he that built the great Citie of Echatane, which now is called Tauris; and therefore he should be that king Arphaxad, mentioned in the storie of Judith, as also Ben Merodach, by the fame account, should be Nabuchodono for the Affrian, by whom Ar phaxad was flaine, and Holofernes fent to worke wondersupon Phul and Lud, and I know not what other Countries. For I reckonthe last yeare of Deioces to have been the nineteenth of Ben Merodach; though others place it otherwise, some earlier, in the time of Merodach Baladan, some later, in the reigne of Nabulassar, who is also called Nabucho done for.

In fitting this book of Judith to a certainetime, there hath much labour beene spent with ill successe. The raignes of Cambyses, Darins Hystaspis, Xerxes, and Ochus, have been fought into; but afford no great matter of likelihood: and now of late, the times, foregoing the destruction of Jerusalem, have beene thought upon, and this age that we have in hand, chosen by Bellarmine, as agreeing best with the storie; though others herein can-The (Ifpeake of fuch as faine would) agree with him. Whileft Camby fes raigned, the Temple was not re-built, which in the storie of Judith is found standing and dedicated. The other two Persian Kings, Darius and Xerxes, are acknowledged to have beene very favourable rothe Jewes; therefore neither of them could be Nabuchodonofor, whose part they refused to take, & who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of Xerxes hath some conveniences, aptly fitting this Historie; and above all, the opinion of a few ancient Writers (without whose judgement the authoritie of this Booke were of no value) having placed this argument in the Persian Monarchie, inclines the matter to the raigne of this vainglorious King. As for ochus, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the bufinesse. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this Historie, there must be a returne from captivitie lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt; Joachim High Priest; and a long peace of threescore and ten yeares or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the Jewes. Likewise on the other fide, we must find a King that reigned in Nineve, eighteene years at the least; that vanquished and slew a King of the Medes; one whom the Jewes refused to affish; one to that fought generally to be adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples, of such as were accounted gods, to be destroyed; one whose Vice-roy or Captaine Generall knew not the Jewish Nation, but was faine to learn what they were of the bordering

Of all these circumstances; the Priesthood of Joachim, with a returne from captivitie, are found concurring, with either the time of Manaffes before the destruction of Ferusalimor of Xerxes afterward: the re-building of the Temple a while before, and the long pracefollowing, agree with the reigne of Xerxes; the rest of circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before nor after the captivitie of the Jewes, and desolation of the Citie. Wherefore the briefe decision of this controversie is, That the book 30 of Judith is not Canonicall. Yet hath Tornsellus done as much, in fitting all to the time of Xurxes, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that under Xerxes there wereother Kings, among which Arphaxad might be one (who perhaps reftored and reedified the Citie of Echatane, that had formerly been built by Deioces) and Nabuchodowomight be another. This granted; he addes, that from the twelfth yeare to the eighteenth of Nabuchodono for that is, five or fixe yeares, the ab sence and ill fortune of Xerxes inhis Grecian expedition (which he supposeth to have beene so long) might give occafionunto Arphaxad, of rebelling: and that Nabuchodonofor, having vanquished and flaine Arphaxad, might then seeke to make himselfe Lord of all, by the Armie which he sent forth unto Holofernes. So should the Jewes have done their dutie, in adhering to to Xirxes their Soveraigne Lord, and refifting one that rebelled against him 3 as also the other circumstances rehearsed before, be well applied to the argument. For in these times, the affaires of Jurie were agreeable to the Historie of Judith, and such a King as this supposed Nabnehodonofor, might well enough be ignorant of the Jewes, and as proud as we shall need to thinke him. But the silence of all Histories, takes away beliefe from this conjecture : and the supposition it selfe is very hard, that a Rebell, whose King was abroad, with an Armie confisting of feventeene hundred thousand men, should presume so farre, upon the strength of twelve hundred thousand foot, and twelve thoufand Archers on horsebacke, as to thinke that he might doe what he list, yea that there. was none other God than himselfe. It is indeed easie to finde enough that might be so faid against this device of Torniellus: yet if there were any necessitie of holding the booke of Judish to be Canonicall, I would rather choose to lay aside all regard of prophane Histories, and build some defence upon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all doe, the text it felf. That Judith lived under none of the Persian Kings, Bellarmine (whose workes I have not read, but find him cired by Torniedus) hath proved by many arguments. That she lived not in the Raigne of Manaffes, Torniellus hath proved very fubstantially, shewing how the Cardinall is driven, as it were to breake through a wall, in faying that the text was corrupted, where it fake of the destruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings Arpharad and Nabu-

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Herod lib. 1.

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chodonofor, found out by Torniellus, are the children of meere fantafie, it is so plaine that it needs no proofe at all. Wherefore we may truely fay, that they, which have contended about the time of this Historie, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselves (like naked men in a stonie field) have chased Holofernes out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expenie field) dition, Extra anni solisque vias, in an age that never was, and in places that were never

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Surely, to find out the borders of Japheth, which were towards the South, und over a. gainst Arabia; or the Countries of Phul and Lud, that lay in Holofernes his way; I think it would as much trouble Cosmographers, as the former question hath done Chrono. it logers. But I will not buffe my felfe herewith; having already fo farre digreffed, in Thewing who lived not with Manafles, that I thinke it high time to returne unto mine owne worke, and rehearse what others I finde, to have had their part, in the long time of his Raigne.

6. V I.

Of other Princes and actions that were in the setimes.

He first yeare of Manasses was the last of Romulus; after whose death, one yeare to the Romanes wanted a King. Then was Numa Pompilusa Sabyne chosen, a peaceable man and feeming very religious in his kinde. He brought the rude people, which Romulus had employed onely in warres, to some good civilitie, and a more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstition; as perswading them, that he had familiaritie with a Nymph called Egeria, who taught him a many of Ceremonies which he delivered unto the Romanes as things of great importance. But all these devices of Numa were, in his owne judgement, no better than meere delusions, that ferved onely as rudiments to bring the favage multitude of theeves and out-lawes, gathered into one bodie by Romulus, to some forme of milder discipline, than their boyfterous and wilde natures was otherwise apt to entertaine. This appeared by the Books 10 that were found in his grave, almost fixe hundred yeares after his death, whereinthe Superstition taught by himselfe was condemned as vaine. His grave was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one L. Petilius a Scribe. Two Coffines or Chests of stone were in it, with an inscription in Greeke and Latineletters, which faid, That Numa Pompilius the fon of Pompo, King of the Romanes lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his bodie being utterly confumed. In the other were his Bookes, wrapped up in two bundels of waxe; of his owne constitutions seven, and other seven of Philosophie. They were not only uncorrupted, buting manner fresh and new. The Pretour of the Citie desiring to have a sight of these Books, when he perceived whereunto they tended, refused to deliver them back to the owner, and 49. offered to take a solemn outh that they were against the Religion then in use. Hereupon the Senate, without more adoe, commanded them to be openly burnt. It seemes that Numa did meane to acquite himselfe unto wifer ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not beene so foolish as to believe the Doctrine wherein he instructed his owne barbarous times. But the poyfon wherewith he had infected Rome, when he fate in his Throne, had not left working, when he ministred the Antidoteour of his grave. Had these Bookes not come to light, untill the dayes of Tully and Casar, when the miste of ignorance was somewhat better discussed; likely it is that they had not only escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peradventure generall) effect. Being as it was, they ferved as a confutation, without remedie, of Idolatrie that was inve-

Numa raigned three and fortie years incontinuall peace. After him Tullus Hostilius the third King was chosen, in the fixe and fortieth of Manasses, and reigned two and thirtie years, builed, for the most part, in warre. He quarrelled with the Albanes, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cause to feare, that might grow unto them from the Thuscanes, caused them to bethink themselves of a course, whereby without effusion of so much bloud, as might make them too weake for a common enemie, it might be decided, who should command, and who obey.

There were in each Campe three Brethren, Twins, borne at one birth (Dionylius faves that they were Cousin Germans) of equally eares and strength, who were appointed to fight for their severall Countries. The end was, that the Horatii, Champions for the Romanes got the victorie, though two of them first lost their lives. The three Curatiz that fought for Alba(as Livietels it) were all alive, and able to fight, yet wounded, when nwo of their opposites were slain; but the third Horatius, pretending feare, did runne away, and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts, could not follow him withequall speed, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning upon them, he flew them, as it had been in fingle fight, man after man, ere they could joyne together and fet upon himall at once. Diony sims reports it somewhat otherwise, telling To very particularly, what wounds were given and taken, and faying, that first one of the Horatii was flaine, then one of the Curatii, then a fecond Horatius, and lastly the two Curatii, whom the third Horatius did cunningly severtheone from the other, as is shewed

This is one of the most memorable things in the old *Roman* Historie, both in regard of theadionit selfe, wherein Rome was laid, as it were, in a wager, against Alba, and in refreehof the great increase which thereby the Roman State obtained. For the Citie of Albadidimmediately become subject unto her owne Colonie, and was shortly after, upon fometreacherous dealing of their Governour, utterly razed, the people being removed 20 unto Rome, where they were made Citizens. The ftrong Nation of the Latines, whereof Alia, as the mother Citie, had been chiefe, became ere long dependant upon Rome. though not subject unto it, & divers pettie States adjacent, were by little and little taken in which additions, that were small, yet many, I will forbeare to rehearse (as being the worksof fundry ages, and few of them remarkeable confidered apart by themselves) untill such time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancie, shall grow to be the main subject of this Historie.

The seventh yeare of Hippomenes in Athens, was current with the first of Manasses. Alsomethree last Governours for ten yeares, who followed Hippomenes, were in the same 36 Kingstime. Of these I finde only names, Leocrates, Absander, and Erizias. After Erizias

vearly Rulers were elected.

These Governours for ten years, were also of the race of Medon and Codrus, but their time of rule was shortned, and from term of life reduced unto ten years; it being thought likely that they would govern the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to live private men under the command of others. Ifollow Dionyfius of Halicarnassus, in applying their times unto those yeares of the Olimpiads, wherein the Chronologicali Tible, following this work, doth fet them. For he not only professeth himselfe to have takengreat care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted alwayes the years of Dion. Halle, 1.7. the Greeks, how they did answer unto the things of Rome, throughout all the continu-fol-43.6 45.

ance of this Historie. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of Rome, in the first 10 yeare of the seventh Olympiad, and affirmes, that the same was the first yeare of Charops government of Athens; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from Pausanias, who

fetsthe beginning of these Athenians somewhat sooner.

In the reign of Manasses it was, that Midas, whom the Poets fained to have had Asses cares, held the kingdome of Phrygia. Many fables were devised of him; especially that he obtained of Bacchus, as a great gift, that all things which he should touch, might immediately be changed into Gold: by which meanes he had like to have been starved (his meate and drinke being subject to the same transformation) had not Bacchus delivered him from this miserable facultie, by causing him to wash himselse in the River Pattolus, the streame whereof hathever since, for sooth, abounded in that preso cious metall. Finally, it is faid he dyed by drinking Buls bloud; being invaded by the Scythians.

In this age flourished that Antimachus, who (faith Plutarch in the life of Romulus) obferved the Moones Eclipse at the foundation of Rome.

The Milesians, or, (as Eusebius hath it) the Athenians having obtained some power by Sca, founded Macieratis a Citie on the Fast of Egypt. Psammiticus herein seems to have affifted them, who used all meanes of drawing the Greeks into Egypt, accounting them his furest strength. For neither Miletus nor Athens were now of power sufficient to plant a Colonie in Egypt by force.

About

Plut. & Eufeb.

Gnus Altacenus

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Pauslio.

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About this time Archias with his companion Miscellus, and other Corinthians founded Syracufa in Sicilie, a Citie in aftertimes exceeding famous.

The Citic of Nicomedia sometime* Aftacus, was enlarged and beautified in this agebu Whence in Strabo there is Zipartes native of Thrace. Sybilla of Samus, according to Paufanias, lived much about this a part of Propon-

About these times also was Croton founded upon the Bay of Tarentum by Miscellus the Citie standers. companion of Archias that built Syracufa. Strabo makes it somewhat more ancient; and so doth Pausanias.

About the same time the Parthenians being of age, and banished Lacedamon, were conducted by Phalantus into Italie; where it is faid they founded Tarentum: but Justine and is Paulaniae finde it built before, and by them conquered and amplified: and about the same time. Manaffe yet living, the Citie Phaselis was founded in Pamphylia, Gela in Sicia lie, Interamme in the Region of the Umbri, now Urbin in Italie. About which timeally Chalcedon in Asia, over against By Zantium (now Constantinople) was founded by the Megarenses: who therfore were upbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of Bosphorus. It were a long work to rehearse all that is said to have bin done in the five and fiftie yeares of Manafles: that which alreadie hath been told is enough: the reft being not greatly worth remembrance, may wel be omitted, referving only Ben Merodach

and Nabulastar, to the businesse that will shortly require more mention of them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of Manasses to the destruction of Ferusalem.

6. I.

of Ammon and Josias.

₹Kin.21 2 Chron-33.

¿Chron.34.

Mmon the sonne of Manasse, a man no lesse wicked than was his Father before his conversion, restored the exercise of all sorts of Idolatrie: for which God hardened the hearts of his owne servants as gainst him:who slew him after he had reigned two years. Philo, Eufebius, and Nicephorus give him ten yeares, following the Septua-

1 Kin.22.

Josias succeeded unto Ammon, being but a child of 8 vears old, he began to feek after the God of David his Father; and in his twelfth yeare he purged juda and Ferusalem from the high places, and the groves, and the carved and molion Images: 16 and they brake downe in his fight the Altars of Baalim: He caused all the Images, as well those which were graven, as molten, to be stampt to powder, and strewed on their graves that had erected them; and this he commanded to be done throughout all his dominions. He also slew those that sacrificed to the Sun and Moon, and caused the Chariots and horfes of the Sun to be burnt. Of Josias it was prophecied in the time of Jerobeam the first, when he erected the Golden Calfe at Bethel, that a child should be born unto the house of David, Josias by name, and upon thee (faid the Prophet speaking to the Altar)shall he sacrifice the Priests of the high places, that burne incense upon thee :a prophecievery remarkeable.

1 Kin.13.

In the eighteenth yeare of his raigne, he re-built and repaired the Temple, at which 50 time Helkiab the Priest found the Booke of Moses; called Deuteronomie, or, of the Law, which he fent to the King : which when he had caused to be read before him, and considered of the severe commandements therein written, the prosperitie promised to those that observe them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and .commanded Helkiah, and others, to aske counsell of the Prophetesse Huldab; or, Olda, 2 Chron 34.24 concerning the Book, who answered the messengers in these words: Thus faith the Lord, Behold, I will bring evillupon this place, and upon the inhabitants thereof, even all the curfes that are written in the Book, which they have read before the King of Juda, because they have

for saken mee, and burns incense to other gods. Only for the King himselfe, because he was 2 Kin, 22, 35, alover of God and his Lawes, it was promifed that this evill should not fall on Juda and 2 Chron 34 Jerufalem in his dayes, but that he himselfe should inherit his grave in peace.

Tolias affembled the Elders, caused the Booke to be read unto them, made a covenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in Jerusalem and Benjamin to doe the like, promifing thereby to observe the Lawes and Commandements in the Book con-

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The execution done by Josias upon the Altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the fille Prophets at Bethel, argueth his Dominion to have extended unto those Countries. that had beene part of the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. Yet I doe not thinke, that any To victory of Josias in war got possession of these places; but rather that Ezechias, after the flight & death of Sennacherib, when Merodach opposed himselfe against Afarbaddon, did nfe the advantage which the faction in the North presented unto him, and laid hold upon so much of the Kingdome of Israel, as he was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the Babylonian finding himselfe unable to deale with Psammiticus in Syria (as wanting power to raise the siege of AZotas, though the Towne held outnine &twenty yeers) did give unto Manasses, together with his liberty, as much in Israel as himselfe could not easily defend. This was a good way to breake the amity that the Kines of Juda had fo long held with those of Egypt, by casting a bone between them. 20 & withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territories with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendship of the Jewes, which had been lost by injuries done, in feeking to bereave them of their owne. When it is faid, that Manaffes did after his deliverance from imprisonment, put Captaines of War in all the strong Cities of Juda; 2 Chron 33.14 it may be that fome such businesse is intimated, as the taking possession, and fortifying of places delivered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he tooke much paines, in making Jerusalem it selse more defensible ; yet I should rather beleeve, that he, having already compounded with the Babylonian, did fortifie himselfe against the Egyptians. whose fide he had for faken, than that he travelled in making fuch provisions only for 30 his mindes fake. The earnest nesse of Josias in the King of Babel his quarrell, doth argue. that the composition which Manasses had made with that King or his Ancestor, was upon fuch friendly termes, as required not onely a faithfull observation, but a thankfull requitall. For no perswasions could suffice to make Josius sit still, and hold himselfe quier ingood neutrality, when Pharao Necho King of Egypt passed along by him, to war upon the Countries about the River of Euphrates.

The last yeer of Josias his reigne it was, when as Necho the son of Psammiticus, came with a powerfull Army towards the border of Judæa, determining to paffe that way, being the nearest toward Euphrates, either to strengthen the passages of that River about 2 Chron. 35,200 Carchemish, or Cercusium, for the defence of Syria (as long after this, Dioclesian is said by Ammianus Marcellinus to have done,) or perhaps to invade Syria it selfe. For it see-40 meth that the travaile of Psammaticus had not beene idlely consumed about that one Towne of Azotus, but had put the Egyptians in possession of no small part of Syria, espe-

cially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged unto the Adades Kings of Damasco. Neither was the industry of Necho leffe than his Fathers had bin, in pursuing the war against Babel. In which warre, two things may greatly have availed the Egyptians, and advanced their affaires and hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary Greekes, that were far better Souldiers than Egypt of it selfe could afford; & the danger wherein Affyria stood, by the force of the Medes, which under the command of more absolute Princes, began to feele it felfe better; and to shew what it could doe. These were great helpes, but of shorter endurance than was the warre; as in place more convenient shall to be noted. At the present it seems, that either some preparation of the Chaldzanstoreconquer, did enforce, or forme difability of theirs to make refistance, did invite the King of Egypt, into the Countries bordering upon Euphrates; whither Pharao Necho afcended with a mighty Army.

These two great Monarchs, having their swords drawne, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, Josias advised with himselse to which of these he might adhere, having his Territory set in the mid-way between both, so as the one could not invade the other; but that they must of necessity tread upon the very face and body of his Country. Now though it were so that Necho himselfe defired by his Embassadours,

CHAP.28. \$.2.

2 Chron-35

Lam.4.10.

leave to passe along by Judea, protesting that he directed himselfe against the Asyrians only, without all harmefull purpose against Josias; yet all sufficed not, but the King of

Israel would needs fight with him. Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of Egypt could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of Hosea the last King of Israel. who when he fell from the dependance of the Affyrian, and wholly trusted to Sabacus or Sous King of Egypt, was utterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life and estate, which the Affyrian so rooted up and tare in pieces, as it could never after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fel upon Juda in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of Ezechia, whilest that good king and his people relied to upon Sethon; and more lately, the imprisonment of Manajes, were documents of suffcient proofe to flew the ill affurance, that was in the helpe of the Egyptians, who (neare neighbors though they were)were alwaies unreadie, when the necessities of their friends required their affiftance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why Necodid not feeke to have the Jewes renew their ancient league with him, but only craved that they would be contented to fit still, and behold the pastime between him and the Ally. rians. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an Armie.30 did, soone after this, out-face Nabulassar upon his own borders, left unto the Jewes, a lawfull excuse of feare, had they forborne to give it any checke upon the way. Wherefore I beleeve that this religious and vertuous Prince Josias, was not stirred up only by 10 politick respects, to stop the way of Neco; but thought himself bound in faith and honor. to doe his best in defence of the Babylonian Crown; whereunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by covenant made at the enlargement of Manasses, or by the gift of such part as he held in the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of Juda. they had now a good occasion to shew, both unto the Babylonians, of what importance their friendship was, and to the Egyptians what a valiant Nation they had abandoned and thereby made their enemie.

Some think that this action of Josias was contrary to the advice of Jeremy the Prophet; which I doe not find in the Prophecie of Jeremie, nor can find reason to beleeve. Others hold opinion that he forgat to ask the counsell of God: and this is very likely; feeinghe 30 might beleeve that an enterprise grounded upon fidelitie and thankfulness due to the King of Babel, could not but be displeasing unto the Lord. But the wickedness of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken fuch root, as all the care of Joseph in reforming the Land, could not pluck up) was questionlesse far from hearkening how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherin it was determined that their good king, whose life stood between them and their punishment, should now be taken from among them, and that in such fort, as his death should give an entrance to the miseries ensuing. So Josius levying all the strength he could make, neare unto Megiddo, in the halfe Tribe of Manaffes, encountred New and there he received the stroak of death, which lingring about him till he came to Jerusalem, 49 brought him to the Sepulchres of his Ancestors. His losse was greatly bewailed of all the people and Princes of Juda, especially of Jeremie the Prophet, who inserted a forrowfull remembrance thereof in his Book of Lamentations.

6. II.

Of Pharao Neco that fought with Josias: Of Jehoahaz and Jehojakim Kings of

Fthese warres, and particularly of this victorie, Herodotus hath mention among 50 the acts of Neco. He tels us of this King, that he went about to make a channell, whereby Ships might passe out of Nilus into the Red Sea. It should have reached above an hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middest of the worke, an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians should have the benefit of it, which caused Neco to defist when halfe was done. There were confumed in this toylesome businesse twelve hundred thousand Egyptians ; a losse great enough to make the King for fake his enterprise, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howsoever it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a Fleet,

and levied a great Armie, wherewith he marched against the King of Babel. In this expedition, he used the service, as well of his Navie, as of his land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein are found recorded, fave only this victoric against Josias, where Herodorus cals the place Magdolus, and the Jewes Syrians; which is a small error, seeing that Judaa was a Province of Syria, and Magdolus or Magdala is taken to have bin the fame place (though diversly named) in which this battell was fought. After this, Necus Jos. Ant. Fud. lib. tooke the Citie of Cadytis, which was perhaps Charchemish, by Euphrates, and made 10.cap.7. himselfe Lord, in a maner, of all Syria, as Fosephus witnesserh.

greater

Particularly we find, that the Phænicians, one of the most powerful Nations in Syria, Herodla. were his Subjects, and that by his command they furrounded all Africa, fetting fail from To the guife of Arabia, and so passing along all the coast, whereon they both landed, as need required, and fowed corne for their sustenance in that long voyage, which lasted three yeares. This was the first Navigation about Africa, wherein that great Cape, now called of good hope, was discovered, which after was forgotten, until Vasco de Gamathe Portingall found it out, following a contrarie course to that which the Phanicians held; for they, beginning in the East, ranne the way of the Sun, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars and fireights of Hercules (as the name was then) called now the streights of Gibraliar, having Africke still on the right hand; but the Peningals, beginning their voyage not far from the same streights, leave Africke on 20 the Larboord, and bend their course unto the East. That report of the Phenicians, which Herodotus durst not beleeve, how the Sun in this journey was on their right hand, that is, on the North fide of them, is a matter of necessary truth; and the observation then made hereof, makes me the better to beleeve, that fuch a voyage was indeed performed. But leaving these discourses of Neco his magnificence, let us tell what he did, in matters more importing his Estate. The people of Juda, while the Egyptians were busic at Charchemift, had made Johnaha their King, in the roome of his father Josias. The Prophet Journe calls this new King Shallum, by the name of his younger brother; alluding per-Jer. 22.32. hapsto the short reigne of Shallum King of the ten Tribes: for Shallum of Ifrael reign-30 ed but one moneth; Jehoaha I no more than three. He was not the eldeft son of Josias: Wherefore it may feem that he was fet up as the best affected unto the king of Babel, the rest of his house being more inclined to the Egyptian, as appeares by the sequele. An 2 kin. 34.32. Idolater he was, and thrived accordingly. For when as Neco had dispatched his business in the North parts of Syria, then did he take order for the affaires of Judea. This Countiewas now fo far from making any refistance, that the King himselfe came from Riblabin the land of Hamath, where the matter went fo ill on his fide, that Neco did cast him intobonds, and carry him prisoner into Egypt, giving away his Kingdome to Eliakim his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. The Citie of Riblah, in after times called Antiochia, was a place unhappy to the Kings and Princes of Juda, as may be obferved in divers examples. Yet here Jehojakim, together with his new name, got his 40 Kingdome; an ill gain, fince he could no better use it. But how-ever Jehojakim thrived by the bargaine, Pharao sped well, making that Kingdome Tributarie, without any stroke stricken; which three moneths before was too stout to give him peace, when he defired it. Certaine it is, that in his march outward, Neco had a greater taske lying upon his hands, than would permit him to wast his forces upon Judea: but now the reputation of his good successe at Megiddo, and Charchemish, together with the diffention of the Princes Jossas his sonnes (of whom the eldest is probably thought to have stormed at the preferment of his younger brother) gave him power to doe even what should please himselfe. Yet he did forbeareto make a conquest of the Land, perhaps upon the same reason, which had made him so earnest in seeking to hold peace withit. For the Jewes so had suffered much in the Egyptians quarrell, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, unto all extremities, were driven of necessitie to forsake that partie, and to joyne with the enemies; to whom if they shewed themselves faithfull, who could blamethem: It was therefore enough to reclaim them; feeing they were fuch a people as would not upon every occasion shift side, but endure more than Pharao, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth should lay upon them: fo good a Patron didhe meane to be unto them. Neverthelesse he laid upon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of filver, and one Talent of gold; that so he might both reap at the prefent some fruit of his paines taken, and leave unto them some document in the suture, of

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greater punishment than verball anger, due to them, if they should rebell. So he departed, carrying along with him into Egypt the unfortunate King JehoahaZ, who died in his Captivitie.

The second Booke of the sirst part

The reigne of Jeheahaz was included in the end of his Fathers last yeare; otherwise it would hardly be found, that Jehojakim his successor, did reign ten whole years; where. as the Scriptures give him eleven, that are current and incomplete. If any man will rather cast the three moneths of this short reigne, into the first yeare of the brother, than into the fathers last; the same arguments that shall maintaine his opinion, will also prove the

matter to be unworthie of disputation; and so I leave it.

Tehojakim in impietie was like his brother, in faction he was altogether Egyptian, as having received his Crown at the hand of Pharas. The wickednesse of these last Kings. being expressed in Scriptures none otherwise, than by generall words, with reference to all the evill that their Fathers had done; makes it apparent, that the poyfon wherewith Ahar and Manafles had infected the Land, was not fo expelled by the zealous goodnesse 2 Chron. 36.14. of Folias, but that it still cleaved unto the chiefe of the people, Tea unto the Priest's also, and therefore it was not strange, that the Kings had their parts therein. The Royallanthoritie was much abased by the dangers wherein the Countrey stood, in this trouble. some age; the Princes did in a manner what they listed; neither would the Kings for. beare to professe, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of Jebojakim had the countenance of the Egyptian to grace it, which made him infolent and cruell; to as we finde by that example of his dealing with uria the Prophet: though hereinallo the Princes do appeare to have been instigators. This holy man denounced Gods indements against the Citie and Temple, in like fort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poore man fled into Egypt: but fuch regard was had unto Jehojakim, that uria was delivered unto his Embassadour. and fent backe to the death; contrarie to the custome used, both in those dayes, and sinceamong all civill Nations, of giving refuge unto strangers, that are not held guiltie of such inhumane crimes, as for the generall good of mankind should be exempted from all priviledge.

It concerned Phoras to give all contentment possible to Jehojakim: for the Assiran Lyon, that had not stirred in many yeares, began about these times to roare so loudupon the bankes of Euphrates, that his voice was heard unto Nilus, threatning tomake himselfe Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawne the house of Merodach from opposing the Egyptian in his conquest of Syria, require our consideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at Carehemilh, where short-

ly after this the glory of Egypt is to fall.

6. III.

Of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to passe that the Kings of Babel could not give attendance on their businesse in Syria : which caused them to lose that Province.

- Erodach the sonne of Baladan, who taking the advantage that Senacheribs misadventure and death, together with the diffention between his children, prefented, made himselfe King of Babylon, was eleven years troubled with a powerfull Enemie, Afarhaddon the son of Senacherib, reigning over the Assyrians in Nineve; from whom whilest he could not any other way divert his cares, he was faint to omit all businesse in Syria, and (as hath beene formerly shewed) to make overunto Ezechia, some part of the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. From this molestation, the 10 death of Afarhadden did not only fet him free, but gave unto him some part of Affria, if not (as is commonly, but leffe probably thought) the whole Kingdome. How greatly this was to the liking of the Affirians, I will not here stand to enquire: his long reigne following, & his little intermeddling in matters of Syria, make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or in establishing that which he had gotten. Jostphus gives him the honour of having wonne Nineve it selfe, which we may believe; but furely he did not hold it long. For in the times foone following, that great Citie was frce, and vanquished Phraories the Median. Perhaps it yeelded upon some capitulation:

and refused afterwards to continue subject, when the Kings, being of the Chaldwan race. preferred Babylon before it.

Some thinke that this was the Affyrian King, whose Captaines tooke Manasses prisoner, but I rather beleeve those that hold the contrary, for which I have given my reafons in due place. To fay truth, I finde little cause why Merodach should have looked into those parts, as long as the Jewes were his friends, and the Egyptians, that maligned the Northerne Empire, held themselves quiet at home, which was untill the time of

Planmaticus, about the end of this Kings Reigne, or the beginning of his son.

Ren Merodach the fon and fucceffour of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; o vetishe named by good consent of Authors, and that speake little of his doings. The lenoth of his Reigne is gathered by inference to have beene one and twenty yeeres; for formuch remaineth of the time that passed betweene the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephewes Reignes (which is a knowne fumme) deducting the yeeres of his Father, and of his sonne Nabulassar. This (as I take it) was he that had Manasses Prisoner, and relased him. Hee sped ill in Syria; where Psammiticus, by the vertue of his Mercenary Greekes, did much prevaile. This may have been some cause that he released Manastes. and did put into his hands some part more of the Kingdome of Samaria: which is made probable by circumstances alledged before.

Nabulassar that reigned in Babylon after his father Ben Merodach, had greater business inhis owne Kingdome, than would permit him to looke abroad: infomuch as it may be thought to have been a great negligence or over-fight of Pfammiticus & Neco, that they did not occupy some good part of his Dominions beyond Euphrates. For it was in his time, that Phraortes King of the Medes invaded Affyria, and befreged Nineve; from whence he was not repelled by any force of Nabula far, but constrained to remove by the comming of the Scythians, who in these ages did over-slow those parts of the world, layinghold upon all that they could mafter by ftrong hand. Of these Scythians, and the Lordhip that they held in Asia, it is convenient that I speak in this place; shewing briefly afore-hand, how the Medes, upon whom they first fell, were busied in the same times with hopes of conquering Affyria.

Phraortes, the sonne of Deioces, King of the Medes, having by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceived at length a faire possibility of making himselse Lord of

That City (as Herodotus reports it) having been a Soveraigne Lady, was not for faken merodific to of all her dependants; yet remained in such case, that of her selfe she was well enough.

This makes it plain, that howfoever Merodach had gotten possession of this imperiall feat, and made it subject as was the rest of the Country; yet it found the meanes to set it felfeat liberty: as after this againe it did, when it had been regained by Nabulaffar his Grande-childe.

Sharpe warre, and the very novelty of fuddaine violence, use to dismay any State or Country, not inured to the like: but custome of danger hardeneth even those that are unwarlike. Nineve had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; ithad suffered, and resisted, all the surv, wherewith either Domesticall tumults between the fons of Sennacherib, or forreigne war of the Babylonians, could afflict it: and therefore it is the leffe wonderfull, that Phraortes did speed so ill in his journey against it. He and the most of his Army perished in that expedition: whereof I finde no particular circumstances (perhaps hee undervalued their forces, and brought a lesse power than was needfull.) It is enough, that herein we may beleeve Herodotus.

Claxares the fon of Phrastes, a braver man of war than his Father, wan as much of Affathe leffe, as lay Eastward, from the River of Halys; hee fought revenge upon the Affyrians for the death of his father, & befieged Nineve it felfe, having a purpose to destroy it. I rather believe Eusebius, That bee tooke the City, and fulfilled his displeasure uponit, than Herodotus, That the Scythian Army came upon him whilest bee lay before it. For whereequall authorities are contradictory (as Eusebins, though far later than Herodorus, yet having seen other Authors that are now lost, it is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it best, to yeeld unto the best likelihoods.

To thinke that the Scythians came upon Cyaxares, whileft he lay before Nineve, were to accuse him of greater improvidence, than ought to be suspected in one commended 45 a good Souldier. But to suppose that he was faine to leave the Towne, when a Warre

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fo dangerous fell upon his owne Country, doth well agree both with the condition of fuch businesses that Scythian expedition brought into those parts, and with the State of the Chaldæan and Assyrian affaires ensuing.

The destruction of this great City is both foretold in the Booke of Tobit, and there fet down as happening about these times; of which book whosoever was the Author, he was ancient enough to know the Story of those ages, & hath committed no such errour in reckoning of times, as should cause us to distrust him in this. As for the Prophesical Nahum, though it be not limited unto any certaine terme, yet it appeares to have taken effect, in the finall destruction of Nineve by Nabuchodonofor, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a conquest of Egypt, foregoing this calamity, whereof we will speake in due place. Some that ascribe more authority than the refor. med Churches yeeld, to the booke of Tobit, are carefull, as in a matter of necessity, to affirme, that about these times, Nineve was taken; but they attribute (conjecturally) the victory over it to Ben Meredach: a needless conjecture, if the place of Enfebius bewel confidered. Yet I hold it probable, that Nabulassar the fon of Ben Merodach, did five upon it, and place a King or Vice-roy therein, about fuch time as the Country of Affrin was abandoned by Cyaxares, when the Scythian Warre over-whelmed Media, For then was the Conquest wrought out ready to his hand; the swelling spirits of the Ni. nevites were allayed, and their malice to Babylon formuch affwaged, that it might be though a great favour, if Nabulasar, appointing unto them a peculiar King, tookehim& to them into protection: though afterwards to their confusion, this unthankfull People and their King rebelled againe, as shall be shewed in the Reigne of Nabuchodonosor.

4. I V.

The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Asia eight and twenty years.

†. I. The time of this expedition.

TOw that I have shewed what impediment was given by the Assyrians and the Medes, to the Babylonians, who thereby were much disabled to performeany action of worth upon the Egyptians in Syria; it is time that I speake of that great Scythian expedition, which grievously afflicted not only the Babylonians butthe Medes & Lydians, with the Countries adjacent, in fuch wife, that part of the troubleredounded even to the Egyptians themselves. Of the Scythian people in generall, Havdotus makes very large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill knowne, with many Fables: of this expedition he tels many particulars, but ill agreeing with confent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needle fle to recite them; for they are fare enough diffant from the businesse in hand. The computation of times which by inference out of his relations, may feeme very ftrange, needeth fome answer in this place: lest otherwise I should either seeme to make my selfe too bold with an Authour, inciting him after a manner different from his ownetale; or else to bee too forgetfullofmy felfe, in bringing to act upon the Stage, those persons, which I had already buried-Eight and twenty yeeres, hee faith, that the Scythians reigned in Afia, before Cjaxares delivered the Countrey from them. Yet hee reports a warre betweene Cjaxanes and Haliattes the Lydian, as foregoing the fiege of Nineve; the fiege of Nineve being ere the Scythians came. And further he tels, how the Scythians, having vanquished the Medes, did passe into Syria, and were encountred in Palestina by Pfammiticus King of 50 Egypt, who by gifts and entreaty procured them to depart from him. These narrations of Herodetus may, every one of them, betrue; though not in such order of time, as he hath marshalled them. For Pfammitieus was dead before Cyaxares began to reigne: and Cyanares had spent halfe of his forty yeeres, ere Halyattes was King of Lydia, so that hee could not, after those Lydian Warres, reigne eight and twenty veeres together with the Scythians. It is true, that Eufebins dothalfo call Pfummis the fonne of Pharao Nece, by the name of Pfammiticus; and this King Pfammis may, by some straimed conjecture, be thought to have beene he that met with the Scythians: for heelived

with both Cyaxares and Halyattes. But Eusebius himselfe referres all that businesse of the Scythian irruption into Palæssina, to Psammiticus the Father of Necho, whom he leaves dead before the Reigne of Halyattes. Therefore I dare not relye upon Herodotus, in this matter, otherwise than to believe him, that such things were in these ages, though not in such order as he sets them downe.

Irremaines, that I collect as well as I can, those memorials which I finde of this expedition scattered in divers places: a worke necessary, for that the greatnesse of this action was such, as ought not to be omitted in a generall History; yet not easie, the consent of

those that have written thereof, being nothing neare to uniformity.

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Ihave noted before, that in the reigne of Ardys King of Lydia, the Cimmerians overranthat Kingdome, and were not expelled, untill Halyattes the Nephew of Ardys got theupper hand of them. In these times therefore of Ardys, Sadiattes, and Halyattes, are weto finde the eight and twenty years, wherein the Scythians reigned ouer Afia. Now foralmuch as Pfammiticus the Egyptian had fome dealings with the Scythians, even in the height of their prosperity, wee must needs allow more than one or two of his last verres unto this their Dominion. But the beginning of Halyattes his Reigne in Lydia. heing three and twenty yeers compleat after the death of Pfammiticus, leaves the space very scant, either for the great victories of the Scythians, necessarily supposed before they could meete the Egyptian in Syria, or for those many losses, which they must have received ere they could be driven quite away. To increase this difficulty, the vi-Actions Reigne of Nabuchedonofor in Babylon, is of no small moment. For how may wee thinke it possible, that hee should have adventured the strength of his Kingdome against the Egyptians & Jewes, had he stood in daily feare of losing his owne, to a more mighty nation, that lay upon his necke ? To speake simply as it appeares to me, the vi-Rories ascribed to Cyaxares and Halyattes over these warlike people, were not obtained against the whole body of their Army, but were the defeatures of some troopes, that infested their severall Kingdomes; other Princes, and among these, Nabulasar, having the like successe, when the pleasures of Asia had mollified the courages of these hardy Northeme Laddes. Wherefore we may probably annexe the eight and twenty years of the Scythians rule, to as many almost the last of Nabulassars Reigne, in compasse whereof their power was at the greatest. This is all that I can fay of the time, wherein Asia sufferedthe violence of their oppressors.

†. II. What Nations they were that brake into Asia; with the cause of their Journie.

Ouching the expedition it felfe, Herodorns tels us, that the Cimmerians being driven out of their Country by the Scythians, invaded and wasted some part of Afia; & that the Scythians, not contented with having wontheland of the Cimomerians, did follow them; I know not why, into farre removed quarters of the world, fo (as it were by chance) falling upon Media & Egypt, in this pursuit of men that were gone another way into Lydia. Hereby we may gather that the Cimmerians were an odious & base people; the Scythians, as mischievous & foolish; or else Herodotus, & some other of his Country-men, great flanderers of those, by whom their Nation had been beaten, and Ionia, more than once, grievously ransackt. The great valour of the Cimmerians or Cimbrians is fo well known, and their many Conquests so well testified in Histories of divers Nations, that the malice of the Greekes is infufficient to staine them with the note of Cowards. These were the posterity of Gomer, who peopled the greatest part of Our Westerne World; and whose re-slow did overwhelm no small portion of Greece & Assas well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now entreat. He that would more largely informe himselse of their original and actions, may peruse Goropius Becamushis Amazonica; of many things in which Booke, that may be verified, which the learned Ortelius is faid to have spoken, of all Goropius his works, that it is easie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them: There we finde it proved, by such arguments and authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the Cimmerians, Scythians and Sarmatians, were all of one Linage and Nation; how soever distinguished in name, by reason of their divers tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. Homer indeed hath mention of the Cimmerians; whose Country whether he placeth in the West, as neare unto the Ggg 2

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Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being farre from the Sunne, and covered with eternall darkneffe; certain it is that he would have them near neighboursto Hell: for hee had the same quarrell to them which Herodotus had, and therefore believe would have made them feeme a kinde of Goblins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as Herodotus writing his life affirmes) to infert into his works the names of fuch as lived in his owne time, making such mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to him. felfe deserved. And for this reasonit is proved by Eustarbius, that the Cimmerians were fo differed by him, because they had wasted his Country. Perhaps that invasion of Phrygia by the Amazons, wher of Homer puts a remembrance into Priamus his discourse Phrygia by the Amazons, which Eufebius noteth to have happened fomewhat be with Helen, was the very fame, which Eufebius noteth to have happened fomewhat be. fore the age of Homer, at what time the Cimmerians with the Amazons, together inva-

This is certain, that both the Amazons & the Cimmerii (who in after-times were called Cimbri) did often breake into Greece and Asia; which though it be not in express rermes written, that they did with joynt-forces, yet feeing they invaded the felfe-fame places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One journey of the Ama. zons into Greece, mentioned also by Ensebius, was by the streights of the Cimmerians. Diod. 16.4. c.2. as we finde in Diodore, who further tellethus, that the Scythians therein gave themaf. fistance. The same Authour, before his entry into those discourses of the Amazone Diodatio. 2.4.11. which himselfe acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to have beene wives to of the Scythians, and no lesse Warre-like than their Husbands; alledging the example of that Queen who is faid to have flaine the great Persian Cyrus. That it was the manner of the Cimbri to carry their wives along with them to the warres; and how define. rate the courage was of those Women; the terrible descent of them into Italy, when Marius the Romane overthrew them, gives proofe fufficient. I will not here enterinto a difcourfe of the Amazons; another place will give me better leifure to speake of them: but seeing that they are noted by divers Historians to have belonged unto the Cimmerians, to the Scythians, and to the Sarmatians, we may therefore the better and prove Goropius his conclusion, That these three nations were one, at least that they were

> Now as concerning the expulsion of the Cimmerians by the Scythians, it appeares to 32 have beene none other than the fending a Colony of them forth into Affa, with an Army of Scythians to helpe them, in purchasing a new seate, and establishing the plantation.

The Sarmatians also were companions in this journey. For the City of Novogradin Ruffia (which Country is the fame that was called Sarmatia) flood in their way homewards, as shall anon bee further shewed. So that all the North was up in Armes: and therefore it is no marvell though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the same people made five hundred years and more after this, when they were encountred by the Romans. For they iffued from 40 Plutarth in the parts about the Lake Mæotis; they were then likewise affisted (faith Plutarch in the life of Mains. most likely report of them) by the Scythians their neighbours; they had in their Armie above three hundred thousand fighting men, besides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandred over many Countries, beating all downe before them; and finally, thinking to have fettled themselves in Italy, they divided their Company, for the more easie passage thither, and were consumed in three terrible battailes by the Roman Confuls. Meere necessity enforced these poore Nations to trouble the World, in following fuch hard adventures. For their Countrey being more fruitfull of men than of sustenance, and shut up on the North side with intolerable cold, which denied iffue that way to their over-swelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge up- 50 on the South, and by right or wrong to drive others out of possession, as having title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that weaker, but more civill, people had. Their sturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardnesse, gave them great advantage over fuch as were accustomed unto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluities. Wherefore most commonly they prevailed very farre; their next neighbours giving them free passage, that they might the sooner bee ridde of them; others giving them, besides passage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great prefents; fo as

the farther they went on, the more pleafant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

t. III. Of the Cimmerians warre in Lydia.

He first Company of these, consisting for the most part of Cimmerians, held the way of the Euxine Seas, which they had fill on the right hand; leaving on the other side, & behinde them, the great Montains of Caucasus. These having pasfedthrough the Land of Colchis, that is now called Mengrelli, entered the Country of 16 Pontus, & being arrived in Paphlagonia, fortified the Promontory, whereon Synope, 2 famous Haven Towne of the Greeks, was after built. Here it seemes that they bestowed Hard lib. 4 the weakest and most unserviceable of their traine, together with the heaviest part of their carriages, under some good guard: as drawing near to those Regions, in conquest wherof they were to trie the utmost hazzard. For in like fort afterwards did the Cimbri (of whom I spake even now) dispose of their impediments, leaving them in a place of frength, where Antwerpe now stands, when they drew neare unto Gaule, upon which they determined to adventure themselves in the purchase. From Sinope, the way unto Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, was faire and open to the Cimmerians, without any ledge of Mountaines, or any deep Rivers at all to stay their march: for Iris and Halys they had

What battels were fought between these invaders and the Lydians, & with what vasible successe the one or other part wanne and lost, I finde not written, nor amable to conjecture. This I find, that in the time of Ardys, the Cimmerians got possession of Sardesthecapitall City of Lydia; only the Castle holding out against them. Further I obferve, that whereas Herodorus tells of the acts performed by Gyges and Ardys Kings of Lydia, before this invasion, and by Halyattes and Crasus in the times following, all that Ardy did against the Cimmerians, and all, save burning the Milesians Corn fields, that was done in twelve years by Sadyattes his Son(who perhaps had his hands fo full of this bufinesse, that he could turne them to nothing else) is quite omitted: whereby it may feme, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in those wars, but were gladenough that they did lose all.

Certainly the miseries of war are never so bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, orgreat part of it, for faking their owne feats, labour to root out the established possesfoursof another Land; making roome for themselves, their wives and children. They that fight for the mastery, are pacified with tribute, or with some other services and acknowledgements; which had they beene yeelded at the first, all had been quiet, and no fword bloudied. But in these migrations, the affailants bring so little with them, that they need all which the defendants have, their Lands and Cattell, their houses and their goods, even to the cradles of the fucking infants. The mercileffe termes of this controversie arme both sides with desperate resolution: seeing the one part must either winne, or perish by famine; the other defend their goods, or lose their lives without redemption. Most of the Countries in Europe have selt examples thereof; and the mighty Empire of Rome was overthrowne by fuch invasions. But our Isle of Britaine canbell witnesse the diversity of Conquests; having by the happy vietory of the Romans, gotten the knowledge of all Civill Arts, in exchange of liberty, that was but stenderly instructed therein before, whereas the issue of the Saxon and Danish Wars, was, as were the causes, quite contrary. For these did not seeke after the Dominion onely, but the entire possession of the Country, which the Saxons obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the British Race, & defacing all memorial of the ancientinhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the Danes (who are also of the Cimmerian bloud) found such end of their enterprize, as it may seem that the Cimmerians in Lydia, & Scythians in the higher Afia, did arrive unto. So that by confidering the processe of the one, we shall the better conceive the fortune of the other. Many battailes the Danes wonne, yet none of such importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerours: Many the Saxons won upon the Danes, yet not so great, as could drive them quite away, and backe from hence, after they had gotten firme footing. But in tourle of time, the long continuance even of utter enmity, had bred fuch acquaintance

CHAP.28. S.4. +.4.

Hered, lib. I.

betweene them, as bowing the natures of both the se people, made the one more pliant unto the other. So their diagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one milde temper, no small number of the Danes became peaceable cohabitants with the Saxons in England, where great flaughter had made large roome; others returning home, found their owne Country wide enough to receive them, as having disburthened it selfe of many thousands, that were sent to seeke their graves abroad. And such (as I thinke) was the end of the Cimmerian warre in Lydia; whereunto though fome victory of Halyantes may have hastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seems to have done most, in compelling them to defire of rest. I know not why I should search to adde hereunto my further conjecture; which is, that the matter was so compounded to between the Cimmerians & Halyattes, that the River of Halys should divide their Territories. For Halys was henceforth the border of the Lydians, and on the Easterne fide of the River was the Country of the Amazons, that is indeed, of the Cimmerians and other Scythian people; whose wives and daughters these warlike women are supposed to have been.

And hereunto the quarrell enfuing betweene Halyattes and Cyaxares the Mede, hath very good reference. For Halyattes (as is faid) fought in defence of certain Scythians, up. on whom the Median fought revenge. And it stands with reason, that the Lydians and Cimmerians, being much weakened with mutuall flaughters, should have joyned in a league of mutuall defence for their common fafety: though otherwise it had been dan 20 gerous to Halyattes, if hee had permitted the Median to extend his Kingdome lofarre Westward, what soever the pretences might be, of taking revenge upon such as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the Warre betweene theetwo Kings, which Herodotus relates, I finde it of little waight, and leffe probability. He tells of Scythians, that being chased out of their Country by faction, came unto Cyus. ares; who committed unto them certaine Boyes, to be instructed in the Scythian tongue, and feate of Archery. Now it fo fell out (faith he) that these Scythians using mucho hunt, &commonly bringing home fomewhat with them, did nevertheleffe other-while misse of their game, and came home as they went. Hereupon the King being frown & cholericke, bitterly reviled them; & they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boys? that was under their charge, whom dreffing like Venison, they presented unto him; which done, they fledde unto Halyattes. This Herodotta delivers, as the ground of awar that lasted fixe yeeres betweene the Medes and Lydians; the one King demanding these Fugitives to be delivered into his hand, the other refusing to betray such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the Scythians to betake themselves to either of these Kings, unto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly, they had reason to distrust Cyaxares, for the treachery that he shewed in the massacring of their Country-menthat were in his Kingdome, of whom it is now meet that we should speake.

t. IV.

The Warre of the Scythians in the higher Afia.

S the Cimmerians held their course westerly, along the shores of the Euxine sea. fo the Scythians & Sarmatians took the other way, & having the Caspian Scaon their left hand, passed between it & Caucasus through Albania, Colthere, and other obscure Nations, where now are the Countries of Servan and Georgia, & so they entered into Media. The Medes encountred them in Armes; but were beaten, & thereup on glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of Phraortes, whileft Plammaticus reigned in Egypt. If it were in the fixt yeere of Nabulassars Reigne over Babylon (supposing him to have reigned five & thirry; otherwise we must allow to Bes Merodach what we take from him) then doe the eight & twenty yeares of their Domi nion end, one year before the great Nabuchodonofor was King; fo giving him good leave to provide securely for the invasion of Syria; which expedition hee began while his Father yet lived, as fosephus out of Berefus relates the History.

Now the Medes, defirous to fave themselves as well as they might, from this terrible nation, which when they had no luft to a fecond triall of the fword, refused not to under

goe the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable, that would serve to remove these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the Sevthians finding still the Countries pleasanter & better, the further that they marched into the South, did fuffer themselves to be perswaded, that a little more travaile would adde agreat deale more to their content. For they relyed so much upon their owne valour, that they feared no refistance; & being the bravest men, they thought it reason that they hould dwell in the best Region. That Phraortes perswaded them into Egypt, I doe not think: Babylon was neare enough; whither if he could fend these Locusts to graze, then thould not his unfriendly Neighbours have cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift Nabulassar made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I do not reade. 10 But it is well known that his Dominions lay in the middest betweene Media & Egypt; as also, that they made all those parts of Asia Tributary; wherefore we may very well heleeve, that they watered their horses in his Rivers, and that he also was content to give

Plammities hearing of their progresse (like the jealous Husband of a faire Wise) took care that they might not looke upon Egypt; left the fight thereof should more easily detaine them there, than any force or perswasion that hee could use, would send them going. Therefore hee met them in Syria, prefuming more on the great gifts which he ment to bestow upon them, than on his Army that should keepe them backe. Egypt was rich; and halfe the riches had not been ill spent in faving all. Yet Pfammitieus tooke themost likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had been so obstinate as to refuse all indifferent composition. For he lay close monthe edge of the Wildernesse in Gaza(as I take it) the Southermost border of Palzfina: whence he never advanced to meete with the Scythians; but gave them leave to feeleasmuch of the scalding Sunne-beames, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of Syria could beate upon them. When they were come as farre as Afcalon, the next City to Gaza, then did he affay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to work fo much the better, by how much the worse they were plealed with the heate of a Climate so farre different from their owne. Plammiticus had this backe a vast wildernesse, over the scorching fands whereof, the Scythians more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary diftempers, could ill have endured to pursuchim through unknowne wayes, had they fought with him and prevailed: especially the Kingdome of Egypt being ready to entertaine him with reliefe, and them with newtrouble at the end of their weary journey. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, & taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to visit their acquaintance in the high Countries: The Egyptian King (befides that hee preferred his owne Effate from a dangerous adventure, by hyring this great Army to depart from him foundall his Coast well repayed in the processe of his wars in Syria, wherethe Nation's beyond Euphrates had no power to molest him, being more than ever troubled themle kives with the returne of their oppressors. For the Scythians, resolving now to seeke no further, began to demand more than the Tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grievous exactions, they prefumed to live at discretion upon the Countrey, taking what they lifted from the Owners; and many times (as it were to fave the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long used over the higher Asia, that is, over the Country lying between the Caspianand Red Seas; and betweene India and Asia the lesse. Happy it was for the poore people, that in so large a space of ground, there was room enough for these new comers; otherwise the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, upon those private men, to whose wealth any Scythian did beare a fancy, would have lighted in general! upon all at one clap, leaving few alive, and none able to relieve their fellowes. Yer it feemes that the heaviest burthen lay upon Media; for it was a fruitfull Countrey not farre from their own home, and lay under a Climate well agreeing with the constitution of their bodies; therealfo it was that they had the farall blow, by which their infolent Rule was taken from them.

Gyaxares King of the Medes, who in this extremity was no better than a Rent-gathe- Hand His. ter for the Scythians, perceiving that his Land lay unmanured and waste, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, refolved to prove what might be done by Aratagem.

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Herod, lib.4.

Jerem.35.9.

stratagem. The manging of the businesse is thus delivered in briefe; That he, and his Medes, feafted the better part of the Scythians, made them drunke, and flew them; recovering hereby the possession of all that they had lost.

Such another flaughter was committed upon the Danes in England; but it was reven. ged by their Countrimen, with greater cruelty than ever they had practifed before. That the Scythians which escaped this bloudy feast, made any stirre in Media, I do not find. neither do I reade that either in revenge hereof, or upon other pretence, the Medes Were

troubled by invasson from Scythia in time following.

This is the more strange, for that the Army returning home out of Media, was year frong & encountred with opposition (as Herodotus reports it) no lesse than it had found in abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the device of Cyaxares to free his Country, took good effect, with leffe bloud-fined than hath been supposed. For if he surprised all the chiefe of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Many of them doubt leffe in eight and twenty years had fo well fetled themselves, that they were desirous of rest, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remaine in the Country; many (of whom I shall speake anon) having done what they could in the businesse, for which they came forth, were willing to returne home with what they had gotten; fuch as were not pleased with either of these two courses, might goe joyne with the Cimmerians in Lydia, or feeke their fortunes in other Provinces among their owne Companions Whereas all the Families of the North are faid to have bin with Nabuchadne Zar, it may to be understood, that a great part of the Scythians, upon hope of gaine, or define to keepe what they had already gained, were content to become subject unto Nabulat. far: mens love of their wealth being most effectuall, in taming the more unquiet love of inordinate liberty. This is certaine, that Nabuchadne Zar, as ever after, fo inhis full beginning of warre, did beate the Egyptians, who in ages foregoing had been accu-Romed to deale with the Babylonians after another fashion: & this new successe of that King may be imputed, in regard of humane meanes, to fuch addition as this of new

Of the Scythian Army returning out of Media, divers Authors report a Story, which confirmes me in the opinion, that this Company went forth to a flift their kinredard to friends, in acquiring a new feat, and establishing their plantation. For these had left their wives behinde them; a good argument to prove that they meant to come againe. The Scythian women to comfort them felves in their husbands abfence became bed-follows to their flaves. These got a lusty broad of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers-in-Law, & therfore prepared to fight with them at their returne. If they were onely the children of flaves, which compounded an Army (as Herodotus would have it, who tels us, that the Scythians were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it mult needes be that they were very Boyes, or elfe that the Women did very little whilecontinue chaste. Wherefore I rather believe that tale as it is told by the Russesthemselves, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of Histories, make that report of their Ance-16 Rors returning homewards, which I will fet down, as I finde it in Mafter Dottor Fletchtr Rus. commence, his exact discourse of the Russe Common-wealth. They under stood by the way, that their Chrislopey or Bond-flaves, whom they left at home had in their ab conce poffe fed their townes lands, boufes. Wives, and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet disdaining the lillany of their fervants, they made the more speede home: and so not farre from Novogradmet them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon advising what was best to bee

> vile condition, thereby to terrefic them, and abatet beir courage. And so marchine on & lasting all together with their whips in their hands, they zave the onfee; which semed servible so in the eares of their Villaines, and frooke fuch a feafe into them of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before , that they fled altogether like Sheepe before the Drivers. In memory of this victory the Novogradians ever fince have stamped their Coine (which they call a Dingot Novogradskoy current through all Russia) with the figure of a Horseman shaking a whip a

done, they agreed alfo to fet upon them with no other frem of weapon but with their horfe while

(which, as their manner is, every man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their [t]-

loft in his hand. It may feeme, that all the women of that Country have fared the work ever fince, in regard of the universall fault: for such a Pudkey or whip, as terrefied those flaves, curioufly wrought by her felfe, is the first present that the Moscovian wife, even in time of wooing, fends to him that shall be her husband, in tooken of subjection; being

well affured to feele it often on her own loines. But this was a Document unto the Scythians, or rather Sarmatians (for Novograd stands in the Country that was called Sarmatia) to beware of ablenting themselves any more so long from their wives; which afterthis, I finde not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to fet down of the Scythian expedition; not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, and terrible to many Countries; but for that it appeares to have been a great cause of the Egyptians prevailing hitherto in Syria, and about Judæa, which continues yet a while the

center of our discourse.

of Princes living in divers Countries, in these ages.

Aving thus far digressed from the matters of Juda , to avoide all further occasion of doing the like, I will here insert a note of such Kings, and men of marke, as were betweene the death of Manasses, and the ruine of Jerusalem. Of the Egyptians, Babylonians, Medes, and Lydians, I have spoken as much as I thought need full. In Rome, Tulius Hostilius held the Kingdome, untill the one and twentieth yeere of Josas; at which time Ancus Martius succeeding, reigned soure and twenty yeeres. After him L. Tarquinius Priscus, a new-come stranger, but very rich, prevailed so farres by his gracious fires samong the people, that he got the Kingdom to himself, disappointing the sonnes of Ancus, over whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth yeere of Zedekia, and reigned eight and thirty yeares. In this time it was namely, in the fecondyear of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the Lacedamonians bethinking them how to beavenged of the Arcadians, who gave fuccour to the Messenians against them in the former war, entred their Territory, took the City of Phigalia or Phialia, from whence their Garrifons were foone after beaten out. Cypfelus expelling the race of the Bacide, madehimselse Lord of Corinth about these times, & governed it in peace thirty yeeres leaving for fuccessour his sonne Periander, one of the seven Sages, but a cruell Tyrant: who among other vile acts, flew his owne wife, & afterwards, as in her honour, stripped allthe Corinthian women ftark naked, burning their apparell, as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceive, that the wisedome of the Greekes was not excellent in those dayes, when such a one as this could bee admired as excelling all the

In these times also were Zaleucus & Draco, famous Lawgivers, the one among the Lotrians in Italy, the other in the City of Athens. The Lawes of Draco were for igorous, thathe was faid to have written them with bloud: for he rewarded every small offence with death. Wherefore his Constitutions were foon abrogated, & power given to Solon by the Athenians, to make new in their stead. But the Lawes of Zaleueus were very mild. he forbadany Gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, unlesse it were when she was drunke; or to goe forth of the Towne by night, unlesse it were to some sweet-hearts bed; or to dresse her selfe up in immodest bravery, unlesse it were to inveigle a lover. By which pleasant Ordinances he effected his defire; for none would feeme, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a fingular example of justice, that when his own son hadcommitted adultery, and was therefore to lose both his eyes, he did not cause him tobe pardoned, but gave one eye of his owne to fave the young man (who also lost one) from utter blindnesse.

I shall not henceforth neede so farre to wander, as hitherto I often have done, in purhing of actions collaterall to the History, for inserting them in their order of time-The Chaldaeans will foon fall under the Persians; ere long, encounter with the Greeks; the Greeks, with the Romans; the Romans, with many Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successively present themselves, in their flourishing Estate, it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minority. But in the long space of more than thirteen hundred yeeres, which passed betweene the calling of Abraham, and the destruction of Jerusalem, wee finde little matter, wherein the History of Israel had any dealing with other Nations, than the very stearest borderers. Yet read we of many Kingdomes, that in these many ages were erected,

Surgium 4.

and throwne downe; as likewise, many memorable acts were performed in Greece and elsewhere, though not following one another at any neare distance; all which must have beene quite omitted, or else reserved unto a very unseasonable rehearfall, had they not beene disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conveniency, may pardon the necessity.

S. VI.

The oppression of I udea, and destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans.

Ow to returne to the Jewish Story, from whence we have so farre digressed in the third year of Jehojakim, Nabuchodono for the fecond, his Father yet living entred Judza with a great Army, who befieging and forcing Jerusalem, made Je. hojakim his Vassall in despight of Necho, that had established him King, and tooke with him for pledges Daniel, being as yet a childe, with Ananias, Misael, and Azarias, Alfo he tooke a part of the Church treasures; but stayed not to search them throughly; for Necho hasted to the succour of Jeho jakim, hoping to find Nabucho dono for in Judæa: wherein this great Babylonian had no disposition to hazzard himselfe and his Army, it being a Country of an evill affection towards him, as also far off from any succour or sure place of retrait. If he had, asmay be supposed, any great strength of Scythian hors-men in his Army; it was the more wifely done of him, to fall backe, out of the rough, mountaine mous, and over-hot Countrey, into places that were more even and temperate. But befides all these reasons, the death of his father happening at the same time, gave him inf occasion to returne home, and take possession of his owne Kingdome; before heeproceeded further in the second care, of adding more unto it. This hee did at reasonable good leisure: for the Egyptian was not ready to follow him so farre, and to bid him Battaile, untill the new yeere came in; which was the fourth of Jehojakim, the first of Nabuchodonofor, and the last of Necho. In this yeere the Babylonian lying upon the Bank Euphrates (his owne Territory bounding it on the North-fide) attended the arrivall of Necho. There, after a resolved contention for victory, Necho was staine, and his Army remaining forced to fave it felfe; which full ill it did, by a violent retrait. This victory, Nabuchodonofor fo well pursued, as he recovered all Syria, and what soever the Egyptians held out of their proper Territory towards the North. The Egyptians being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, Jehojakim held himselfquet, as being friend in heart unto the Egyptian, yet having made his peace with the Chaldean the year before; who contented with fuch profit as hee could then readily make, had forborne to lay any Tribute upon Juda. But this coole refervednesse of Jehojakim, was, on both fides, taken in ill part. The Egyptian King Plammis, who succeeded unto Neche, began to thinke upon restoring JehoahaZ, taken prisoner by his Father, and setting him up as a Domesticall Enemy, against his ungratefull brother. Against all such accidents, the Judæan had prepared the usuall remedy, practifed by his fore-fathers: forher had made his owne fonne Jechonia King with him long before, in the fecondycer of his own Reigne, when the ? by was but eight years old. As for this rumour of Jehodhal his returne; the Prophet Jeremy foretold, that it should prove idle, saying: He shallout Jerem. 22. 11. & returne thither, but be shall die in the place whither they have led him captive, and hall see this Land no more. The Egyptians indeede, having spent all their Mercenary forces, and received that heavie blow at Carchemish, had not remaining such proportion of sharpe seele, as of faire gold, which without other helpe, is of little effect. The valour of Necho was not in Pfammis Apries, who reigning after Pfammis, did once adventure to shew his face in Syria; but after a bigge looke, hee was glad to retire, without adventuring the hazzard of a battaile. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought onely with 5 brave words, telling fuch frivolous tales, as men that meane to doe nothing, use, of their glorious acts fore-paffed, against fofias & Jehoaha Z. In this case it was easie for Jehojakim to give them fatisfaction, by letting them understanding the sincerity of his affection to wards them, which appeared in time following. But Nabuchedenofor went to worke more roundly. He fent a peremptory meffage to Jehojakim, willing him not to stand upon any nice points, but acknowledge himselfe a Subject, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto such fearefull threats, as made the poore Judean lay aside all thought of Phe rabb, and yeeld to doe, as the more mighty would have him. So bee continued in

the obedience of Nabuchodonofor three years. At this time Ferent the Prophet cried out against the Jewes, putting them in minde that he had now three and twenty yeares exhorted them to repentance, but because they had stopt their eares against him, and the restof the Prophets, hee now pronounced their captivity at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seventy yeares. The same calamity hee threatned to all theneighbouring Nations, to the Egyptians, Moabites, Ammonites, Idumæans, & the reft; foretelling that they should all drink out of the Babylonian Pitcher, the wine of his fury, whom they had forfaken; and after the feventy yeeres expired, that the Babylonians themselves should taste of the same Cup, and be utterly subverted by the Medes, & Jerem, 25. the Judgans permitted to returne againe into their owne Fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet Jeremy seemes to have been in the fourth yeere of this Jehoideim, at which time Baruch the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he sent to reade them unto the People, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them with King: but fearing the Kings fury, they had first fet Jeremy at liberty, and advised him and Baruch to hide themselves.

Achorakim, after he heard a part of it & perceived the ill newes therindelivered, made no more adoe, but did cut the Booke in pieces and cast it into the fire. All which Jeremy caused to be new written with this addition; that the dead body of Jehojakim should be cast out, exposed in the day to the hear, and in the night to the frost, & there should be

none of his feed to fit on the Throne of David.

Timethus running on, while Jehojakim rested secure of all danger, as Tributary to the Babylonian, yet well thought of by the Egyptian; the mighty City of Tyre opposed it felle against the Chaldean forces ; & upon just confidence of her own strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now forasmuch as the terme of seventy veeres was prescribed unto the desolation, as well of Tyre, as of Jerusalem, and other townes & countries; it is apparent, that they which referre the expugnation of this City unto the nineteenth yeere of Nabuchodonofor, have fure authority for their warrant. Whereupon like wife it followes of necessity, that the fiegethereof began in the seventh of his Reigne; as having lasted thirteen yeeres.

Here I will take leave to intrude a briefe note, concerning the feverall beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath rifen much disputation. The third yeere of Jehojakim, was the last of Nabulasar, who being delivered from other cares, tooke notice of fuch as had revolted from him unto Pharao Necho, and fent this Noble Prince his sonne, with an Army into Syria, to reclaime them. In this expedition was Daniel carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same yeer. The yeer next Dan 1.10 following, being the fourth of Jehojakim, was the first of Nebuchadne Zar; which Jere-Jerem. 25. 13 my affirmeth in expresse words; and from this we reckon all his time and actions that follow. In his three and twentieth yeere he conquered Egypt; and then began to reigne as a great Monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this yeere it was, wherein hee faw that vision, of the Image confisting of fundry Metals; which did prefigurate the succession of great Kingdomes, that should rule the Earth, before the comming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I finde, of long disputations: but returne unto the siege of Tyre, which began in the leventh of his Reigne.

The City of Tyre covered all the ground of an Island, that was divided from the maine, by a deep and broad channell of the Sea. The Chaldeans had no Fleer, and were no Sea-men; the Tyrians, in multitude of goodly Ships, & skill to use them, excelled all other Nations; and every winde, from one part or other, brought needfull provisions into the City. Where fore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the places where ofneverthelesse the judgements of God(denounced against it by Esay, Jeremy, Exechiel) Esay 23. had threatned the destruction; and the obstinate resolution of Nabuchodonofer, had fully Ezek 16, determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of relistance, undertook a valt piece of worke, even to fill up the Sea, that parted the Island from the Continent. The City of old Tyrus, that stood opposite to the new, upon the firme Land, and the mountain of Libanus near adjoyning that was loaden with Cedars, and abuildance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteene yeeres were spent in this laborrious, and almost hopelesse businesse. Which needeth not seeme strange: for Alexander working upon that foundation which was remayning of Nabuchodonofors Peere; and

being withall affifted by a strong Fleet, was yet seaven moneths ere he could make war Into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that where with Alex ander laboured to cover a thelve; with much more violence could it overtuin and asit were confume, the worke of Nabuchedonofer, who laid his foundations in the bottome of the deepe; striving as it were, to fill the empty belly of this Cormorant whereas the Macedonian did only stop the throat of it. Every man knowes, God could have furthered the accomplishment of his owne threats, against this place (though it had not pleased him to use, either miracle, or such of his more immediate weapons, as are Earthquakes, and the like) by making at least the Seas calme, and adding the favourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to use the hand of man; even the hand of man striving, as may seem, againstall refistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessive labour of the Chaldwans, Even bead was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare. Yet Nabuchodonofor would not give over till he was mafter of the Towne.

Fud.lib.10. c.7.

When he was entred upon this desperate service; whether it were so, that somelosses received, some mutiniy in his Army, or (which is most likely; & so Josephus reports it) fome glorious rumours of the Egyptians, gave courage to his evill willers; Jehojakimie. nounced his subjection, & began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly felour. For Nabuchodone for gave him no leifure to doe much hurt: but with part of his Amy marched directly into Judæa, where the amazed King made fo little refiftance (the Egyp-10 tians having left him, as it were, in a dream) that he entred Jerusalem, and layed handson Fehojakim: whom he first bound & determined to fend to Babylon, but changing counfell, hee caused him to be slaine in the place, and gave him the Sepulchre of an Ase. to be devoured by beafts and ravenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: laving in his place, Jehojakim or Jechonias his sonne; whom, after three moneths & tendais, Nabuchodonofor removed, and fent prisoner to Babylon, with Ezekiel, Mardochaus & jefedech, the high Priest. The mother of Jechonias, together with his servants Eunuchs. and all the ablest men, and best Artificers of the Land, were also then carryed away Caprives. This Jechonias, following the counfell of Jeremy the Prophet, made novefiftance: but submitted himselfe to the Kings will: wherein hee both pleaseth God, and did that which was best for himselfe; though at the present it might seeme otherwise, to fuch as confidered the swill that befell him, rather than the greater evill that hethere by avoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it fems that hee was partaker, at least of his Fathers faults, if not an instigator: which was the cause, that his submitting himselfe to Gods pleasure did not preserve his Estate : for so we reade in generall words, that he did evill in the fight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done. In his fread Wabuchodonofor established Mathania his Uncle in the Kingdome of Juda, and called him Zedechias, which is as much to fay, as the justice of God. For like as Neco King of Egypt had formerly displaced Jeboahaz, after his Father Josias was flaine, & fet up Jehojakim, the fon of another mother; fo Nabuchodonofor flew Jehojakim, who depended on the Egyptians, and carrying his fon Jechonias Prisoner to Babel, gave T the Kingdome to this Zealchias, that was whole Brother to that Jehoaha Z, whom New tooke with him into Egypt. From Zedechias he required an oath for his faithfull obedience, which Zedechias gave him, and called the living God to witnesse in the same, that he would remaine affured to the Kings of Chaldaa.

In the first yeere of Zedechias, Fereny faw and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one fignifying those Judæans that were carried away captive, the

orher those that stayed and were destroyed.

In the fourth of Zedechias, Jeremy wrote in a booke all the evill that should fall upon Babylon, which book or scrole he gave to Sheraia, when he went with the King Zedekias to Babylon, to visit Nabuchedone for; willing him first to read it to the Captive Jewes, and then to binde it to a stone, and cast it into Euphrares, pronouncing these words: Thus Shall Babel be drowned, and shall not rife from the evill that I will bring upon her. This journie of Zedechias to Babel is probably thought to have beene in way of visitation, carrying some presents. Bur I further thinke, that he had some suite there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his returne all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it seemes) to those we quiet courses from which Jeremy dehorted both him and them. The Prophet, by Gods

appointment, made bonds and yokes, one of which he wore about his own neck, others he sent unto the five Kings, of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre and Zidon, by those Messengers which came to visit Zedechias: making them know, that if they and the Kings of Juda abode in the obedience of Babylon, they should then possesse and enjoy their own counries; if not, they should affuredly perish by the sword, by fire, and by pestilence.

Healfo foretold them, that those Vessels which as yet remianed in Ferusalem, should

affortavell after the rest, and at length they should be restored againe.

The same yeare Ananias, the false Prophet, tooke off the woodden Chaine which 7erem wore in figne of the Captivity of the Jewes, and brake it : Vaunting, that in like manner, after two years God would breake the strength of Babel, and the yoke which helaydon all Nations; restore Jechonias and all the Jewes, with the Vessels and riches of the Temple, and give an end to all the fe troubles. But Fereny, in stead of his woodden voke, wore a Coller of yron : and in figne that Ananias had given a deceitfull and false hone to the people, he foretold the death of this cold Prophet, which feized upon him in the second Moneth. After this, when Zedechias had wavered long enough between Faithand Passion, in the eighth yeare of his reigne he practised more seriously against Nahuchodonofor, with his Neighbours the Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, Tyrians, and others that were promifed great aydes of the Egyptians: in confidence of whose resiflame, he determined to shake off the Babylonian yoke. He reof when Nabuchodonofor had knowledge, he marched with his Army in the dead of Winter, toward Jerusalem, and heffeged it. Jeremy perswaded Zedechias to render the City and himself; but being confident of the helpe from Egypt, and being perswaded by his Counsellors and false Prophers, that it was impossible that the Kingdome of Juda should be extirpate, untill the comming of Silo (according to the Prophecy of Jacob) he despised the words of Jeremy, Gen. 49.16 and imprisoned him. For Jeremy had told the King that the City should be taken and Jer. 32.834 bumt; that the King should not escape, but be taken prisoner, and brought to the presence of Nabuchodonofor; that he should not perish by the sword, but being carried to Babildie his naturall death.

Junfalem being the following yeare furrounded by Nabuchodonofors Armie; the King of Egypt, Pharas Hophra, according to Jeremy, (Herodotus calleth him Apries) en- Jer. 44. tredthe border of Juda with his Army to succour Zedechias, of whose revolthe had Hared that beenethe principall Author. But Jeremy gave the Jewes faithfull counsell, willing them notto have any trust in the fuccours of Egypt: for he affured them that they should retime againe, and in no fort relieve them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the Chaldeans removed from Jerusalem to encounter the Egyptians, these vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking Gaza in their way homeward, returned into Eapplasifthey had already done enough; leaving the poore people of Jerusalem to their destined misseries.

Inthemeane while the Jewes, who in their first extremity had manumised their Hebrin Bond-men (as Gods Law required at the year of Jubile) and made them free, there- Leviers 393 by the better to encourage them to fight; did now upon the breaking up of the Chalda- 40.66. an Army, repent them of their Charity: and thinking all had beene at an end, held Jen 34. them perforce to their former flavery. But the Chaldees being returned to the fiege, the Prophet Jeremy, when the State of Jerusalem began now to grow to extremity, counfelled Zedechias to render himselse unto them; affuring him of his owne life, and the Jer.39; fafetie of the Citie, if he would so do. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretchedend, which his neglect of God, and his infidelitie and perjurie, had provided for

Three and twenty Moneths (as some do reckonit) or, according to Josephus, eighteen, Jer. 393 the Babylonian Army lay before Jerusalem, and held it exceeding straightly besieged. For they built Forts against it round about, or (as P. Martyr hath it) extruxerunt contra camtur - akings 25.23 remligneam per circuitum: They surrounded the Citiewith woodden Towers, so as the befieged could neither fally out, nor receive into the Citie any supply of men or vi-Chals. Is splents reports, that they over-topped the Walls with high Towers raised for Am Judition upon Mounts; from which they did so beat upon the Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to for fake their Stations. Now although it were fo that the besseged also raised Counter-buildings, like unto these, yet the great King of Babel, who commanded all the Regions there-abouts, and had the Woods and Rivers

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to obey him, found means to overthrow all the Citizens endeavours; and to beat down as fast from without, as they raised from within; the body and foundation of his owne workes being guarded by the Walles of Jerusalem interposed; and theirs within, layd open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both Famine and Pessilence (which components of their enemies disturbance) are specified, both Famine and Pessilence (which components of the Jewes failed, the Chaldeans made a breach, and for number, strength, and courage of the Jewes failed, the Chaldeans made a breach, and for cing an entry, their Princes did seat themselves, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle cing an entry, their Princes did seat themselves, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle cing an entry, their Princes did seat themselves, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle cing an entry, their Princes and shis uncomfortable sight, and sinding no remedy of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hope at once; and shisted himselfe, together with his Wives, Children, Princes, and principall servants, out of the Citie, by a way to under ground; leaving his amazed and guidelesse people, to the mercilesse swords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when Jeremy the Prophet persuaded him to renderhimselse, despised both the counsell of God and the force of Nabuchodonosor; used now that remedy, which Wolphius truely termeth, Triste, turpe, & infalix: Wosull, shamefull, and unfortunate.

By this fecret subterrane vault, Zedechias making his stealth, recovered (by the helpe of the darke night) the Plaines or Desarts of Jericho: but by reason of the train that sollowed him and his (every one leading with him those whom they held most deare und them) he was easily traced and pursued. How great soever the company was that attenthem) he was easily traced and pursued. How great soever the company was that attenthem) he was easily traced and pursued. How great soever the company was that attenthem) he was easily traced and pursued. How great soever the company was that attenthem) he was easily traced and pursued, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted sooner beheld the Gbaldeans approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted themselves into the Desarts as they could. For whom God had forsaken, no man followed, but the ministers of his vengeance; by whom Zedechias being made Prisoner, with his Children and Princes, he was conveyed to Rebla or Reblath, a City (as somethink) of Nephtalim, where Nabuchodonosor then lay, as a place indifferent between Jerusalmand Tyre, with both which at once he had to doe.

Now after Nabuchodono for had layd before Zedechias the many graces and benefits conferred upon him, together with the notable falshood and perjury, wherewith he had required them; he commanded his Children, Princes and Friends to be flaine before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should bee the last that e 30 ver he should behold in the World, he caused his eyes to be torne out of his head, and so carried him in a slavish manner to Babel, where he consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetual limprisonment. Herein this most marvellous Prophecy of Ezechiel wasperformed; Adducameum in Babyloniam, Sipsam non videbit: I will bring him into Babylon, and he shall not see it.

Thus in the eleventh and last year of Zedechias, which was the eighteenth of Nature chodonofor, the Chaldeans entred the City by force, where sparing no sexe nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein sound.

In the year nex following, Nabu Zaradan Generall of the Army, burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of Jerusalem: and after this fire had lasted from the seventh to the tenth 40 day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had stood source hundred thirty and one years.

After this, upon a fecond fearch, Nabu Zaradan (not yet fatiated with bloud) commanded seventy and two others to be slaughtered, which had hidden themselves from the first fury, to wit, the chiefe and the second Priest, two Commanders of Zedechias his men of Warre, five of his House-hold servants, and others to that number; carrying away to Babylon the ablest of the people throughout all Judan; and leaving the poorest labouring soules, with some that followed the party of Nabuchodonofor, to till the ground: over whom he left Governour, Godolia the Nephew of that Saphan, whom Josias had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his justice and equity, by Josephus highly commended. This man, a Jew by Nation, left Zedubias, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the Warre : and by Jeremies defire to live with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same advice which the Prophet gave unto Zddechias; which was, to submit himselfe altogether to the Babylonian; who being ordained by God to exercise his justice, was therefore resistlesse. The Prophet Jeremy being left to his own choice, either to live in Chaldaa or elsewhere, he made election of Godolists to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced Jeremy, but gave comfort to all the other Jewes that were left under his charge, promising them favour & liberty,

folong as they remained obedient subjects to Nabuchodonosor, by whom he was establified Provinciall Governour of his owne Nation.

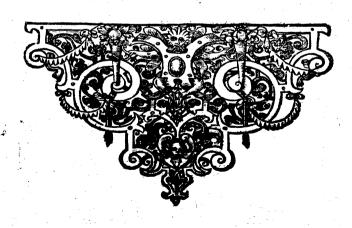
But ere that year was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of firulatem, had kept himself our of the storme, with Baalis King of the Ammonites) being followed by tenother chosen men, while Godoliah feasted them in Malpha or Mirspa, the City of his residence, trayterously slew him, together with divers Chaldrans and Janus that accompanied him. This done, he made an escape, and in his way encountring with eighty persons, repairing towards Godoliah with presents, he slew the most of them; and spared the rest, because they promised to discover unto him some Treasures hidden in the fields during the war. He also took with him a Daughter of Zedechias, committed to the care of Godoliah by Nabuchodopofor. This practice and intent of Ismael had beene somety discovered unto Godoliah by Jehanan, one of the Leaders of the sew remaining that; but Godoliah was incredulous.

Judea being now left without a Governour (for Ismael durst not take it upon him, but refred himselfe, or rather fled as fast as he could to the Ammonites) the residue of the Jewes, searing the revenge of the Chaldeans, resolved to slye away into Egypt, and besought Jeremy to aske counsell of God for them: who readily made them answer, that if they senialed in Judea, God would provide for them, and shew them mercy; but if they sought to save themselves in Egypt, that they should then undoubtedly perishing they sought to save themselves in Egypt, that they should then undoubtedly perishing they sought to save themselves in Egypt, and their determination; and despising the Oracleof God, and constraining Jeremy and Barneth to accompany them, they travelled into Egypt, and inhabited by the permission of Pharas, neare unto Taphnes: where when Jeremy often reprehended them for their Idolatry, foretelling both the de-

ffruction of themselves, and the Egyptians also, hee was by these his owne hard-hearted and ungratefull Country-men, stoned to death; and by the Egyptians, who greatly reverenced him, buried neare the Sepulchre of their own Kings.

Finis Libri secundi.

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Ezek 12.

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THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE VV or LD:

Intreating of the Times from the destruction of Jerusalem. to the time of PHILIP of MACEDON.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the time passing between the destruction of Jerusalem, and the fall of the Affyrian Empire.

Of the connexion of facred and prophane Historie.



HE course of Time, which in profune Historiesmight rather be discerned through the greatest part of his way, hirherto passed in some out-worne foot-steps, thaninany beaten path, having once in Greece by the Olympiads, & in the Easterne countries by the accompt from Nabe-40 nassar, left furer marks, & more appliable to actions concurrent, than were the war of Troy, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruine of Jerusalem to discover the connexion of antiquity fore-spent, with the story of succeeding ages. Manifest it is that the original and progresse of things could ill be sought in those that were ignorant of the first creation: as likewise that the

affaires of Kingdomes and Empire afterwards growne up, are not to be found among those that have now no state nor policy remaining of their own. Having therefore purfued the flory of the World unto that age, from whence the memory of succeeding ace cidents is with little interruption of fabulous discourse derived unto us, I hold it now convenient briefly to shew by what means & circumstances the History of the Hebrews, which of all other is the most ancient, may bee conjoyned with the following times, wherein that Image of fundry mettals, discovered by Godunto Nebuchadne Zar, did reigne over the earth, when Ifrael was either none, or an unregarded Nation.

Herein I doe not hold it needfull to infift upon those authorities which give, as it were by heare-say, a certaine year of some old Assyrian King unto some action or event, whereof the time is found expressed in Scripture: for together with the end of Ninus his line in Sardanapalus, if not before, all fuch computations were blotted out; the fucceffion of Belochus & his iffue that occupied the kingdome afterwards, depending upon the uncertaine relations of fuch as were neither constant in affigning the years of his beginning, flor of credit enough for others to rely eupon. Let it therefore suffice that the conlent and harmony which some have found in the years of those over-worne Monarchs. dothpreserve their names, which otherwise might have been forgotten. Now concerning the later Kings of that Nation, howsoever it be true that we finde the names of all or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians, yet here-by could we only learne in what age each of them lived, but not in what year his reigne begin or ended, were it not that the reigne of Nabuchadne Zar is more precisely applyed to the times of Jehojakim and Zedechia. Hence have we the first light whereby to difcover the meanes of connecting the facred and prophane Histories. For under Nabuchadue X ar was the beginning of the captivity of Juda, which ended when 70. yeares were expired; and these 70. years took end at the first of Cyrus, whose time being well knowne, affords us meanes of looking back into the ages past, and forwards into the race ofmen succeeding. The first yeare of Cyrus his reigne in Persia, by generall consent, is iovned with the first yeare of the 55.01/mpiad, where, that he reigned three and twentwieares before his Monarchy, and seven years afterwards, it is apparent, and almost ont of controver fie. Giving therefore four hundred and eight yeares unto the distance between the fall of Troy, and the instauration of the Olympiads by Iphitus; we may easily arrive unto those antiquities of Greece, which were not meerly fabulous. As for Princes mling the whilest in sundry parts of the world, S. Augustine and others may be trusted in fetting down their times, which they had by Tradition from Authors of well-approved faith and industry.

From Cyrus forwards, how the times are reckoned unto Alexander, and from him to the battell of Actium, it were (peradventure) in this place impertinent to fee downe. But ieeing that the beginning and end of the Babylonian captivity are marks whereby we are chiefly directed, in passing from the first unto the latest years of the world through any thory, with least interruption; it is very expedient that wee take some paines to informe or felvestruly of the 70. years during which it continued, even from Nabushadnexarunto Cyrus.

6. II.

Abinferehearfall of two opinions touching the beginning of the captivity: with an answer to the cavils of Porphyrie. inverghing against S. Matthew and Daniel, upon whom the later of the seopinions is founded.

Any Commentators, and other Historians and Chronologers finde that the Captivity then began when Jechonius was carried prisoner into Babylon, eleven years before the final destruction of Jerusalem under Zedechias. This they prove om of divers places in Ezechiel, especially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes aplaine distinction betweene the beginning of the Captivity, and utter destruction of Jetofalem by Nabuzaradan, in these words: In the five and twentieth yeare of our being Execherous "Captivitie, in the beginning of the yeare, in the tenth day of the moneth, in the fourteenth c.3.v.II.& 15. start after that the Citie was smitten. In which words hee beginneth the captivity in plaine termes, eleven years before the City was destroyed. Beroaldus is of opinion that itheganinthe first of Nabuchodorofor, and the fourth of Joakim; which he endeavours to prove out of the second of Chronicles, but more especially out of Saint Matthew, and Daniel, whose words afford matter of disputation, but serve not to make good so much as Berealdus would enforce. That place of S. Maithen, and the whole booke of Daniel have ministred occasion of scoffing and railing at the Christian Religion to that wretched man Perphyrie, who, not understanding how the sonnes of King Josias were called by diversnames, as Epiphanius hath shewed at large, thought that the Apostlehad spoken he knew not what in reckoning the fonnes, or, according to some Translations, the Some and Nephewes of that good King, begotten about the time of the Captivity. Upon Daniel also the same Porphyrie doth spend the twelfth of his malicious bookes written against the Christians, affirming, that these prophecies and visions remembred by Daniel, were written long after his death, and at, or neare the time

Hhh ?

Mac.1.11.

Joj.ant.11.

of Amischus Epiphanes. This fond supposition of his Eusebius, Apollomius, and others, have sufficiently answered. For the seventy Interpreters, who converted the old Testament about an hundred yeares before Epiphanes, did also turne this booke of Daniel out of Hebrew into Greeke, as a part of Scripture received. And were there no other argument to consound Porphyrie, than that of Alexander Macedon, it were sufficient, who lived divers yeares before Antiochus Epiphanes. For Jaddus the high Priest shewed that great Conquerour, when he came towards Jernsalem to have destroyed it, this booke of Daniel, wherein he beheld his owne glory foretold, as the same was plainly expounded unto him; which not only stayed his hand from the harme of that City and people, but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby, as as despissing all future perill and resistance, hee conquered Darius, and the Easterne Empire in a shorter time than Nabuchodonosor had done one City, to wit, Tyre in Phanicia.

It is true indeed that the Jewesthernselves give lesse authority to Daniel, thanto Ma. fes and the Prophets, accompting his booke among those which they call Cetaphin, or Hagiographa, or holy Writings, which they fay Efdras and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their returne from Babylon. But first, that the booke of Daniel (Imean fo much as is found in the Hebrew) is Canonicall: fecondly, that it was written by Daniel himselfe, and not by Esdras and the Seniors, we may assure our selves by testimony of Councels and Fathers. For in the Councell of Landicas held about the year of our Lord in 368. after the death of Jovinian the Emperour, and after the Nicene Councell three and forty yeares, this booke of Daniel was received, verified and confirmed among the other Canonicall Scriptures, as in the Epitomy of the fame Councell it may be seene; and to doth Meliton the most ancient Bishop of Sardis number it, witnesse Eusebins in his Ecclefiafticall History, the fourth booke, and five and twentieth chapter: fodoth the fame Author in the Catalogue of Canonicall books upon Origen: fo doth Hilariu in his Preface upon the Pfalmes and Epiphanius in his book of Weights and Measures, &c. To thefe I may adde Saint Hierome, Gregorie Nazianzene, and others. For the Hagiographa books or holy Writings, the Jewes and Rabbines reckon to be these, Daniel, Pfalms, Proverbs, 70b, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclefiaftes, Hester, Efra, Nehemia, and the Chre- 20 nicles. And that it was Daniel, and not Eldras, that wrote this booke, Gods commandement unto him by his Angell, to feale up the fame to the time appointed, is an unanfiwrable testimony. Yea, that which exceedethall strength of other proofe, our Saviour Christ, who citeth no Apocry phall Scripture, in Matthew & Mark alledgeth Daniel the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his ninth chapter. Further, in the fifth of 70hn, Christ distribute the risen from the dead as in Daniel the twelfth, verse the second. Saint Paul describeth Antichrift out of Daniel, and the Revelation is wholly an interpretaion of Daniels visions.

Mar. 24 15. Marke 13.14.

Dan.12.

§. II I.

That the 70. years of captivity are to be numbred from the destruction of Jerusalem; not from the migration of Jechonia.

Aving thus farre digreffed in maintaining that authority which must often bee cited in the present argument, it is now convenient, that we returne unto the differences of opinion concerning the beginning of these 70. yeares. Neither will I stand to trouble my selfe and others with laying open the grounds or weakensse of that which Eusebius and some sew namelesse. Authors have sometimes held in this point, which is lately revived by Beroaldus; but will forth-with enter into consideration 50 of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers have so earnessly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Foure Kings of Juda were carried away captives to Babylon: First, Manassisten Jehojakim, and with him among others, Daniel the Prophet: thirdly, Jeconias, and with him Executed: lastly, Zedechias, at which time the city & temple were destroyed. To the first of these captivities the beginning of the 70. yeares is referred by none that I have read; to the second, by few and with weak proofe; to the third, by very many and with much considence. For besides those places of Executed already cited, there is a strong argument

gathered out of Jeremy, which may feeme to make the matter plaine. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were carried away with Jechopias, useth these words: Thus suit the Lord, After 70. years be accomplished at Babel, I will visit you, and perform my good Jec. 29, 10. promise towards you, and cause you to return to this place.

But it stands indeed with little reason that we should seeke the interpretation of a prophecy out of circumstances, when the prophecy is such as doth sufficiently expound it felfe. Jeremy hath already, in the fourth yeare of Jehojakim, denounced the judgement of God against the Land, for the sinnes and impenitency of that obstinate people, in these words: Behold, I will fend and take to me all the families of the North, faiththe Lord, Jer, 29, ver, 16, and Nebuchadne Zar the King of Babel, my fervant; and will bring them against this Land, 17.05 18. 10 and wainft the Inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about, and I will delive them, and make them an afton shment, and an hi fing, and a continual defolation. Moreour. I will take from them the voyce of mirth, and the voyce of gladneffe, the voyce of the Bridgeroome, and the voyce of the Bride, the noy se of the mil stones, and the light of the candle and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serve the King of Babel 70 yeares. And when 70. yeares are expired. I will visit the King of Babel. Herewe see prescribed unto the captivity the terme of 70. yeares, which were to commence, neither when the prophecy was uttered; nor when 7ehojakim, who then reigned. was taken by Nebuchadne Zar; nor yet in the time of Jechonia; but with the utter defolation of the City, whereof Jeremy did againe give notice to those that were already in 20 Balelon, at fuch time as he fent them the comfort of deliverance before rehearfed. And fodid the people understand this prophecy, in those times when they saw it accomplihad beginning the 70 yeares at the time of the defolation, as manifefully appeares in the end of the History of Juda, where it is faid thus: They burm the house of God, and brake downs the wall of Jerusalem, and burns all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious 2 Chro. 36.19. veffels thereof to deftroy all : And they that were left by the sword carried he away to Babel, andthey were fervants to him and to his sonnes, untill the kingdome of the Persans hadrule. tofulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremia, untill the Land had her fill of her Sabbathi: for all the dayes that the lay defolate, thee kept Subbath, to fulfill 70. yeares. But in the first yeare of Cyrus King of Persia (when the word of the Lord, Token by the mouth of Jere-30 mia, was finished) the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus. We seldome finde one piece of Scripture so precisely and plainely expounded by another, as in this prophecy, to have afterwards beene the subject of altercation. For one can hardly devise how either the delolation could have been expressed more sensibly than it was by the Prophet, or the event of the prophecy have been more exactly fet downe, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it be requisite that we bring more proofe in so evident a case, the ninth Chapter of Daniel yeelds testimony sufficient, unto this expedition of Jeremia his prophecy, that Jerusalem was to lye waste 70. yeares. For in the first yeare of Darius the Mede, which was the last of the 70. Daniel obtained of God the deliverance that had been promised by prayer, which he made upon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth in these words: In the first years of his reigne, I Daniel understood by Dan. 9, 20] bookes the number of the yeares whereof the Lord had spoken unto Jeremialithe Prophet, that he would accomplish 70 years in the desolation of Jerusalem. So that how soever the time of Daniel his owne captivity be reckoned from the taking of Jehojakim, and that the people carryed away with Jeconia, did accompt, as well they might, the years of their owne aprivity; yet with the generall desolation of the Country, wherein were sew or none of the Ifraelites left remaining to inhabite, began in the nineteenth yeare of Nabuchodo-Mir the great captivity, which by Gods appointment continued unto the end of leventy yeares.

This I will not further feek to prove, by the authority of Josephus and others affirming the lame; for a finished as that which already hath been produced, is enough to latisfie any manthat bath not fully determined to hold the contrary.

4. IV

Sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon during the 70. years.

Hat Kings reigned in Babylan, during these seventy years of the Captivity, & how long each of them did wear the Diademe, it is a matter of no great importance to know, for a finuch as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they lived, nor the length of their reignes, any way helpfull to the concor. Xenople, cyroped, dance of times, foregoing or facceeding. The conquests recounted by Xenophon of Syria. Arabia (or rather some part of it) Hyrcania, Battria, & perhaps of some other Countries, 10 may seeme fruits of the victories obtained by Nebuchadnezzar the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betooke himselfe to ease, and m the sumptuous building of his great Babel, for the house of his Kingdome, and for the honour of his Majesty, where it may seeme that hee and his Heires kept a great state. and did very little. The idle behaviour of the Affyrian Souldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the Medes, doth argueno lesse. For whereas under Nabuchad. neggar, they were fo front and industrious, that (to omit other proofes) they attemp. ted, and finished that hardy piece of worke, of winning the strong City of Tyre, by joyning unto it the continent, filling up the deepeand broad channell of the Sea, dividing it from the maine with a mole or piece of earth, and other matter; the reparation whereof when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of Alexander. workes: in the times following, they became timerous, that they durft not approach nearer to the enemy than their bowes would carry, but were ready to turne their backs! as fooneas any though inferiour in numbers, adventuring within the diftance offered to charge them.

Xenoph. Cyroped. 1.1.0-1.3.

Now as their actions from the end of Nabuchadne Z ars warres, till the ruine of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; so was the diffinction of their times, and reigne of their severall Kings, unworthy of the great labourthat hath in vaine been taken in that busine sie. For when it is granted, that the captivity of Juda, ending with that Empire, lasted 70. yeares, we may as reasonably forbeare to search into the particular 20 continuance of two or three flothfull Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ges of the Patriarchs, and their children living in the Egyptians servitude; resting satisfied in both with the generall affured fumme.

Yet forasinuch as many have travelled in this businesse, upon desire (as Itakeit) to approve the beginning and end of the 70. years, not only by the reigns of other Princes, ruling elsewhere, but by the times of the Assyrians themselves: I will not refuse to taken little paines in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I thinke may best be held for

likely, if the certaine truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themfelves, and in fetting downe the years of their feverall reignes. The first (as I take it) the 40 furest, is theirs, who meerely follow the authority of the Scriptures, without borrowing any helpe from others. These name onely three Kings, Nabuchadne Zar, Evilmerodach, and Balthafar. Neither have they only the filence of Daniel, who names noneother to be their warrant, but the prophecy of Jeremy precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very same. For God, by the mouth of that Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all, would dispose of all according to his owne will, and mag king it known that he had put some Countries here named, into the hands of the King of Babel, faith thus : And all Nations shall serve him, and his Sonne, and his Sonnes Soune, until the very time of his land come also : then many Nations and great kings [hall serve themselves of him. These words expressing the continuance of the Chaldean Empire, and number of 50 the Kings will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeed I finde nootherned ceffity of qualification to be used herein, than such as may grow out of mens desire to reconcile the Scriptures unto profane Authors. And this defire were not unjust, if the consent of all histories were on the one fide, and the letter of the holy Text were single on the other fide.

But contrariwife, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, & the proofes of their different reports are so slender & unsufficient, that the succession of these Princes, had it not bin thus delivered in Scriptures, but only set down by

some Author of equall credit with the rest, might very well have found and deserved as good beliefe, as any of those things which they have delivered in this point. For some there are, who following Josephus, derive that Empire, as by descent, from father to son, through five generations; beginning with Nabuchodonosor the great, and giving to him 43. yeares; to Evilmerodach 18. to Niglifar the fon of Evilmerodach, 40. to Labofardach the son of Niglisar 9 moneths, and lastly, to Balthasar (whom Josephus intimates to be ofthe race of Nabuchodonosor, without naming his father) 17. yeares. And this opinion (fave that he forbeares to reckon the yeares, and plainely calls Balthafar the fonne of on (art Labofardach) Saint Hierome doth follow, alledging Berofus and Josephus as a sectator of Beofus, for his Authors; though Berofus, as he is cited by Jof phus, report the matter far 10 otherwise. For he tels us that Evilmerodach the sonne of Nabuchodonosor did reigne but Joseph. 1. two yeares, being for his wickednesseand lust, staine by his fisters husband Niziglassor who occupied the kingdome after him foure yeares, and left it to his owne forme Labofardach; who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of nine moneths slaine by fuch as were about him, and the kingdome given to one Nabonidus, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it unto Cyrus after 17-yeares. This relation illagrees with that of Josephus, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number either of yeares, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, have procuredunto them some authority, so that the names which they have inserted, are taken as it were upon truft. There is a third opinion which makes the three last Kings brethren, and formes of Evilmerodach; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather beleeve Xenophon, who faith that the last King of Babylon was immediate succellour to his father. But whereas the Author of the Scholasticall History, who is founderofthis opinion, placeth between him that took Jerusalem, and Evilmerodach, another Nabuchodonofor : plaine enough it is that he hath, out of any History facred or profane, aslinle warrant to guide him, as we have reason to follow him. Eusebius, Sulptius, Severus and Theodores, upon better ground have supposed, that Evilmerodach and Balthasar werebrethren and sonnes of the great Nabucho dono for. This is built on the fifth Chapter of Daniel, wherein Balthafar (for of Evilmerodach there is none that ever doubted) is ofe tencalled Nabuchodonofor his fonne. And fo common grewthis explication, that S. Hieromecalled it the vulgar opinion. But the place of Jeremy before cited, proves that Balthasar was not the son indeed, but the grand-childe of that great Conqueror, though by thephrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those Eaestrne languages, he was called the fon-

Anniushis Metasthenes hits very rightly the seventy years of captivity, giving to Nabuchedonofor 45. yeares, to Evilmerodach 30. yeares, and to the three fons of Evilmeroduch, Nephewes of Nabuchodonofor, fourteen years; that is, to Reg-Affar the eldeft fon, three yeares, to Lab-Affar Dach the second some, fixe yeares, and to Balshafar the third fonne, five.

Tothis accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole summe of yeares, and in the number of generations, I have formerine subscribed, as not daring to reject an appearance of truth, upon no greater reason than because the Author was of Annius his dition. Yet could I not satisfie my selfe herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and fewfuch of the moderne Writers as deserve to be regarded, have consented with this Metafhenes; and forthat in making Balthafar fucceed unto his brother in the kingdome, and not unto his father, he is wholly against Xenophon, whose History of the elder Cyrus inhis Assertian warre I cannot flightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of Babylon, while the king was at his drun-

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might give any light in this obscurity, I found manifest proofe, that the time allotted unto Balthasar by Annius his Dan. 8:1. 6 27. Menefibenes, was farre short of the truth, which is enough to render all suspected that he hathsaidin distributing what part of the 70. yeares he pleased amongst the rest. For in thethird yeare of Balthafar, Daniel faw a vision, after which he was sicke certain dayes, but when he rose up, he did the Kings businesse: from which businesse, that he did afterwards withdraw himselfe, and live retired, solong, that he was forgotten in the Court, it appeares plainly, both by the many words which the old Queene used to set out his sufficiency, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his prefence, whether he

Jer . 27.7.

CHAP.I.S.5.

Danselly 13, were Daniel. Now to think that a man of fuch account and place as Daniel had held, could in two yeares have been worne out of remembrance, were in my judgementa ve ry strange conceit, which rather than I would entertaine, I can well be contented to think the whole story (thus related) a part of Annius his impostures.

Out of these reports of Josephus, Berosus, and others, many new opinions are framed, by conjectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the captivity being 70. yeares, and these years extending unto the first of Cyrus, in which course of time Nabuchadnezzar, his fon and grand-child, must have reigned; it hath seemed needfull to supply the years of these three descents, by inserting some, whose reignes might fill up the whole continu ance of the captivity; with which the time allotted by Berofus and others, to Evilmero. 10 dach and Balthafar, joyned unto the yeares following the nineteen of Nabuchadnez ar,

(wherein Jerusalem was laid desolate) are nothing even. Therefore Mercator and others following him, fashion the yeares of Evilmerodachin this fort. They fay, that the 18. yeares given to him by Josephus in the tenth of his Antiquities, should be read and numbred 28. years, and the two years that Berofus hath allowed to Evilmerodach should be written 23 in the first number the figure of(1) is mistaken for the figure of (2.) and in the latter there should have bin added the figure of (3) to that of (2.) this granted (to wir) that Evilmerodach reigned 28. years, whereof five together with his father, and 23. after his death, and the fame number of 23. added to the 25. which Nabuchodonofor lived after the destruction of Jerufalem, make 48. then 4. years of 10 Nightfar according to Berofus, 9. moneths of Labaffardach his fon, and 17. years of Lab. nidus or Balthafar, make up the number of 70. years to the first of Cyrus. But whether by errour in figures, or in words, the numbers be utterly miltaken in all copies extant supon how weake a foundation do they build, who having nothing to help them, fave onely the bare names of two unknown Kings, found in authors manifeftly corrupted, and fuch as if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy to have that place of Jeremy called into dispute, in regard of their authority ?

S. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number persons, and reigns of the 3 Babylonian Kings.

Ther suppositions, little different in substance from this of Mercator, I purpokly forbeare to rehearfe, as falling under the fame answer. That of Joseph Sea-Viger I may not forget, as deserving to be confidered apart from the rest. Hee gives to Nabuchadne Zar 44. years, to Evilmerodach two, to Belfazer five : and to Nabo. nidus 17. So that from the 19.0f Nabuchadnezzar, in which Jerufalem was destroyed; unto the time of Cyrus, he accounteth only 59 years; beginning (as many do) the captivity 11. years sooner from the transportation of Jechonia. But hereof enough hathbin said already. That which we are now to confider, is his distribution of the time running between the 19.0f Nabuchadne 73 ar, and the fall of the Caldaan Empire: wherein if he have erred, then is all further inquisition frivolous.

Concerning the length of Nabuchadne ZZar reigne, I shall hereafter upon better occasson deliver my opinion. The time which he gives to Evilmerodach is very short, and more precisely agreeing with Berofus than with the Scriptures. For we findein Jaim, that this Evilmerodach in the first of his reign, shewing all favour to Jechonia, did, among other things, take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eat bread before him all the dayes of his life. His portion was a continuall portion given him of the King of Babel, every day a certaine, all the dayes of his life untill he died. The very found of these words (which is more to be esteemed than the authority of Berosus, were he per feetly extant) imports a farre longer time than two yeares, wherein Jechonia, under this gentle Prince, enjoyed the comfort fent by God, whole commandement he had obeyed in youlding himselfe to Nabuchadne Zar. Indeed how long Jechonia did live, it dame be proved; but plaine it is hereby, that all his remaining dayes he did ear bread before this King. Now that he lived not fo short a while after this as 2. yeares, it is more than likely; for he was but 55. yeares old when hewas fet at liberty. having bin 37. years in the prison, whereinto he was cast at the age of 18. yeares ; after which time it penes plaine that he begat Salathiel, as well by the age of Emebalel, who is faid to have been

but a young man, and one of Darius his Pages threescore years after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it selfe.

Of Belfazer, to whom Scaliger gives the next five years, naming him also Laborofoar. dech, I should wonder why he cals him Nebuchadne Z ars daughters son, were it not that herein I find him very carefull to help out Berofus, by thifting in his Niriglessor, as hufband to Nebuchadne Zars daughter, and Protector of his son foure of these years ; bv which means there remaines about one year to BelfaZer alone, agreeing nearly with the nine moneths affigned by Berofus to the sonne of Niglifar. But Jeremy hath told us that it was to Nebuchadne Zzar, and to his fon, and to his fons fon (not to his daughters fon) that the Empire was promifed: which difficulty, if Scaliger could not help, it was well done

of him to passe it over with silence.

Nabonidus the last of these, whom others (desirous to reconcile Berosus to the Scripnues have judged to be all one with Balthafar, is by Scaliger thought to be Darius of the Medis. But herein Scaliger is no firme Berofian. for Berofius makes him of the fame stock or race, a Babylonian. I speake not this to difference the travell of that most learned man for thighly commends his diligence and judgement, that he was not fo wedded to anv author, as affected with the love of truth) but to shew that he himselfe, having in some points disliked those Writers, whom in generall he approveth, might with greater reafon have wholly reformed them by the Scriprures, wherin can be no error. Two things there are which chiefly did breed or confirme this opinion in Scaliger, that he whom Berosuscals Nabonidus, was the same whom Daniel had called Darius of the Medes: First. the phrase of Scripture, which signifies unto us, that Darius took the Kingdome, not saying that he wanne it by force of armes : Secondly, a fragment of Megasthenes found in Englisus, wherein this Nabonidus is called the Median. Touching the word of the Origimillor of the Greek translation, which expressing no force of armes, doth only signific that Darrus took or received the Kingdome; I fee no reason why we should thereupon inferresthat the next King entred by Election : feeing Daniel relateth nor the meanes and circumstances of Balthafars death, but onely the swift accomplishment of his owne prophecy. Neither could it indeed have properly been faid (if Daniel had cared to use the most expressive termes) that Darius of the Medes, breaking into the City, did winne the Kinedome; feeing this was performed by Cyrus in the absence of Darius, though by his forces, and to his use. Now concerning the fragment of Megasthenes, true it is, that in Eustbius his works printed at Basile, in the yeare 1559. I finde onely thus much of Megashines, cited out of Alpheeus; That Nabuchodonofor was more valiant than Hercules; thathe subdued all Lybia, and the rest of Asia, as far as to the Armenians; and that, as the Chaldeans report, being returned into his kingdome, and rapt with a divine fury, he cryed with a loud voyce : O Babylonians, I foresell ye of a great salamity that shall come upon Jouwhich neither Bel, nor any of the gods shall avert : There will come a Persian, halfe an Affestat shall bring flavery upon yee: and that, this and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I believe little or nothing, faving that Nabuchodonosor knew beforehand, that his Empire should be translated, as Daniel had foretold, from the golden head, to the filver breast. But that he wanne all Affrica or Lybia, I doc hold it neither true nor probable.

If Scaligers copy of Eusebius were the more perfect, out of which Megasthenes tells us that Nabuchodonofor wanne both Affrick and Spaine, I beleeve the fragment so much the leffe: and am as little moved with the authority of it, where it calls a Median the pride and confidence of the Affyrians; as where it tels of Nebuchadne 77 ar his owne vanishing away. Indeed that same title of halfe an Asse, by which he calleth Cyrus, makes me to appet the fable, as cunningly forged out of Apollo his Oracle, wherein he termeth hima Mule, because his parentage was more noble on the mothers side than on the fathers; as Males are begotten by Affes upon Mares. And thus much in answer of the two Principall foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it had within it selfe, I easily allow it. But this proves nothing; for meere fi-Clions have not wanted these commendations: neither can any man believe that one so Judicious, industrious, and deeply learned as Joseph Scaliger, would overshoot himselfe, in

letting downerepugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeale. And herein it feems that Scaliger, well knowing his own fufficiency,

Jer.52.33,34.

Dan.8.20.

hath beene little carefull to fatisfie menthat would frame Arguments against him. For if the prophecy of Daniel were true, that the Kingdome of Balthafar was divided, and given to the Medes and Persians, either we must thinke that Darins of the Medes was not Nabonidus, or else we must bethinke our selves what Persian it might be that shared the Kingdome with him. For it is not more certaine that Balthafar loft his life and King. dome, than that his Kingdome was divided and given to the Medes and Persians. Nei ther did the Medes and Persians fall out and fight for it, as by supposing Nabonidusto have been Darius, they should be thought to have done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords over all the subject Provinces, infomuch that the Greek Historians did commonly call those Warres which Darius, and after him Xerxes, made upon Greece, The Warres of the Medes. Yeato cleare this point, even Daniel himselfe resembles that King, with whom Alexander fought, unto a Ramme with two hornes, calling him the King of the Medes and Per. Gans. Wherefore the whole Nation of Chronelogers were not to have beene condemned by Folep's Scaliger, for maintaining upon fuch good grounds, that Darius of the Medes was partner with Cyrus in his victories, and not a Chaldean King by him fibdued. Neither was Josephus to be the leffe regarded, for affirming that Balthafar wasde. stroyed by Darius of the Medes, and his Nephew Cyrus, though herein he varied from Berefus and others, whose authority elsewhere he gladly citeth. For Josephus had notes fonto beleeve any mans faith or knowledge of those times half so wel as Daniels, whom to I beleeve that he understood as farre as was needfull in this case. Lawfullit was forhim to alledge all Authors that had any mention, though unperfect, of the same things that were contained in the writings of the Jewes, to whose Histories thereby he procuredreputation in the Romane world, where they were strangers, and might seeme fabulous. E. venso doe Eusebius and other Writers willingly embrace the testimonies of Heathen bookes making for the truth in some particulars; yet will they not therefore between generall by the felfe same Ethnicke Philosophers, but leave them where they are against the truth; as Josephus in this case hath left Berofus. And thus much I thought it mento fay of Scaligers opinion in this point; holding neverthelesse indue regard his learning and judgement, which if in some things it had not failed, the miracle had then bent to very great.

The third Booke of the first part

6. V I.

What may bee held as probable of the Persons and Times of Nabuchodonosor his suceffors.

T now remaines that I freely acknowledge mine owne weakenesse, who cannot find how the 70. years of captivity are to be divided among them which reigned in Bay. I finde that the distribution made of them, in such wise as already ister hearfed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truely fay with furreus, that we ought liberally to pardon those whose feet have failed them in the slippery waies of Chronology, wherein both learning and diligence are subject to take a fall atome time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulnesse, or heedlesse reckoning. Yet will I advenute to deliver my opinion, wherein the judgement of Lyra and others (holding tholeonly to have reigned over the Chald cans, whose names are found in the Scriptures) appears more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences of Conjectures before rehearfed. Not that I will take upon me to defend Lyra his Conje-Ctures, when he supposeth by Niglifar and Labosardach to be meant the same persons which are called in Scriptures Evilmerodach and Balthafar (for this can by no goodco lour be maintained) but only to shew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to have occupied the whole time of seventy years. First therefore let us consider the reigneof Na buchadnezzar, in whose eighteenth yeare Jernsalem was taken and sackt, but in his nine teenth laid utterly desolate.

Most of Writers have given to him 43. years of reigne, following therein Berofin There are who have added one yeare more; and forme have made it up 45. To dispute about the certainty were needlesse: for in shewing by what length of time the Scrip tures measure him, we shall shew the certaine truth.

Manifest it is, that the 19. year of Nebuchadne Zar, is joyned with the 11. of Zedechia; 2King 25. 8. Manuel this eighth yeer, was the first yeere of Jechonia his captivity; the reigne of Ze- 2 King 2.5. 8.

45 2160 that his eighth yeer, was the first yeere of Jechonia his captivity; the reigne of Ze- 2 King 2.5. 8. delia occupied all the meane space, being of 11. years. This is generally agreed upon, so a king 24. 12. that it needs no further proofes: As for the beginning of his fucceffor Evilmeredach, it 2 King 25,270 was in the seven and thirtieth yeare of Jechonia his captivity; so that Nebuchadne 77 ar & Jerenia 32.31. after his 8. yeare (which was the first of Jechonia his bondage) reigned 35. whole years, and peradventure a good part of the fixe and thirtieth, forasmuch as Jechonia was inlarged with fo great favour, not untill the end of the year. Substracting therefore out of thelefoure and forty, which Nebuchadnez Zars reigne did well neere occupie, those eighteeneyears of his which passed away before the captivity of Juda, and ruine of the city, we have remaining fixe and twenty years of the feventy, that were almost wholly spent when his fon beganto reigne.

Itis now to be confidered how the remainder of the seventie yeares were divided between the Kings ruling in Baby lon untill the first of Cyrus. A question more difficulte as Isadbefore) than greatly needfull: the whole some being certaine, and the distinction oftimes affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were flothfull Princes. Neither can any manthe more justly suspect the beginning or end of the whole 70-years, for that the distribution of some part of them is only conjecturall; seeing that none who gives any other termes to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both unlikely and desperate conjectures in dividing them. I will therefore be bold to doe as others havedone; knowing well before-hand, that who soever shall discover my error, must do methe pleasure (which I could rather wish in a case more materiall) of making me to

Of the foure and forty yeeres remaining in accompt of Nebushadne Tars death, wee are to take away the last, which was the first of Darius the Mede, & then having authority good enough to warrant us from blame of prefumption, in giving us seventeene vears to Balibalar, we finde left in our hands to befrow upon Evilmerodach fixe & twenty yeares. Of the yeare belonging unto Darius the Mede, I have already spoken what I thought sufficient, in delivering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this captivity. That Balthafar did reigne seventeen yeeres, we have the authority of Josephus, beforecited in expresse words; Wee have also the generall consent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting Berofus his Nabonidus, who reigned folong; & Balthafar to have been one. But nothing moveth me so much to believe this Tradition, as first those

evident places in Daniel, shewing that in the third yeare of Balthafar hee followed the Dan 8.13 Kings businesse, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reigne, (a proofe sufficient of & 27. &cap.5. no few yeeres, passing under this man, especially seeing it is no where sound that Daniels employments tooke end either that yeare or the next.) Secondly, the confideration of Cymhis warres against the Assyrians, which beginning with the death of this mans fathe, & being alwaies prosperous, could hardly have occupied any longertime; though weemake large allowance to his deeds in the lower Afia, which fell out in the middeway: I have already shewed, that there appeares in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the reigne of Evilmerodach was not short, and that men of great judgment have found it most probable, that he was a King three and twenty years. More, I thinke, they would have allowed him, had not the defire of fatisfying Berofus, called them to rest content with this. And furely it were greatly to bee wished, that bookes of fuch antiquitie, as those of Berofus, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yeeld in many darke passages of Antiquitie. I will yet confesse, that were his workes never so excellent, and in all things else unquestionably the, I would not therefore condescend unto him in some one point, wherein the Scripthe were his open enemie: How much leffe ought I obey a broken fragment of his, containing onely seven or eight lines, and part even of the title corrupted, as they beeve that follow him in the reft . The Scriptures have told us that God gave the Eurire to Nebuchadne Xar, to his fonne, and to his fonnes forme: How long each of Jerem 27.7. hem held it, wee finde not expressed; yet would we gladly know it of Berofus, or of by other that would teachus; provided alwayes, that helping us in a particularity, he estroyed not thereby the generall truth. More words are needlesse. It is enough Pay withorhers, this Berofus, or Josephus who cited him, hathi beene wronged by the relesses of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Scribes to erre in writing two

for fixe and twenty, as for three & twenty, or perhaps more easie. For , the omiffion of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5. fignify. ing 6. hath a neerer refemblance of \$ that stands for 2. than hath y which is used for 3. So that the numerall notes 85. expressing 26. were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true copie, and might bee altered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mischance not unusuall, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seeme not two different figures, but the onea correction of the other, which how it could bee supposed in by standing for 23. I doe not well perceive. As for the Arithmeticall figures now in use, they were long after the time of Josephus brought in by the Arabians, and therefore doe not appertaine unto this 10 businesse; unlesse were should ghesse that his workes were corrupted in that unlearned age, which following the Saracen conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanity, but in a fort wholly given over to the doctrine of Aristotle. If this will serve to make Berosus our friend, so let it be; if not, I will not purchase the favour of his authority, by forfaking Jeremy and Daniel, when they seeme to be his opposites.

6. VII.

Of the victories which Nabuchodonosor obtained betweene the destruction of Jerusalem 10 and conquest of Egypt.

7 Ith what actions this time of 70. years was entertained by the Babylonian Kings, few have written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peradventure have been some cause that the time it selfe was, & is yet sought to bee abridged, as not having left fufficient matter to witnesse the length of it. Butby fuch an argument we might as well deny to many people even their being. For every Nation (Iknow not whom I should except) betweene the beginning and last endosis, hath in some flothfull age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is thereforeno marvell, if the posterity of Nabuchodonofor, finding all things ready to their hand, which 30 their hearts could have defired, betooke themselves to their ease and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigall fons of greedy fathers, their own wisedome greater, which knew how to enjoy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their dayes in the restlesse travell of purchasing: Though indeed the reigne of Nabuchodonosor was sodivided, that his yout hfull and stronger yeares having been exercised in victorious arms. no finall part of his life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthie labours past. The nineteenth yeere of his reigneit was, when destroying utterly the great and mighty Citie of Jerusalem, hee enriched himselfe with abundance of spoile, & terrefied all that would offer to resist him, by that fearefull example. From that time forward, he, untill his three and twentieth yeare, 1-4 boured in the conquest of those adjoyning Regions, which God had exposed unto his fword, and commanded to weare his yoke; namely, the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, Sydonians, and Egyptians, though some of these were already become his followers, and ferved under him, when Jerusalem was beaten down and burnt. But the Tyrians, whose Citie was founded on an Island, safe enough from any danger of a Land-army, & whose fleet was so strong, that they needed not to feare any enemy at sea, were neither daunted with the fall of their neighbour cities, nor with the obstinate reso lution of this mighty Prince, imploying all his power to their subversion.

That the City of Tyre was rather well pleased, than any way discouraged with the fall of Jerusalem (which had held the same course that Tyrus did, and endured all that might bee in the same quarrell against the common enemie) it appeares by the words which Ezekiel condemneth as the common voice of Tyrus; Aha, the gate of the people is broken, it is turned unto me; for seeing she is desolate, I shall be replenished. Yet at length even in the nineteenth year of Nabuchodonofor, that great worke of his, whereof we have already spoken, began to appeare above the waters, and threaten them with inevitable

But those prophecies of Jeremy & of Elay, which appoint unto this desolation of Tyte mischiefe. the same terme of 70. years, that was prescribed unto the reign of the Chaldans, dot

plainly shew, that she followed Jerusalem, the same nineteenth year of Nabuchodenosor, in the fame, or a very like fortune. The particularities, which doubtleffe were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner utterly lost. Thus much we finde, That the Citizens perceiving the Town unable to hold out, embarked themfelves, and fledde into the Isle of Cyprus. Neverthelesse it seemes that this evasion serredonly the principall men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer fort unto the enemies fury. For, not onely such people of Tyre as dwelt on the Continent, (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the fword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which, with excessive labour, the Assyrian made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus Nabuchodonosor caused his Armie to serve a great ser- Ezech.29.18. will against Tyrus, wherein every head was made bald, and every shoulder was made bare. net had hee no mages, nor his Armie; but was faine to rest contented with the Honour of having destroyed that Citie, which in all mens judgements had beene held in-

The destruction of these two great and powerful cities, having made the name of the Chaldrans dreadfull in the eares of all the Nations thereabout, Nabuchodonofor used the advantage of that reputation which he had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with leffe paine. The Kingdome of Egypt was the marke at which he aimed; a Country so abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it might well have tempted any Prince, finding himselfe strong enough to seek occasion of quarrell against it; and so farre an enemie to the Crown of Babylon, that had it bin poorer, yet either it must have beene subdued, or the conquest of Syria could ill have beenestablished. Neverthelesse it was needfull, that before hee entred into this businesse, the Countries adjacent should bee reduced into such termes, that either they should wholly stand at his devotion, or at least be unable to worke him any displeasure. Andherein the decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of state. For the people of Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Hazar, and other adjoyning Regions, whom God for their finnes had condemned to fall under the Babylonian fwords, were fuch, as regarding only their owne gaine, had fome of them, like Ravens, followed the Chaldaan Armie, to feed upon the karcasses that fell by the emelty thereof; others taking advantage of their neighbours miferies, occupied the Countries which were by his victories belonging to Nabuchodone for: all of them thinking, that when the Affyrian had fatisfied his fury, he should be faine to for sake those defolate parts, and leave the possession to those that could lay hand upon it. Particularly Ezech. 25.12.8 the Edomites and Philistims had shewed much malice to the Jewes when their city was 15. taken. What good service they had done to the Chaldaans, I finde not; if they did any, itis likely to have beene with reference to their owne purposes, wherein they were difappointed. The Ammonites were not contented to rejoyce at the fall of Jerusalem, but Ezech 25.3. presently they entered upon the Country of Gad, and took possession, as if not the Assy. Jerem. 49.1. rians, but they, had subdued Israel. Neither can I perceive what other ground that pradicehad of Baalis King of the Ammonites, when he fent Ismael, a Prince of the bloud of Juda, to murther Gedalia, whom the King of Babel had left Governour over those that remained in Israel, and to carry captive into the Ammonites Countrey the people that abode in Mizpah, than a defire of embroiling Nabuchodono for with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his owne Countrey, and abandon those wasted Jerem 40.14.88 Lands to himselfe and others, for whom they lay conveniently. Such or the like policy Jere 28.27. &c. the Moabites did exercise; whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God, & their diffinulation condemned, as not doing right.

All these nations had the art of ravening, which is familiar to such as live or border upon defarts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the uttermost cunning of their theevish wits. But Nebuchadne 27 ar did cut a sunder all their devices by sharpe and suddaine warre, over-whelming them with unexpected ruine, as it were in one rights according to the prophecies of Esay, Jeremy, and Ezekiel, who foretold, with little dif- Esay 16.14. ference of words, the greatnesse and swiftnesse of the misery that should come upon them. With which of them hee first began, I finde not; it seemes that Moab was the

last which felt his hand : for so doemany good Authors interpret the prophesic of Esay, threatning Moab with destruction after three yeeres, as having reference to the third Year following the ruine of Jerusalem; the next yeer after it being spent in the Egyptian

expedition.

Ezek, 26.2.

Jerem. 25. Mai.23.15. expedition. This is manifest, that all the principall townes in these Regions were burnt, and the people slaine, or made slaves, sew excepted, who being preserved by slight, had not the courage to returne to their habitations over-hastily, much lesse to attempt any thing against Nabuchdoneser, but lived as miserable out-lawes, or at least oppressed wretches, untill the end of the seventy yeares, which God had prescribed unto the descolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of Juda.

6. VIII.

That Egypt was conquered, and the King therein reigning slaine by Nabuchodonosor, contrarie to the opinion of most Authors: who, following Herodotus and Diodorus, relate it otherwise.

THen by a long course of victory Nabuchodone for had brought into subjection on all the Nations of Syria, & the bordering Arabians, in such wise, that no enemy to himself, nor friend of the Egyptian, was left at his backe, that might give impediment unto his proceeding, or take advantage of any misfortune; then did he forth-with take in hand the conquest of Egypt himselfe, upon which those other Nations had formerly bin depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious iffuethere-10 of, the three great Prophets, Esay, Jeremy, and Ezekiel, have written so plainely, that I hold it altogether needlesse to looke after more authoritie, or to cite for proofehalfe of that which may bee alleged out of these. Neverthelesse, wee finde many and good Authors, who following Herodosus, & Diodorus Siculus, are well contented to fraine these Prophecies with unreasonable diligence unto such a sense, as gives to Nabuchods. nofor little more than the honour of having done fome spoile in Egypt, omitting the conquest of that Land by the Babylonian, and referring the death of Apries or Hophis to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affaires. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the meanes and second helpes conducing to their purpose, that oftentimes they doe preferre the Commentator be to fore the Author; and to uphold a sentence, giving testimony to one clause, doe carelefly overthrow the history it selfe, which thereby they sought to have maintained. The reports of Herodotus and Diodorus, concerning the Kings of Egypt, which reigned about these times, are already rehearsed in the former booke: but that which they have spoken of Apries, was purposely referved unto this place. Herodotus doth affirme that he was a very fortunate King, but wherein he telleth not; (unlesse we should understand that he was victorious in the Warre, which he is faid to have madeupon Tyrus and Sydon) that he reigned five and twenty yeeres, and was finally taken and putto death by his owne Subjects; who did fet up Amasis, as King, which prevailed against him. The rebellion of the Egyptians hee imputeth to a great losse which they received a in an expedition against the Cyrenians, by whom almost their whole army was destroyed. This calamity the people of Egypt thought to bee well pleafing to their King, who had fent them on this dangerous expedition, with a purpose to have them consumed, that so he might with greater securitie reigne over such as staied at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of such as were slaine, rebelled against Apries, who sent Amasis to appeale the tumult; but Amasis became Captain of the rebells, & was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land consented unto this new Election; whereby Apries was driven to trust unto his forraine Mercenaries, the Ionians and Carians, of whom he kept continually in readinesse thirty thousand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were at length vanquished by the great number of the Egyptian for st ces, amounting unto two hundred and fiftie thousand, which were all by birth and education men of Warre. Apries himselse being taken prisoner, was gently intreated by Amasis for a while, untill the Egyptians, exclaiming upon him, as an extreme ene mie to the Land, got him delivered into their hands, and strangled him, yet they gave him honourable buriall. Such is the report of Herodotus, with whom Diodorus Siculus doth neerely agree, telling us that Apries didvanquish the Cyprians and Phoenicians in battell at Sea, tooke by force and demolished Sydon, wanne the other towns of Phoenicia, and the Isle of Cyprus, and finally, perished, as is before rehearsed, whenhe

had reigned two and twenty yeeres. This authority were enough (yet not more than enough) to informe us of Apries his hiftory, if greater authority did not contradict it. But the destruction of Egypt by the Babylonian, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compell our beliefe, than have the traditions of Egyptian Priests (which the Greeke Historians followed) and greater probabilities to perswade those that looke only into humane reasons. For Esay prophetical long before of the shannefull captivity of the Egyptians, whom the King of Ashur should carry away naked, young & old, in such wise, that the Jewes, who sled unto them for deliverance from the Assyrian, should be assamed of their owne vaine considerce in menso unable to defend themselves.

10 But Ezekiel & Jeremy, as their prophecies were neerer to the time of execution fo they handled this argument more precisely. For Ezechiel telleth plainly, that Egypt should begiven to Nabuchadne Zar, as wages for the service which he had done at Tyre: Also hee recounteth particularly all the chiefe Cities in Egypt, faying, That thefe by name &c.30. hould be destroyed, and goe into captivity, yea, that Pharao and all his Army should be Ezech. 32.336 Maine by the sword. Wherefore it must needes bee a violent exposition of these Prophecies, which by applying the iffue of fuch threatnings to an infurrection and rebellion concludes all, without any other alteration in Egypt, than change of the Kings perfon, wherein Amasis did succeed unto Apries, by force indeed, but by the uniforme consent of all the people. Certainely, if that notable place of Jeremy, wherein hee foretelleth how the Jewes in Egypt should see Pharao Hophra de vered into the hand of his enemies, as Zedekia had beene, were to be referred unto the time of that rebel-Jerem. 44 20 lion, whereof Herodotus hath spoken, as the generall opinion hath over-ruled it: then Jerem. 45. 10. was it vainely dorte of the same Prophet (which God forbid that any Christian should thinke, seeing hee did it by the appointment of God himselfe) to hide in the clay of a Bricke-hill, those very stones, upon which the Throne of Nabuchodonofor should bee fer and his Pavilion spred. Yea then was that prophecy no other than false, which expresent the end of Pharaoh thus: Behold, I will visit the common people of No, & Pharaoh, Jerom. 45.7.25. and Egypt, with their gods and their Kings, even Pharaoh, and all that trull in him: and & 26, I will deliver them into the hands of those that seeke their lives, and into the hand of Nabuchadnezzar, King of Babel, and into the hands of bis fervants. The cleareneffe of this prophecy being such as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places. which referred all to the rebellion of Amasis, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would fay to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the Greeke Hiflorians. Wherfore looking upon Junius, who had in another place taken the enemies of Jun. in Joren's Pharas Hophra to bee Amasis and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that cap. 44. v.36. the Egyptian Priests had notably deluded Herodotus with lies, coyned upon a vain-glorous purpose of hiding their owne difgrace and bondage. And furely it may well bee thought, that the history of Nabuchadnez Zar was better knowne to the Jewes, whom it concerned than to the Greekes, that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I see no cause why we should not rather believe Josephus, reporting that Nabuchodonosor in the three and twentieth yeer of his reigne, and the fift yeere of the destruction of lerulalem, did conquer Egypt, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his stead than Hirodotus or Diodere; who being meere itrangers to this businesse, had no great reason to labour in searching out the truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the Priests would rell them. Now if setting aside all advantage of authority, we should onely confider the relations of Josephus, and of the Greeke Historians, as either of them might be verified of it felfe by apparent circumstances, without reflecting upon the Hebrew Prophets, or Egyptian Priests; me thinkes the death of Apries can no way be approved as having beene wrought by confent of the people, but affords great matter of sufficient, year, though no man had opposed the reports of Herodotus and Diodore. For the greatlove & honor which the Egyptians did beareunto their Kings, is notorious by the Toleth. And Jack uniforme restimony of all others that have handled the matters of that Countrey, as beiocition well as by the report of Diddore himselfe. How then can we thinke it probable, that A. prieshaving wome great victories, did for one onely losse fall into the hatred of all his People, or which may ferve to perfwade us, that a King of Egypt would feeke, or fo demedic himself, that he might be thought to seek the destruction of his natural subjects! Asfor that Army of thirty thousand souldiers, Cartans and Ionians, which the King

Diod.Sic. L.I.C.

of Egypt, whom Amasis tooke prisoner, is said to have kept for his defence: doth it nor argue that he was a forrainer, and one that armed himself against the Egyptians, wishing them few and weake; rather than any of the Pharaohs, who accounted the force of the Countrey, as affuredly their owne, as the strength of their owne bodies? It were more tedious than any way needfull, to use all Arguments that might be alledged in this case. The very death of this supposed Apries, which the clamours of the people obtained of Amasis, who sought to have kept him alive, doth intimate that hee was some forraine Governour, not anaturall Prince; otherwise the people would have defired to save his life, and Amalis to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disprove that opinion, whereunto I should not have yeelded, though it had stood upon greatap- 10 pearance of truth, confidering that the voice of truth it selfe cries out against it; but leave the circumstances, proving the Conquest of Egypt by Nabuchodonofor, to be observed where due occasion in course of the story following shall present them.

6. IX-

How Egypt was subdued and held by Nabuchadnezzar.

T is a great losse, that the general History of the World hath suffered, by the spoile and waste which Time hath made of those Monuments, that should have 10 preferved the memory of fuch famous actions as were accomplished by this mighty Prince Nabuchodonofor; wherein, whether his Vertue, or Fortune were greater. it is now uncertaine. That his Victories following the Conquest of Syria, and the Neighbour-Provinces, were fuch as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all theformer Warres had done, it may easily bee gathered out of Ezekiel, who reckoneth upin his thirtieth Chapter (besides the whole Countrey of Egypt) Phut and Lud, with other Nations that may seeme to have reached out into Mauritania, as people subdued by this great Babylonian. The circumstances of these Warres are in a manner utterly loft; but that the victory was easteand fwift, any man shall finde, who will take the paines to conferre the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argu-20 ment. Thus much I thinke worthy of more particular observation; that Pharaoh, who (as is already noted in the former Booke) thought himselfe most safe in Egypt by the well defenced fituation of his Countrey, did very unwifely in fuffering his enemiesto fweepe the way cleane unto his owne doores, by confuming all his friends and adherents in Syria. For as the labour of this businesse did more harden than weary the Chaldæan Army, fo the confidence and vaine fecurity of the Egyptians, relying uponthe difficult paffages which the enemy was to make thorow the Arabian defarts, and the much advantage which the great river of Nilus would affoord unto themselves, didlittle availe them in provision for the war, and much astonish them (as may justly be thought) in the time of execution: it being usually scene, that the hearts of men faile, when 40 those helpes faile, in which they had reposed more confidence than in their owne vertue. Hitherto the Kingdome of Egypt had flourished under the rule of the Pharachs, about a thousand five hundred and sourescore yeeres; but from this time forward it remained forty yeeres without a King, under the subjection of the Babylonians; & then at length it began to recover by little and little the former greatnesse, yet so, that it wasnever dreadfull unto others, God having said of that people, I will diminish them, that they Ezek.29.13.14. Shall no more rule the Nations. For whereas it hath beene faid of Pharaob: I am the fanne of the wife, I am the sonne of the ancient Kings: & whereas he had vaunted, The River is mint, Efay 19.11. Ezech. 29.9. and I have made it; the Princes of Egypt now became fooles, the river failed them, the King himselfe was taken & slaine, and that ancient linage quite extinguished. This came jo to passe in the first yeere after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the three and twenti-Joseph Ant. Jud. eth of Nabuchadne ZZar, at which time (faith Josephus) Hee flew the King then reigning, 16. 10.611. placed another in his recome and another in his recome placed another in his roome, and carried captives thence to Babylon, the lewes whom he found in that Country. Now concerning the time which Josephus gives unto this businesse, and the businesse it selfe, I have already shewed, that it is warranted by all the prophecies which infinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of Jerusalem, and carry ing away those unto Babel, who inhabited the miserable ruines of that great city, which was in the same three & twentieth yeer of Nabuchadne Zar, is not unprobably thoughtby

good authors to have beene at the returne from this Egyptian expedition. But whereas Julephus tels us, that there was another King put in the roome of Apries by Nabuchad-nexter, we must understand, that he was only a Vice-roy, and not (as some have mistakenit) thinke that this was Amasis. For to place the beginning of Amasis his reigne in the three and twentieth of Nabuchadne Zar, were as well repugnant unto the prophecies hefore alledged, as to all Chronology and History. Some there are, which to help this inconvenience, imagine that there were two fuccessively bearing the name of Amalis; others, that there were two Apries, the one flaine by Nabuchadne Zzar, other by Amafis: aquestion of small importance, because the difference is onely about a name, it being once granted that the person mentioned in Scriptures, was deprived of life & Kingdome by the Affyrians. Yet for any thing that I can perceive, that Apries, of whom the Greeke Historians wrote, could not be the Deputy of Nabuchadne Zar, feeing that he was the Grand-childe of Pharas Necho, & made war (as they report) upon the Phoenicians, who wer, ebefore the Egyptians, become subject unto the Crowne of Babylon. Imight adde, perhaps, that he whom Nabuchadne Zar left as Governour of Egypt, was more likely to have had fome Chaldean or Affyrian, than Egyptian name; unleffe wee thould thinke that he had beene a traitor to his naturall Prince, and so rewarded by the Conquerour with Lievtenantship of the Courtrey : about which it were but frivolous todispute. Thus much in briefe we ought to beleeve that Nabuchodonofor made an absoline Conquest of Egypt; that he was not so soolish as to give it away, any man may gheffe; that he appointed one to rule the Countrey, it is consequent unto the former, and hath authority of Josephus; that his Governour (or some Successour of his) was afterwardstaken and flaine by Amasis, I see probability enough to perswade my selfe, and yet can well be content, that others use their liberty, and beleeve what they lift. As for the army which this Egyptian King Apries is supposed to have kept of Ionians & Carians, I hold them to be none other than the garrifons of mercenary fouldiers which were left by the Affyrian for the guard of his Viceroy, and cultody of the new fibdued Province: as likewise the company returning from Cyrene & Barce, who together with the friends of fuch as were flaine in that expedition, remembred before out of the Greek Hiflorians, deposed & flew Apries, I take them to have been the Egyptian fugitives, which then recovered their own Countrey. Sure it is that this Ptophecy of Ezekiel was verified, Asshe end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the people where they were scattered, and I will bring against the captivity of Egypt, and will cause them to returne into &14. the land of Pathros, into the land of their habitation & they shall be there a small Kingdome. If the Egyptian Priests alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of Amasis his obtaining the Kingdome, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they devised matter that had no shadow of truth, only to keepe the Greeks from knowledge of their Countries differace; then are they little to be regarded, fince we know the med with them.

of the Historie of the World.

Of the fundry accounts drawne from fundry acts of Nabuchadnezzar, and of the destruction of Ninever by him the time of which action is uncertaine.

Hele victories brought the greatnesse of the Assyrian Empire to the full, & from them was reckoned the time of Nabuchadnezzars reigne in fundry places of Scripture. To speake any more of the questions ariling about the supputation of Nabuchadne Zar his times, might feelie to be the over-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note that whereas Daniel was carried captive in the third yeere of Jehighims reign (which ran along with some part of Nabuchadnezzars first yeare) & was Dan. 1.8 2 kept indict three years more, before hee was brought into the Kings prefence; it could not be the second of Nabuchadne Zars Kingdome, wherein he interpreted the forgotten dreamof the great Image, foreshewing the successe of Monarchies, but the second of his Empire The fame or the like may be faid of divers places which referre fundry matters unto their fet years; as that of Exekiel before cited, where he fore-tels, that Egypt should bee given in reward for the fervice done before Typus, dating his prophecy in the feven and twentieth year; and that of Daniel, placing the erection of the golden Image in the sighteenth yeare; for these yeares held no dependance upon either the beginning of

CHAP.I. S.II.

Nabu hadnezzars Kingdome, or of his Empire, nor yet upon any of the captivities, but had reference to some memorable actions, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not easie to be found, nor worth the labour of uncertaine search.

Of any warre made by Nabuchadne ZZar, after fuch time as he returned from the Con. quest of Egypt, I doe not reade : excepting that against Nineve, the destruction whereof was fore-told by the Prophet Nahum. Nineve had long before been taken by Merodach (as in due place hath beene shewed) and together with the rest of Assyria made subject to Babylon. Yet was it left under a peculiar King, who rebelling against the Chaldwan.ac Jehojakim and Zedechias, tributary Kings of Juda, had done, tasted likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of Nineve followed the Conquest of Egypt, it appear reth by the comparison which Nahum the Prophet made betweene this City, that was to fall, and the City of No in Egypt, that was fallen already. But how long after this came to passe, it is (me thinkes) impossible to finde out. For whereas it is found in an Hebrew Chronology, that it was in the first of Nabuchadnez Zars reign, the place of Nahum last cited is enough to disprove it. Whereas it is referred by some unto the first of his Monarchy, which began at the end of the Egyptian warres; the whole Prophecy of Nahum which went betweene the one and the other, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very yeare of this defini-Ction, or other circumstances of the Warre, whether managed by Nabuchodonosorin per. fon, or by his Lievtenants, were fomewhat like unto the vaine curiofity of Tyberius Ca. 10 far, enquiring who was the Mother of Hecuba, or to the like idle paines which he should take, who would feek to learne what woman that HuZZab Queen of Nineve was, whose woefull captivity the same Prophet Nahum likewise did fore-tell.

6. X I.

Of the latter time of Nabuchadnezzar; his buildings, madnesse, and death.

F the time which this great Monarch spent in quiet, I think there are no monuments extant; save those which we finde among the prophecies of Daniel. A-30 mong these we may reckon his great workes of Babylon, wherewith he pleased himselfe so well, that he brake out into these glorious words: Is not this great Babilibut I bave built for the house of the Kingdome, by the might of my power of for the honour of my Majesty? Surely if those things be true that are by Josephus rehearsed of him out of Borglus & Megasthenes, he might well delight himself with the contemplation of such goodly & magnificent buildings. For it is said, That he fortisted Babylon with a triple wall; that besides other stately works, he raised those huge arches wherewith were borne up the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the aire, & equalling the tops of Mountaines, which most sumptuous frame, that out-lasted all the remainder of the Assyrian, and all the Persian Empire, is said to have been ereared, and sinished in sisteene dayes.

But of all this, & other his magnificence, we find little else recorded, than that (which indeed is most profitable for us to consider) his over-valuing of his owne greatnesseabased him unto a condition, inferiour to the poorest of men. And not undeservedly sell these judgements of God upon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not onely with many victories, and much happinesse in his owne life, but with a discovery of things to come after him, yea and had approved the certainty of his dreame, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretetion thereof by Daniel the Prophet thee neverthelesse became so forgetfull of God, whose wonderfull power he had seene and acknowledged, that he caused a golden Image to be set up and worthipped : ordaining 1 crucil death as reward unto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly will and pleafure, which was utterly repugnant to the law of him that is the Kings of kings. Hereof S. Hierome hath well noted 3 Veloxoblivio veritaris, ut qui dudum fervum Dei quaft Deum adoraveras, nunc statuam fibi fieri jubeat , ut ipse quafe Deus in ftatua adoraretur : A hastie forgerfullneffe of the truth that he who fo lately had worfbipped (Daniel) the fervant of God; as if hee had beene God himselfe, should now command a statua to bee creeted unto himselfe, wherein himfelfe might bee worshipped as God. From this impiery it pleased God to te claime him, by the strange and wonderfull delivery of those blessed Saints one of the fire crie fornaces who being throwne insoit bound, for refuling to commit Idelatry, were

affifted by an Angell; preserved from all harme of the fire; loosened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and reftored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which hy erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this devotion of Nabuchadne 77 ar was not fo rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit answerable to his hastie zeale. Therfore was he forewarned by God in a dreame of the terrible judgement hanging over his headwhich Daniel expounding, advised him to breake off his sinne by righteousnesse, and his iniquitie by mercy towards the poore, that there might be an healing of his errour. Hereby it feemes that injustice and crueltie were the faults, for which hee was threatned; but this threatning fufficed not unto his information. For, that fo great a Monarch should be dri-10 ven from among men; (according to the tenor of the dream & interpretation) year compelled to dwell with the beafts of the field, and made to eate graffe as the Oxen, was a thing so incredible in mans judgement, that easily it might be thought an idle dreame; and much more easily be forgotten at the yeeres end. One whole yeares leasure to repent was given to this haughty Prince: which respite of the execution may seem to have bred in him a forgetfulnesse of Gods sentence. For at the end of twelve moneths, walking in the royall Palace of Babel, he was fo over-joyed and transported with a vain contemplation of his owne feeming happinesse, that without all seare of Gods heavie judgement pronounced against him, he uttered those lostie words before rehearsed, in valinting of the Majesticall workes which he had reared, as well beseeming his majestiall person. But his high speeches were not fully ended, when a voyce from heaven, telling him that his Kingdome was departed from him, rehearfed over unto him the fentence againe, which was fulfilled upon him the very fame houre.

That Salomon, and many other Princes, and great ones, have taken delight in their ownbuildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I doe not remember that ever I have readfany, that were punished for rejoycing in workes of this kinde (though it is hard injoy, or any passion of the minde, to keepe a just measure) excepting onely this Nabu-chadret ar.

The like may be faid of Danid: for other (and fome very godly) Kings have mustred alltheir forces to the very last man; but few or none have been knowne to have beene ³⁰ punished as *David* was. Surely I not only hold it lawfull to rejoyce in those good things wherewith God hath bleffed us; but a note of much unthankfulneffe to entertain them with a fullen and unfeeling difposition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obfcure clouds, hindring the influence of that bleffedlight, which clarifies the foule of man, and predisposeth it unto the brightnesse of eternall felicity; fo that infolent joy, which man in the pride of his vaine imagination conceive th of his own worth, doth above all other paffions blaft our mindes, as it were with lightning, & make us to reflect our thoughts upon our feeming inherent greatneffe, forgetting the whilest him, to whom we are indebted for our very being. Wherefore these Mala ment is gaudia; The ewill joyes of the minde, were not unaptly, by the Prince of Latine Poets, bestowed in the entrance of hell, and placed further inward than forrowes, cares, and feares: not far from the yron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainly it is no unlikely token of vengeance neere at hand, when these unreasonable stushes of proud and vaine joy, doe rage in a minde, that should have been humbled with a just repentance, and acknowledgement of ill deferving.

Dan-4-27.

L'enoph. Cyro-

Warre.

pad lib. I.

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but his understanding. Seven yeares expired, it pleased God to restore Nabuchodonolar both to his understanding, and his estate, for which he acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, confessing his power, and everlasting being; that he was the Lord of heaven and earth, and wrought without refistance what he pleased in both; that hie workes were all truth, and his wayes righteous. Which gave argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his falvation; namely, S. Augustine, Theodoret, Lyra Carthusianus, and others. And for that place of Esay the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may bee gathered, the aforenamed Authors apply the same to Balthafar, because Ifay, both in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapters, speaketh of the King, and thede. struction of Babylon jointly.

6. XII. of Evilmerodach.

Aving already spoken what I could of the succession and yeeres of Nebuchadnezzars posterity; the most that may bee said of him, is said of Evilmeredach which I will not here againe rehearfe.

He lost some part of that which his father had gotten; and left his Kingdome burning in a warre that confumed it to ashes. Hee lost Egypt by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth yeare of his reign, which was forty yeeres after his Father had conqueredit. 10 But this agrees neither with the accompt of Herodotus, who allowes to Amasis foure & forty yeares of reigne; nor with that of Diodorus, who gives him five and fifty, faying that he died in the third yeere of the threescore and third Olympiad, when Camby sedid conquer Egypt. There were indeed but seven and thirty yeeres, which passed between the second yeere of the foure and fiftieth Olympiad, (which was the nineteenth of Ewilmerodach, and the first of Amasis) and the fift of Cambyses his reigne, wherein he wan Egypt; of which seven and thirty yeers it is credibly held, that Pfammiticus, the son of Amasis, reigned three: so that Amasis could bee no longer King than foure and thirty yeeres. But feeing that thefe two Greek Historians have bin abused by Egyptian Priess. in the substance of that which was spoken of Amasis, it is no marvell though they were 30 also deceived in the length of his reigne. This is the plaine answer to this objection. For to say either that the numbers were mis-written, & foure & forty set down instead of foure and thirty, or that Amasis did temporize a while with the Affyrians, and not beare himself as absolute King of Egypt, untill the nineteenth of Evilmerodach (at which time, and not before, it hath been proved out Exechiel, that Egypt became againe a Kingdome) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these Egyptian troubles did animate the King of the Medes to deale with Evilmerodach, as with a Prince greater in fame & reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in present forces; or whether (as I rather thinke) some foylere ceived by the Assyrian invading Media, emboldned the Egyptians to rebell against him: 40 I will neither undertake, nor seek to define. Xenophon tels, that the first service of young Cyrus in warre, was under Aftyages King of the Medes, his Grand-father, in a profperous fight against the Assyrian Prince, who did set upon him; at which time Cyrus was fifteene or fixteene yeares old. If therefore Cyrus lived threescore and three yeares (as Kemph. Cyroped. he is faid to have died well stricken in yeares) which is held to be the ordinary terme of no short life, then was this encounter in the third yeere of Evilmerodach his reigne. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the warre began more early between these Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circum. stances infinuating as much, are found in the same place of Xenophon. And it may well bec, that the death or destruction of Nabuchodonosor gave courage unto those that had 50 felthim a troublesome neighbour, to stand upon prouder termes with the Assyrians, than in his flourishing estate they durst have used. Howsoever the quarrell beganne, we find that it ended not before the last ruine of the Assyrian Monarchie. For the Babylomian, being too proud to digest the losses which he received by the Medes and their Allies the Persians, drew unto his partie the Lydians, and all the people of the lesser Asia, with gifts and strong perswasions, hoping so to over-whelme his enemies with a strong invasion, whom in vaine hee had sought to wearie out with a linguist

This happened after the death of Afrages, who left the world in the nineteenth year of Evilmerodach, at which time Amafis tooke possession of Egypt. So that the Assyrian having his hands already full of bufineffe, which more earneftly did affect him, feemes thereby to have given the better meanes unto the Egyptians, of new erecting their Kingdome, which by long diffance of place did fundry times find occasion to rebell in afterages, and set up a King within it selfe, against the far more mighty Persian.

The issue of these great preparations made by Evilmerodach against the Medes, was fuch as opened the way unto the fulfilling of those prophecies, which were many years

before uttered against Babel, by Esay and Fereny.

For, the Affyrians and their Confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought mhave buried the Medes and Perfians under their thicke showres of arrowes and darts, were encountred with an army of front and wel-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battell, wherein Evilmerodach was flaine. So that great frame of Empire which Nabuchodonofor had raifed and up-held, being flaken and grievoufly crackt under his unfortunate for, was left to be fuftained by his unworthy Nephew: a man more likely to have overthrown it, when it was greatest and strongest, thanto repaire it, when it was in way of falling.

6. XIII.

16 A private conjecture of the Author; ferving to make good those things, which are cited out of Berofus, concerning the Successors of Evilmerodach, without wrong to the truth. The qualitie, and death of Balthafar.

Hough I have already (as it feemes to me) fufficiently proved that Balthafar was the Son, and immediate Succeffour to Evilmerodach, yet confidering earnestly the conjectures of those Writers, which following Berosus, insert Neglisar, or Ninglissor, and his fon Labassardach betweene them: as also that which I finde in Herodofus of Nitocris, a famous Queene of Babylon, who greatly adorned and fortified that City; I have thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by what means it was possible that some errour might have crept into the Historie of those times, and ³⁹ thereby have brought us to a needleffe trouble of fearching out the truth, as it were by candle-light, in the uncertaine fragments of lost Authors, which we might have found by day-light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. First therefore I observe, that the time which Berofus divides betwixt Evilmerodach, and the two next Kings, agrees with the yeares in which Nebuchadnezzar lived wilde among brute beafts in the open field: Secondly, that the fuddennesse of this accident, which came in one houre, could not but work much perturbation in that State, wherein doubtleffe the honour of fo noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamity pitied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of Daniel finding reputation in that clause which promised his recoverie, as being ve-, used in that which had bin more incredible. Now if we doe in common reason judge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdome, for setling the government, whileft the King was thus diftracted, wee shall finde it most likely, that his Son and Heire did occupie the Royall Throne, with condition to restore it unto his Father, when God should enable him to repossesse it. In this his rule, Evilmerodach being to supply the utter want of understanding in his Father, as Protectors doe the unripenesse Herodoc. Ellers. of it in young, but reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the infolences, or fall into the troubles, incident to fuch an office. That he had in him very fmall abilitie of government, it appeares by his ill maintaining the Empire, when hee held it in his owne right. That his fifter Nitocris (if Nitocris were his fifter) was a woman of anhigh spirit, so tappeares by that which Herodotus reports of her, faying, that slice was more cunning than semiramis, as appeared in her magnificent and usefull workes about the River of Euphrates, and her fortification of Babylon against the Medes, who had gotten many Townes from the Affyrians, and amongst them Nineve. Wherefore it were not unreasonable to thinke, that such a woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her brothers misgovernment, used practices to get the rule into her owne hands, and afterwards, as a mother, to leave it unto her ungracious fon. Other time than this, wherein Nitocris could have reigned, wee doe not finde; but wee finde in Berofus (as Fosephus hathcited him) that Niglissar, who got the Kingdom from Evilmeredach, was his fifters

40

husband; which argues this to have been the fame woman. As for Labaffardach the fon of Nielistar, if at the end of nine moneths reigne he were for his lewd conditions slaine by the Nobility, as the same Berofus reporteth, it seemes that God prepared hereby the way for NebuchadneZZars restitution (whose terms of punishment was then expired by raising such trouble, as should make him the more desired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here use many words to confute that which Berefus hath further fer down of Evilmerodach, telling us that he was flaine by his fifters husband : for the plain words of the Scripture, named the yeare wherein he gave liberty to Jechonia, do plainly testifie that he out-lived the three or foure and fortieth yeare of his Fathers reign, which was the last of his life.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are faid to have succeeded Evilmerodachin the Kingdom, might indeed have so done, though not when he held it in his owne right. Of Balthafar, who was his Sonand Heire, we finde, that he had fuch conditions, as God permitted to be in a King for the ruine of the people. Hee was from his young yeeresof a mischievous nature; having in his Fathers time slaine a Noble young man that should have married his fifter, only for spight and envie to see him kill two wilde beafts in hunting, at which himselfe having throwne his Javeline had missed them. Another erest Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman commending his beauty, said it were ahan. pie woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous villanies caused many which hadlo. ved his Father (as a good and gracious, though unfortunate Prince) to revolt from him to unto the enemie as soone as hee was King. Neither doe I finde that hee performedant thing worthy of record, but as a coward and a foole he loft all; fitting still, and not once daring to give battell to them that daily took somewhat from him. Yet carelesly feathing when danger had hemmed him in onevery fide, & when death arrested him by the linds of those whom hee had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base & misrable; for hee died as a foole taken in unexcufable fecurity, yet had not that happinesse, fuch as it is, of a death free from apprehension of seare, but was terrefied with a dreadful vision; which had shewed his ruine not inmany houres before, even whilest he was drinking in that wine, which the fwords of his infulting enemies drew out of him, together with his latest bloud. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after adil 10 honourable reigne of seventeene yeares, he perished like a beast, and was slaine as hedeferved. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath beene spoken heretofore; in matter of his affaires, shall be handled among the acts of Cyrus, to whose story that of Balthafar is but an appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the original and first greatnesse of the Persians.

That the Medeswere chiefe altors in the subversion of the Babylonian Empire.



HE Line of Belochus being now extinguished in Balthafar, the Empire of Babylon, and of Assyria, was joyned first to that of Media, which then was governed by Cyaxares or Darius Medus, after whom Cyrus became Lord and Monarch, both of Affytia and of Media it felfe.

Of the race of Pbul Belochus there were tenne Kings besides him selfe, and of Arbaces as many are found by Metasthenes. These two Provinciall Governours having cut downe the last

branch of Nious in Sardanapalus, divided betweene them the Easterne Empire. Craxares (whom the Scriptures call Darius Medius) the last of the race of Arbaces, dying about two yeeres after that the line of Belechow was ended in Balthafar; the Dominions aswell of the Conquerour, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely, to Cyrus of the house of Achamenes, the Princes of which bloud reigning in Persia, had formerly been dependants on the Medes, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the world.

Of the Familie of the Achemenes, and Line of the Persian Kings, we shall hereafter

finde occasion in due place to intreat.

CHAP.2. \$.2.

The Nation of the Medes descended from Madai the third some of Japhes; that they had Kings soone after the Floud, Lactantins and Diodorus have found record: For Lastantius remembreth an ancient King of the Medes called Hydaspes, and Diodore freaketh of Pharnus with his feven fonnes, flain by the Affirian in the beginning of their Empire.

But of these who succeeded Arbaces the first, that freed his Nation from the Asserte 10 ans. I take the lift and number from Eufebius, adding Darius Medus: of whom I have from

benin their proper places heretofore; and they are thefe.

Arbaces. Solarmus 30. years. Medidus. 40. years. Cardiceas. 13. years. Diocles. 53. years. Phraortes. 24. years. Cvaxares. 32. years. Astyages. 38. years. Darius Medus.

And though the Greekes afcribe the conquest of Babylon to Cyrus alone, yet the Scripnuresteach us, that Darius was not only King of Media, and had the Perfians his followers, but that the Armie victorious over Bali hafar was his; as the Asyrian and Babylonian Empire also was during his owne life. For we finde in Daniel, that Dariss of the Medes tookthe Kingdome being three score and two years old: And further, what Officers it pleased him to set over the Kingdome. And so was it prophecied by 1/47 long before: Be-30 hold I will stirre up the Medes against them, &c. And by Jeremie; The Lord hathraised up Cap. 13. V.17. the Spirit of the King of the Medes : for his purpose is against Babel to destroy it ; and in the cientand twentieth Verse, Prepare against her the Nations, with the King of the Medes, the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion. These Scriptures Julim Affricanus doth well open, who taking authoritie from Diodore, Caffor, Thallus, and others.delivereth that Babylon was taken before Cyrus began to reign; which also agreeth with Strabo, where he faith, That as the Medes were subjugated by the Persians, so before Libert that both the Babylonians and Affyrians were mastered by the Medes. And therefore the reports of Juline and Herodoius are not to be received, who attribute the taking of Babylon to Cyrus alone.

By what means the Empire was translated from the Medes to the Persians.

TOw the Kingdome of the Medes fell into the hands of Cyrus, it is a doubt not fufficiently cleared by Historians, but rather their different relations of his beginnings have bred the former opinion of those who give the conquest of Babel to the Persian only. For some there are who deny that Astrages had any other Successor than Cyrus his grand-child by Mandane. Whereas Ctefias on the contrary fide affirmeth, that Cyrus was no way descended from Astages (whom he calleth Astigus or Apania) but only that having vanquished him in battell, and confined him to Bactria, he married his Daughter Amytis. But I find the relations of Ctesias often cited & seldome followed, and himselfe sometimes very justly reproved of wilfull untruth.

Piginier, a diligent and learned Historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that Afrages had no fuch fon as Cyaxares, or Darius Medus; and to confirm this opinion the more, he citeth Diodore, Juline, Strabo, Plato, Ariftotle, Ifocrates, and before them Ca-Stor, Thallus, and Phlegen; who doe not find any fuch fuccessor. Neither do Tatianus, The-Philus Antiochenus, Julius Affricanus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Justine Martyr, Lactantius, Eusebius, S. Hierome, or S. Augustine, make report out of any faithfull Author by them tead, that hath given other Sonor Successor to Astyages than Cyrus.

Zon.l. 1. C.19-

Yet seeing that this manner of argument ab authoritate negative, doth never inforce consent; we may be the bolder (all this great list of noble Writers by him alledged notwithstanding) to affirme, that either Aftyages himselfe must have beene Darius of the Medes, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; Or else to give him some other Successfor, according to Josephus and Xenophon, the same whom Daniel calleth Da. rims. For it is manifest and without dispute, that the King of the Medes commanded in chiefe, and was absolute Lord of that Conquest, Cyrus during his life, being no other than the Lievtenant of his Armie, and subject to his authoritie; The strength of both Nations, to wit, the Medes and Persians, with other the Vassals of Darius, being joyned together to compound it.

But it is very certaine that the honour of that great victorie over Babylon was wholly given to Cyrus, who was the instrument preordained and forenamed by God himself for this action, but for the deliverie of his Church; a greater worke not only in the eyes of God, than the subversion of any Stare or Monarchie how powerfull soever.

And it may well be thought, that the Souldiers imployed in that service did rather as cribe the glorie to him that was the best man of war, than to the Median, who was greater test in riches and power. All which also falling upon Cyrus by succession, and continuing in his posteritie, did much augment the same of his vertue; which among profanehistorians overgrew altogether the honour due to Cyaxares, both because he was old, and didnothing in person; as also because he soon after quitted the world, and left all to Cyrm, who to was possest of whatsoever belonged to Darius, before the same of any such King or Conqueror was carried farre off.

And for the Greek Historians, they took all things from the relation of the Persians, who gave to Cyrus all the praise of a most excellent Prince, making none his equal. Only Daniel in the first, fift, and fixt Chapters of his Prophecie, makes it plain, that himselfe not onely lived a great Officer under King Darius, but that he continued in that estateto the first of Cyrus; which being the year of Daniels death, could not have bin distinguished from the reigne of Darius, if they had begun together and raigned joyntly: Neither can it be imagined that Darius held the Kingdome by Cyrus permission, considering that 30 Cyrus began after him.

6. III.

Xenophons relation of the Warre with the Medes and Persians, made with joynt forces spon the Affyrians and others.

Hele Testimonies of the Scriptures, which need no other confirmation, yet made more open to our understanding, by that which Xenophon hath writtenoschese wars: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the Affrian had enlarged his empire with victories, and was become Lord of all Syria, and many other Countries, he began to hope that if the Medes could be brought 40 under his subjection, there should not then be left any Nation adjoyning able to make head against him. For the King of the Medes was able to bring into the field threescore thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, to which the forces of Persia being joined, made

an exceeding strong Armie.

The Affirian confidering the strength of such a Neighbour, invited Crassus King of Lydia, a Prince very mightie both in men and treasure, and with him other Lords of Asia the lesse, to his assistance, alledging, that those Easterne Nations were very powerfull, and so firmely conjoyned by league and many alliances, that it would not be eafie, no not possible for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements, and strengthened with great presents, he drew to himself so many adherents, as he compounded an Armie of two hundred thousand foot, and threescore thousand horse; of which, tenne thousand horse, and fortie thousand foot were led by Crass, who had great cause of enmittie with the Medes, in regard of the Warre made by them against his Father Alyattes, But this great Armie was by Cyaxares King of the Medes, and by Cyrus Generall of the Persian forces, utterly broken; Upon which defeat the Assirian King being also slaine, so many of the Asyrians revolted, as Babylon it selfe could not longer be affured without the succours of Mercenaries, waged with great summes of money out of Asia the lesse, Egypt, and elsewhere. Which new gathered forces

were also scattered by Cyrus, who following his advantage, possess himselfe of a great part of the leffer Afia; at which time it was, as I take it, that Crafus himselfe was also made prisoner.

The attempt of Babylon following foon after, the Armie lying before it being paid by Darius, whom Xenophon calleth Cyaxares, & led by Cyrus his fifters fon, prevailed against

Ralthalar, as in due time shall be set downe.

CHAP.2. S.4.

Those Persians which followed Cyrus, and by him levied, are numbred thirtie thoufand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, therest of the common fortwere Archers, or fuch as used the Dart or Sling. So far Xenophon. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in Cyrus the pattern of a most Heroicall Prince, withmuch Poeticalladdition: so it cannot be denied, but that the bulke and grosse of his Narration was founded upon meere Historicall truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like writers, that in every speech and circumstance he hath precisely tyed himselfe to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his own invention, appropriating the same to the rimes and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Morall and Politicke discourse, and examining but the Historie of things done, it will easily appear, that Xenophon hath handled his under-taken subject in such fort, that by beautifying the face thereof he hath not in any fort corrupted the bodie.

6. IV.

The estate of the Medes and Persians in times fore-going this great War.

Oritis commonly agreed upon, that Achamenes the sonne of Perses being Gowernour of Perfia, did affociate himselfe with Arbaces, who commanded in Media in that rebellion against Sardanapalus, and that each of them after the victoricobtained, held for himselfe the Dominion of those Countries, which he had formerly nied for the Affirians; as also that they conveyed over the same honor and power to their posterities which in Media was not absolutely Regall, but with some restraint limited,untill such time as Deioces tooke upon him the full authoritie and majestie of a King. From the death of sardanapalus to the reigne of Deioces, are usually acounted about an hundred and fortie years, in the last fixty whereof there reigned in Affyria mightie Princes, namely, Salmanassar and his Successors; whose great archievements in Syria and elsewhere, witnesse, that the Medes and Persians found it not for their advantage to underiake any offensive war against those victorious Kings, it being also probable that the league continued as vet between these the successors of Belochus and Arbaces, who had formerly shared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of Deioces to the first of Astraces, there past above ninetic oyears, in which, if Herodotus have written truly, that Phraortes conquered Perfia, and how he and other Kings of Media by many victories greatly enlarged their Dominions, and commanded many parts of Asia, it had bin but an unadvised enterprise of the Assirans and Babylonians, to have wasted themselves against the Syrians and Egyptians, leaving so able and victorious a Nation on their backes. But that the Medes had done nothing upon the South parts of Persia, and that the Persians themselves were not masters of Susiana in Nabuchodonofors time, it is manifest in Daniel, who was then Governour for the Babylonian in Sufa, or Sufan, the chiefe Citie thereof. It is true indeed, that the Medians, either under Cyaxares or Astyages, or both, had quarrell with Halyattes the father of Crafus, which after fome fixe yeares dispute was compounded.

How the affaires of Persia stood in so many ages, I doe not finde any memoric. It seemeththat the roughnesse of the mountainous Countrey which they then possest; with the confederacie which they continued with the Medes, gave them more securitie than fame: For if their Kings, being the posteritie of Achamenes, had done any memorable acts, the greatnesse which they afterward obtained would not have suffered any forgetfulnesse thereof. But as we finde all Xenophons reports, both of these Warres and the flate of those countries to be very consonant and agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, so it appeares, that the race of Achamenes held the Principalitie of Perfor from Father to Sonne for many descents. And therefore we may better give credit

to Xenophon, who affirmeth, That Camby festhe father of Cyrus was King of Persia; than to those that make him a meane man, and fay, that Assages gave him his daughter Man. dane in marriage, to the end that her son (whose nativitie he feared) might be disabled from any great undertaking by his fathers ignobilitie.

The third Booke of the first part

om any great uncertaking of an analysis, that the fon of his daughter should For what cause of griefe could it be to Astrages, that the son of his daughter should become Lord of the best part of Asia? No, it was more likely, that upon such a Prophecie his love to his grand-childe should have encreased, and his care been the greater to

have married her to some Prince of strength and eminent vertue. Yea, the same Herodotus, who is the first Author, and as I think the deviser of the mis. chiefe intended against Cyrus by his Grandfather, doth confesse, That the line of the Achiefe intended against Cyrus by his Grandfather, doth confesse, That the line of the Achiefe intended was so renowned, that the great King Xerxes in the height of his prospering to did thence derive himselse, and vaunt of it: which he would never have done, had they binignoble, or had they bin the vaffals of any other King or Monarch. For in this fort Xerxes in the feventh of Herodotus deriveth himfelfe.

C Achemenes. Cambases.

Teispeus. Ariaramnes. Arfamnes.

Of the Achamenida there were two races : of the first was Cyrus the great, whose isse to male failed in his two fonnes, Camby fes and Smerdis. This royall familie is thus fet downe by the learned Reineccius.

Achemenes, the fon of Perfes, first King of Perfia.

Cyrus, the first of that name, had Cambyses and Atossa; who married to Pharnaces, King of Cappadecia, had Arty stona and other daughters.

Cambuses had

Cyrus the Great: Cyrus had Cambyfes, who succeeded him, and Smerdis, flaine by his brother Cambyfes.

Of the second were those seven great Princes of Persia, who having overthrownethe ulurped royaltie of the Magi, choie from antiong themselves Darius, the son of Hyflafts,

This Kingdome of Persia was first known by the name of Elam, so called after Elam the fon of Sem, and the people therein inhabiting, Elamita; by Elianus, Elyna; by 1%-

Caphus Elymi.

Euf.1.6.t.8.de Prap.Evang.

Suides derives this Nation sometimes from Assur, sometimes from Magog, of whom they were called Magusai; which Magusai, according to Eusebius, are not to be taken for the Nation in generall, but for those who were afterward called the Magi or Wisemen. 10 So doethe Greeks, among many other their fayings of them, affirme, That the Persians were anciently written Artai, & that they called themselves Cephenes. But that they were Elamita, Moses & the Prophets, Esay, Jeremie, EZekiel, Daniel and Esdras, inmany places confirme : Which also S. Hierome upon Jeremie the five and twentieth, upon Daniel the cight, and also in his Hebrew questions, approveth, saying: Elam, a que Elamit a Principes Perfidis ; Elamof whom were the Elamites Princes of Perfia.

And that Citie which the Author of the fecond book of the Maccabees calleth Perfepolis, is by the Author of the first called Elimais, but is now called Siras, being the same which Antiochus, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in vaine, and to his great dishonour. And yet this Citie, now called Siras, was not the old Persepolis; for Alexander 5

at the request of Thais the Harlot, burnt it. The first King of Persia to us known, if we follow the current of Authors interpreting the fourteenth chapter of Genefis, was Chederlasmer, who lived with Amraphel or Ninia, and joyned with him in the war against those Arabians; who was afterward extinguished by the forces of Abraham.

CHAP.3. S.1.2.

CHAP. III.

Of Cyrus.

6. I.

Of Cyrus his name, and first actions.



S touching the name of Cyrus, Serabo faith, That the same wastaken Strablits. from a river which watereth Perfia; this great Prince having Agrada. tue for his proper name. But the great Cyrus was not the first of that name. Herodorus otherwise; and that Cyrus fignifieth a father in the Persian Tongue, and therefore so intituled by the people.

It is true that for his Justice and other excellent vertues he was indeed called a Father; but that the name of Cyrus had any fuch fignifi-

cation. I think it be mistaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That Cyrus is as much to fay as the Sunne, Plus invite Attain in the same Language. How soever it be, yet the Prophet Esay, almost two hundred veries before Cyrus was borne, gives him that name, Thus faith the Lord unto Cyrus his

Before the Conquest of Babylon, the victories which Cyrus obtained were many and great:among which, the Conquest of Lydia, and other Provinces thereto subject, together with the taking of Crashes himselfe, are not recounted by Eusebius, Orosius, and others, but placed among his latter atchievements: whose opinion for this difference of timeisfounded upon two reasons; namely, That of the Median there is no mention in that last war against Crasus: and that the obtaining of Sardis is referred to the eight and fiftieth o lymprad, and the glorious victorie which Cyrus had over Babylon, to the five and fiftieth Olympiad.

The former of which might have bin used (and was by the Greekes) to exclude the Medes from the honour of having won Babylon it felfe, which in due place I have answer red. The latter feems to have reference to the fecond War which Cyrus made upon Lydia, when it rebelled; at which time he so established his former Conquest, as after that timethele Nations never offered to revolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to believe with Herodotus, whom the most of Chronologers follow, and finde the enterprise of sardis to precede that of Babylon.

6. II.

of Croesus the King of Lydia, who made warre upon Cyrus.

Have in the last Book spoken somwhat of Crassus, of his race and predecessors, as also of this kings which governed Lydia in more ancient times: of which the first (to prophane Authors known) was Lydus the fon of Airs: which Familie extinguished, the kingdome was by an Oracle conferred upon Argon, descended from Hercules, whereof there were two and twentie generations, Candaules being the last, who by shewing his hir wife naked to Gyges his favorite, he was by the fame Gyges (thereto urged upon peril of of his own life by the Queen) the next day flain. Which done, Gyges enjoyed both the Queen and the Kingdome of Lydis, and left the fame to Arys his fon, who was father to Salyantes, the father of Halyantes (who thrust the Cimmerians out of Asa) and Halyantes, begat Crasus. Which five Kings, of a third race, enjoyed that kingdome an hundred and Herodia page sevente years. Haly sees the father of Crass was an undertaking Prince, and after he had 400 1. continued a war against Cyaxares the Median, a Prince very powerfull, and maintained it fixe years, a peace was concluded upon equal conditions between them.

Allyages, the son of Cyaxares, and grandfather to Cyrus, thought himselfe greatly ho-

noured by obtaining Argenes, Crasus fifter, whom he married.

But

Gen.re. Efay 11.21.25. Jer. 25.& 29. Ezech.32. Dan.8. Efd.4.

2 Mac.9. z Mac.6.

CHAP.

CHAP.3.5.4.

Bert.

Athel. 145.17.

But Crasus so farre enlarged his dominions after his father's death, as he was nothing inferior in territory to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that timethere were foure in effect of equall ftrength; to wit, the Median, the Babylonian, the Egyptian and the Lydian: only Nabuchodonofor, after he had joyned Phanicia, Palassina, and E. gypt to his Empire, had thence-forward no Competitor during his owne life.

But Crafus, notwith standing the men and treasure spent in the quarrell of the Babyla. nians, he yet mastered Æolis, Doris, and Ionia, Provinces possest by the Greeks in Asia the lesse, adjoyning to Lydia; gave law to the Phrigians, Bithynians, Carians, Mysians. Paphlagonians, and other Nations. And that he also inforc't the Ephesians to acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their Citie with Diana's girdle, Herodotus witness feth. Moreover, Athenaus out of Berofus (which also Strabe confirmeth) makes report of a Signall victorie which Crassus obtained against the Sacaans, a Nation of the Seythians. in memorie whereof the Babylonians his allies did yearly celebrate a Feast, which they called Sacaa: All which he performed in fourteen years.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and envious of Cyrue fame, doubting alfo, that his prosperous undertakings might in the end grow perillous to himselfe, he consulted with the Oracle of Apollo, whom he presented with marvellous rich gifts, what successe he might hope for against cyrus, if he undertooke him: from whom he received this riddle; Croefus, passing over the River Halys, shall diffolve agreat Dominion. For the divell being doubtfull of the fuccesse, payed him with merchandize of 10 both fides alike, and might be inverted either way, to the ruine of Persia, or of his owne Lydia.

6. III.

Croesus his Expedition against Cyrus.

PEreupon Crafus being resolved to stop the course of Cyrus fortunes, if he could, despised all the arguments used by Sandanes to the contrary, who desired him to fore-think. That he urged a Nation inhabiting a barren and mountainous Re- 10 gion, a people not covered with the foft filke of worms, but with the hard skins of beafts; not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and profperous; over whom if he became victorious, he could thereby enrich himselfe in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, and subjected, so great would his losse appeare of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceived.

Notwithstanding this folid counsel, Crassus having prepared a powerful armie, he led the fame toward Media, but in his passage he was arrested at Pterium, a City of great strength in Cappadocia; which while he fought by all means to furprise or to force, Cyrus cameon, 40 and found the Lydians encamped before it. That each was inferior to other in strengthor opinion, I doe not find: for out of doubt, Crafus, as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and abilitie; so was he not under any in territorie and fame that then lived.

But as Cratippus of Mitylene answered Pompey when he complained against the gods, because they favoured a disturber and usurper of the Common-weale against hint who fought for the Romane libertie, That Kingdomes and Common-weals had their encreafe and period from divine Ordinance: fo at this time was the winter of Crasus prosperitie at hand, the leaves of his flourishing fortune ready to fall, and that of Cyrus but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not Admetis Herdman, spotto, had given a date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When thefe two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of divers skirmishes, the Persians and Lydians began to joyn in grosse troupes: supplies from both Kings thrust on upon the falling off, and advancement of either Nations: and as the Persans had somewhat the better of the day, so when the darkevaile of night had hidden each Armie from the others view, Crasus doubting what successe the rising Sunne would bring with it, quitted the field to Cyrus, and with all speed possible retyred, and taking the next way into Lydia, recovered Sardis his first Citie and Regall Seat, without any pursuit made by Cyrus to retard him. Where being arrived, and nothing fuspecting Cyrus approach, or any other warre for that Winter, he dismissed the Souldiers, and fent the troupes of his fundrie Nations to their owne Provinces, appointing them to re-affemble at the end of five moneths, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the warre at the time appointed.

6. IV.

The Conquest of Lydiaby Cyrus.

Trus in the following morning finding the Lydians departed, put his Armie in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heeles, as to be discovered. But having good intelligence of Crasus his proceeding, he so measured his marches, as he presented not himselfe before Sardis, till such time as Crasus had disposed his Armie to their wintring garrifons: which being altogether unlooked for, and unfeared. he furrounded Sardis with his Armie; Wherein Crassis having no other Companies than his Citizens and ordinary Guards, after fourteen dayes fiege the same was entred by affault, and all executed that refifted. Crafus having now neither arms to fight, nor wings to flie, Sardis being on all parts strongly encompassed, thrust himselfe into the heape and In communicates miserable multitude of his vassals, and had undergone the common fortune of common que habet fortu-20 persons vanquished, had not a son of his, who had been dumb all his life (by extremitie nam, curi, of passion and feare enabled) cried out to the Souldiers to spare Crassis. Who thereup demonstrates released despoyled of all things but the same factor of the permit timer vo onbeing taken and imprisoned, despoyled of all things but the expectation of death, he cit estimates was forthwith tied in fetters, and let on the top of a great and high heape of wood, to tum, oc. be confumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire was fet and kindled, remembring solinare the discourse which he had with the Athenian Law-giver, he thrice cried out on his name, Solon, Solon, Solon: and being demanded what he meant by that invocation, he first used silence: but urged againe, he told them, That he had now found it true which Solon had long fince told him, That many men in the race and courses of their lives might 30 well be accounted fortunate, but no man could discerne himselfe for happy indeed, till his minecalamito

Camby (es

Of which answer Cyrus being speedily informed, remembring the changes of fortune meminis sia, cag. and his owne mortalitie, he commanded his ministers of Justice to withdraw the fire with all diligence, to fave Crafus, and to conduct him to his prefence: Which done, Cymidemanded of him, Who it was that had perfwaded him? or what felfereason had conducted him to invade his territorie, and to make him of a friend an enemiee To whom hethus answered; It was thy prosperous, and my unprosperous destiny (the Grecian god flattering therewithall my ambition) that were the inventers and conductors of Crasus warre against Cyrus.

Cyrus being pierc't with Crafts answer, & bewailing his estate, though victorious over it, did not only spare his life, but entertained him ever after as a King and his companion, hewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed, Que non caufam, fed fortunam fect at.

And herein is the reall difference discerned between that behaviour which we call bemilitium latronis, and gratiam Principis: Atheefe sometime sparing the life of him which isin his power, but unjustly: A King that giveth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his owne evill.

The report made by Xenophon, is, That Cyrus did friendly entertain Crasus at the first fight, not mentioning that which Herodotus delivers, and is here already fet down, that he fould have bin burnt alive. It may very well be, that Xenophon pourtraying (in Cyrus) an heroicall Prince, thought an intent so cruell, fitter to be forgotten than rehearsed, as too much mis-beseeming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that neerenesse of alliance might with-hold Cyrus (had he bin otherwise vicious) from so cruell a purpose against his grandmothers brother. How soever it was, the morall part of the Storie hath given much credit and reputation to the report of Herodotus (as to many the like it often doth) and made it passe for currant, though the trust reposed in Crasus afterwards may seem to argue, that Cyrus did not use him inhumanely at the first.

For as Herodotus himselfetelleth us, when Cyrus past with his Armie over Araxes into Seythia, he left Crafus to accompany and advise his sonne Cambyses, Governour of the Empire in his absence, with whom he lived all the time of Cyrus, & did afterward follow

Camby ses into Egypt, where he hardly escaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was, I

But in this time the races of three of the greatest Kings in that part of the world took end; to wir, of the Babylonians, Medians, and Lydians; in Balthafar, Cyaxares, and Crafu.

6. V.

How Cyrus won Babylon.

Fter this Lydian War enfued the great Conquest of Babylon, which gave unto 10 Cyrus an Empire fo large & mightie, that he was justly reputed the greatest Mo. narch then living upon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action took up, it is uncertain; only it feems, that ten whole years did passe between his taking those two Cities of Sardis and Babylon; which neverthelesse I doe not thinke to have bin wholly occupied in provision for the Affyrian war, but rather to have bin spent in fettling the Estate which he had already purchased. And hereunto perhaps may bereferred that which Crefic hath in his fragments of a war made by Cyrus upon the Sentians, though related as foregoing the victorie obtained against Crasas. He telleth us, That Cyrus invaded Seythia, and being victorious over that Nation, took Amorges their King prisoner: but being ira second battell overthrown by the wife of Amorges, Sparetha, and, therein taken, the one King was delivered for the other.

Likewise it may be thought, that no finall part of those troubles which arose in the lower Affa, grew foon after the departure of the victorious armie, before the Conquest

was fully established.

For after Cyrus was returned out of Afia the leffe, many Nations, conquered formerly by Crassis, and now by Cyrus, revolted from him; against whom he imployed Pattin, and then Harpagus, who first reduced the Phocians under their former obedience, and then the rest of the Greekes inhabiting Asia the lesse, as the Ionians, Carians, Rollans, and Lycians, who refolvedly (according to the strength they had) defended themselves. But in the attempt upon Babylon it felfe, it is not to be doubted, that Cyrus employed all his to forces, having taken order before-hand, that nothing should be able to divert him, orto raise that siege, and make frustrate the work upon which he did set all his rest. And great reason there was, that he should bend all his care and strength unto the taking of thatcitie, which beside the same and reputation that it held, as being head of an Empiretherron depending, was fo strongly fenced with a treble wall of great height, & surrounded with waters unfoordable, so plentifully victualled for many years, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and fear of their estate, but despised and derided all purposes and power of their befiegers.

The only hope of the Medes and Persians, who despaired of carrying by affault a Citie so wel fortified & manned, was in cutting off all supplies of victuals and other necessaries: 40 wherof though the Town was faid to be stored sufficiently for more than 20. years, yet might it well be deemed, that in such a world of people as dwelt within those gates, one great want or other would foon appear, &vanquish the resolution of that unwarlike multitude. In expecting the fuccess of this course, the besiegers were likely to enduremuch travel, & all invain, if they did not keep streight watch & strong guards upon all quarters.

This was hard to doe, in regard of the valt circuit of those walks which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men sufficiently assured unto their commander: The confideration whereof ministred unto the Babylonians matter of good Kenuph, Cyropad, paltime, when they faw the Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, and others, quartered a bout their Town to keep them in, who having bin their ancient friends and allies, were so more likely to joyne with them, if occasion were offered, than to use much diligence on the behalfe of Cyrus, who had, as it were, yesterday layd upon their neckes the galling yoake of servitude. Whilest the besieged were pleasing themselves in this deceitfull and vaine gladnesse, that is the ordinarie fore-runner of fudden calamitie; 69rus, whom the Ordinance of God made strong, constant, and inventive, devised by formany channels and trenches as were sufficient and capable of Euphrates, and so to draw the same from the walls of Babylon, thereby to make his approach the more facile and affured: which when by the labour of many hands hee had performed, he stayed the time of his advantage for the execution: for he had left certain bankes or heads un-cut, between the maine river which furrounded the Citie, and his owne Tren-

Now Balthasar, finding neither any want or weaknes within, nor any possibilitie of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding fumptuous feast, publike Plaves and other Pastimes, and thereto invited a thousand of his Princes or Nobilitie, besides his wives, curtizans, & others of that trade. This he did either to let the befiegers know. that his provisions were either sufficient, not onely for all needfull uses, but even for iollitie and excesse: Or because he hoped that his enemies, under the burthen of many diffress were well neere broken; or in honour of Bel his most reverenced Idoll:Or that To it was his birth or coronation day: Or for many or all these respects. And hee was not contented with fuch magnificence as no Prince else could equal, but (using Daniels words) He lifted himself up against the Lord of Heaven: for he & his Princes, wives & concibines, made carowing cups of the Veffels of God, in contempt of whom he praifed hisown puppets, made of Silver and Gold, of Braffe, Iron, Wood, and Stone; Quanta fuit fultitia in vafibus aureis bibentes, ligneos & lapideos deos landare; Hom great a foolifhne fe wait (faith S. Hierome) drinking in golden Cups, to praise gods of Wood and Stone. While Bathalar was in this fort triumphing, and his braines well filled with vapors, he beheld ahand, which by divine power wrote on the wall opposite unto him, certaine words which he understood not : wherewith so great a feare and amazement seized him, as the iounts of his loynes were loofed, and his knees smore one against the other. Which past. Dans. 6. from when he had in some part recovered, he cried out for his Chaldwans, Astrologians. and Soothfayers, promising them great rewards, and the third place of honor in the kingdome to him that could reade and expound the writing; but it exceeded their Art. In this diffurbance and aftonishment the Queen hearing what had past, and of the Kings amazement, after reverence done, used this speech: There is a man in thy Kingdome, in whom is the Pirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy father light, and understanding & willdome, like the wifedome of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King Nabuchodonofor. 30 the father the King (I say) thy father made chiefe of the Inchanters, Aftrologians, Chaldeans, and Sooth fayers, because a more excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding oc. were found in him, even in Daniel, &c. Now let Daniel be called, and he will declare the interpretation.

This Queen. Folephow takes for the grandmother; Origen and Theodoret for the mother orige Thank of Balthafar : either of which may be true : for it appeareth, that the was not any of the in Dan. Hopps. Kings wives, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dancing and ban-ant. 10. quetting, the came in upon the bruit of the miracle, and to comfort the King in his diftraation: And whereas Daniel was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger yeares and times, this old Queene remembred well what he had done in the dayes of Nabuchedono for, grandfather to this Balthafar, and kept in mind both his religion and di-

vine gifts.

When Daniel was brought to the Kings presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promises of reward and honour, to reade and interpret those words miraculously written; to whom Daniel made answer in a farre different style from that he used towards his Grandsather: for the evill which he foretold Nabuchodonofor, he wished that the same might befall his enemies: but to this King(whofe neglect of God and vice he hated) he answered inthese words. Keepethy rewards to thy selfe, and give thy gifts to another, yet will I reade the writing unto the King, and shew him the interpretation. Which before he had performed, he gave him first the cause of Gods just judgement against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence, whereof the King and all his Wise men were utterly ignorant. Which being written at large in Daniel, hath this effect, That forgetting Gods good-neffects his Father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as he deprived him of his estate and understanding; so upon the acknowledgement of Gods infinite power he restored him to both. This King notwithstanding lifted himselfe up against the same God, and presuming both to abuse those vessels dedicated to holy uses, and neglecting the Lord of all power, praised and Worshipped the dead Idols of Gold, Silver, Brasse, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore those words from the Oracle of a true God delivered, (to wit) Mene, Tekel, Maharfin,

Ter.27.

Elay 47.

Cap.47.

gave the King knowledge, that God had numbred the time of his kingdome, and finished it: That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods justice, and found too light; and that his Empire was divided and given to the Medes and Persians.

is empire was divided and get of this day, wherein Balthafar feafted and perished, Cyrus. either by his espiall, according to Xenophon, or inspired by God himselfe, whose ensigne he followed in this warre, found the time and opportunitie to invite him: and therefore while the Kings head, and the heads of his Nobilitie were no leffe filled with the vapors of wine, than their hearts with the feare of Gods judgement, he caused all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut downe with that diligence, as by them hee neads or his trenches to be opened and current, by whose channell running, his to drew the great River of Euphrates dry for the present, by whose channell running, his to Armie made their entrance, finding none to disturbe them. All the Town lay buried (as the Poet faith) in fleepe and wine: fuch as came in the Persians way, were put to the fword, unlesse they saved themselves by slight, as some did, who ranne away crying, and filling the streets with an uncertaine tumult.

Such Assirian Lords as had revolted from Balthafar, and betaken themselves to the partie of Cyru, did now conduct a selected companie to the Kings Palace; which having eafily forced, they rushed into the chamber where the King with his Princes were banquetting, flew both him and them without any mercie, who struggled in vain tokeep those lives which God had newly threatned to take away. And now was the prophecie of Jeremie fulfilled, and that of Efay, two hundred yeares before this subversion, who in his seven and fortieth Chapter, and elsewhere, writeth this destruction so feelingly and lively as if he had beene present both at the terrible slaughter there committed and had scene the great and unfeared change and calamitic of this great Empire; yea, and had alfo heard the forrowes and bewailings of every furviving foule thereunto subject. His Prophecie of this place he beginneth in the se words: Come downe, and sit in the dust, o virgin daughter of Babel : fit on the ground, there is no Throne, &c. And again, Sit fill and get thee into darkenesse, O daughter of the Chald aans, for thou shall no more be called the La die of Kingdomes. For though it cannot be doubted, that God used Nabuchodonofer and the Chaldrans, to punish the Idolatric of the Judrans, yet Esay teacheth us in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execution of his judgements was mixt with a rigo- 30 rous extremitie. For (faith Efay) in the person of God, I was wroth with my people, I have polluted mine inheritance, and given them into thine hand thou didft shew them no mercy, but thou didft lay thy very heavy yoak upon the ancient. I will rife up against them faiththe Lud of Hofts, and will cut off from Babel the name and the remnant, and the sonne and the nephin. And in the thirteenth, Every one that is found, shalbe stricken thorow and who sever joyneth himself, shalfall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces before their cies, their houses soyled, and their wives ravished. So as there is no Historian who was either present at this victory of Cyrus, or that received the report from others truly as it was, that could better leave the same to posteritie after it happened, than Esay hath done in many places of his Prophecies, which were written two hundred years before any thing attemp- 40 ted.

The greatnesse and magnificence of Babylon, were it not by divers grave Authors set down, might seem altogether fabulous : for, besides the reports of Saint Hierome, Solinus, and Orofius, Aristotle in the third of his Politikes, the second Chapter, received the report for true, That one part of the Citie knew not that the rest was taken three dayes after. Which is not impossible, if the testimonie of Diodorus Siculus may betaken; who findes the compatte thereof at three hundred and threescore Stadia or Farlongs, which makes five and fortie miles: the walls whereof had fo great a breadth, that fixe Chariots might passe in front thereon. And of height, according to Ctesias and Clitracus, three hundred threescore and five foot, garnished with an hundred and fiftie Towers, so Strabo in the beginning of his fixteenth Booke of Geographie gives it a greater circuit, adding five and twentie furlongs more to the former compasse, reckoning the same at three hundred fourescore and five furlongs, which makes eight and fortie mile and one furlong, but finds the wall farre under that which Diodore reports and fo doth Curtime measure their thicknesse but at two and thirtie foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is also very much severy cubit containing a foot and halfe of the large meafure, though to the whole circuit of the Citie he gives the fame with Szculus, and eight furlongs more. Herodotus findes a greater content than Strabo doth, namely, foure him-

Ared and fourescore furlongs circle; the thicknesse of the wall he measures at fiftie cuhits, and the height at two hundred of the same regall cubit. For entrance it had an hun-Heylat. dred gates of Brasse, with posts and hookes to hang them on of the same mettall: and therefore did the Prophet Efay rightly intitle Babylon, The Princesse and Glory of king. Elay 47.8:130

But when Cyrus had wonne her, he stript her out of her Princely Robes, and made hera flave; dividing not onely all her goodly houses, and her whole Territorie, with all the riches therein contained, among his Souldiers; but bestowing the inhabitants themfelves as bond-flaves upon those that had taken possession of their goods.

Touching the reigne of Cyrus, and the time which he enjoyed in rest and pleasure. I can fay no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to have lasted only seven yeares: in which time he made such Constitutions as differ little from the ordinances of all wife Kings that are defirous to establish a Royall power to themselves and their posteritie.

6. VI.

The end of Cyrus.

Helast warre, and the end of this great King Cyrus, is diversly written. Herodo. tus and Justine deliver, That after the Conquest of Asia the lesse, Cyrus invaded the Massagetes, a very warlike Nation of the Scythians, governed by Tomyris their Queene : and that in an incounter between the Persians and these Northerne Nomides, Tomyris loft her armie, and her Son Spargapifes that commanded it: In revenge whereof this Queen making new levies of men of War, and following the War against Crrus, in a second battell beat the Persian Armie, and taking Cyrus prisoner, cut off his headfrom his bodie, and cast the same into a boule of bloud, using these words; Thou that hast all thy life time thir sted for bloud, now drinke thy fill, and satiate thy selfe.

Ithould hereby feeme, that Cyrus knowing the strength and multitude of those of fozen Nations, was perswaded to abate their furie by some forcible invasion and depopulation, because in the time of Cyaxares, father to Astrages, those Scythians invaded Media and Afia the leffe, and held the fame in a fervile fubjection eight and twenty

This war which Metasthenes calleth Tomyrique, lasted (faith he) fixe years, and rook end at the end of Cyrus.

But in this particular I beleeve with Viginier, that this Scythian War was rather the famewhich Cyrus made against the Sacians, before the conquest of Lydia, according to Clefias before cited, who calleth Tomyris, Sparetha, though he deliver the successe of that warotherwise than Herodotus doth: The rather (faith Viginier) because Strabo in his ele-Vigorim part Wenth book reciteth. that Cyrus fur prized the Sacians by the same stratagem by which Bib. Justine faith he defeated the son of Tomyris. And the same Ctefias also reporteth, That cied, 15, bill part. the last war which Cyrus made, was against Amorrhaus king of the Derbicians, a Nation (wtherest) of Scythia; whom though he overcame, yet he then received the wound of his death, which he suffered three dayes after.

Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried in his owne Citie of Pasagardes, which him-strabliss selfhad built, and where his Epitaph was to be read in his time; which is said to have bin this: O vir quicunque es. & undecunque advenis, neque enim te adventurum ignoravi: Ego sum Cyrus qui Persis imperium constitui pusillum hoc terræ quo meum tegitur corpus mihi ne invidias; O thou man who sever thou art or whence sever thou commest; for I was not ignooransthat thou shouldest come: I am Cyrus that founded the Persian Empire, doe not envieuntomethis little earth, with which my bodie is covered.

This Tombe was opened by Alexander, as Qu. Curtius reporteth, either upon hope of Q. cutl. trealure, supposed to have been buried with him, or upon desire to honour his dead bodie with certaine ceremonies; in which there was found an old rotten Target, two seythis Bowes, and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his bodie lay, Alexander caused to be covered with his owne garment, and a Crowne of gold to be fet upon it. Thefe things well confidered, as they give credit to the reports of Xenophon and Zonaras, so they de-zenpeds. rogate much from Herodotus, who leaves his bodie in the hands of Tomyris.

Zon.l.s.c.20.

Died.13.

CHAP-3. S.8.

And furely, had Cyrus loft the Armie of Perfia in Scythia, it is not likely, that his fon would fo foone have transported all his remaining forces into Egypt, fo farre off from would to took that Nation then victorious, and bordering Media; neither had that quarter: the Seythian Nation then victorious, and bordering Media; Cambyses beene able in such haste to have undertaken and performed so great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather believe Xenophon, saying, That Cyrus dyed aged and in peace. and that finding in himselfe that he could not long enjoy the world, he called unto him his Nobilitie, with his two sonnes, Cambyses and Smerdis, or after Xenophon, Tanaoxares. and after a long Oration, wherein he affured himselfe, and raught others of the immortalitie of the Soule, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deserving of every man in this life; he exhorted his fons by the strongest arguments he had, to a perpetual concord and agreement. Many other things he uttered, which make it probable, that he received the knowledge of the true God from Daniel, when he governed Susa in Persia; and that Cyrus himselfe had read the Prophecie of Esay, wherein he was expressely named, and by God(for the deliverie of his people) preordained. Whichaet of delivering the Jewes from their Captivitie, and of restoring the holy Temple and Citie of Hierusalem, was in true consideration the noblest work that ever Cyrus performed. For in other actions he was an instrument of Gods power, used for the chastifing of many Nations, & the establishing of a government in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the grace to be an instrument of Gods goodnesse, anda willing advancer of his Kingdome upon earth; which must last for ever, though heaven is and earth shall perish.

6. VII.

Of Cyrus bis Decree for building the Temple of Godin Jerusalem.

Aving thereforespoken of his great victories, mentioned by sundrie Historians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his fervice done unto him that was Author of them and of all goodnesse: I hold it meet at length to speake of the Decree made in the first of his Raigne, being perhaps the first that ever he made after to his possession of the Babylonian Empire: That the captive Jewes should return eaguing into their owne Territorie, and re-build the House of God in Jerusalem, having nowendured and finished the threescore and ten years captivitie, by the Prophets foretold For the accomplishing whereof, hee gave order to his Treasurers to surnish them with all things necessary and wanting. He also restored unto them five thousand four chundred threescore and nine Vessels of Gold and Silver, wherof Nabuchodonofor, the grandfather of Balthafar had formerly robbed the Temple.

The number of the Jewes which returned out of Chald eaunder their Leader Zonbebel, the fon of Salathiel, and Nephew to King Jeconias, and Jefus or Jofua the fon of Jofudak, were about fifty thousand; where, as soon as they arrived, they built an Altar to the living God, and facrificed thereon, according to their own law, and afterward bethought

themselves how to prepare materials for the rebuilding of the Temple.

But no sooner did the Jewes begin to lay any one stone, than the Samaritans and other idolatrous Nations adjoyning, gave all the impediment they could. So did the Governours of those Provinces under Cyrus altogether countenance the disturbers, and inno fort favoured the Jewes, nor the labours nor purposes they had in hand. Andnot onely those which were but Provinciall Lievtenants and other officers of leffe place, but Came byfes himfelfe, who having the charge of the whole Empire, while Cyrus was buffed otherwise, countermanded the building begun. And whereas some Authors make doubt, that whatfoever Camby ses did when himselfe had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of Cyrus there was no fuch impediment or prohibition: They may herein refolve themselves out of Estras, That by the conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations, the building was hindered all the time of King Cyrus life, &c. And therfore it is true, that the Jewes themselves affirm, as it is written in the second of John, That the Temple was 46. years in fetting up, having received fo many hinderances from the first foundation to the second of Darius.

And if we feek the naturall and politique courses which moved Camby sesto withstand his fathers decree, as well while he governed under him, as when him lesse became sold

and foveraigne Monarch, we shall find them in that Epistle remembred by Esdras, written by Belemus, Mithridates, and the rest, Presidents and Councellors in Phanicia, whereinthey complaine that the Jewes were evermore rebellious and troublers of Kings 3 that Edux. their City being once built, they would then refuse to pay tribute, and fall from the ohedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other kings.

But that which for that present seemed the most forcible impediment, was, that Camby having it in his resolution to invade Egypt, and that it was a common opinion. That the Jewes were descended of those Nations, because they issued thence under Moses. when they conquered Judga; their Citie being once repaired and fortified, they might o returne to their old vomit, and give the fame disturbance to Cambyses Conquest, which they did to Sennacherib, Nabuchodono for, and other Kings of Babylon. For as it is written Ezechic. 290

in Exechiel, Egypt was the confidence of the house of Israel.

But it is to be understood, as Codoman and others have observed, that Artaxerxes, to whom the Counsellors and Governors of Phanicia complained against the Jewes, did nor recede, but succeed Darius Histaspes, as in the fixth and seventh chapters of Eldras it is madeplain: and also that those Governors (whose Epistle sheweth as much) did not withfland the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and encloting of the City, as by thereasons given in the said Epistle, and by the Kings answer, it is evident.

Also in the fixt of Exta, the fourteenth verse, the kings are named in order as they gowemed, and Areaxerxes written after Darius; as: And they built and finished it (to wit the Temple) by the appointment of the God of Ifrael & by the commandement of Cyrus & Danus and Artah shafte Kings of Persia. Lastly, in the seventh of Ezrait is written; Now afurthlethings, in the reigne of Artahshaste King of Perfix : which was as much to fay, as after the finishing of the Temple in Darius time. And therefore Artaxerxes in the second of Eldras is there named by anticipation, not in his owne time and place.

Andthus much concerning the rebuilding of the Citie and Temple of Hierusalem. Whichaction though prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly pursued by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by Cyrus. The other ordinances of Cym, with his forme and manner of government, are to be found in Xenophon. At his to deathhebequeathed the Empire unto his eldest some Cambyses, appointing Smerdis or Tananxares his yonger fonto be Satrapa, or Lievtenant of Media, Armenia, and Cadulia; and then died, after he had reigned (faith Herodotus) one and thirty years, or (according to Justine but thirty.

§. VIII.

Of Cyrus his issue: and whether Atossa were his daughter, or (as some thinke) were the same with Queene Hefter.

Yrus had iffue two fons, Cambyses and Smerdis, with three daughters, Atossa, Meroe, and Artystona: Ctesias addeth to these, Amytis. Atolia and Meroe their brother Camby ses married; Arty stona, Darius Hystaspes obtained; so did hee A-10 , Camby sei being dead : who (as some Writers have supposed) inflamed both her husbands, Darrus, and Xerxes after him, to invade Greece, to bee avenged of the whole Nation for the cruell intent that Aman (whom the old Translation calletha Macadoni-41) had against the Tewes, though the opinion of Tosephus be more probable, who finds Aman to be an Amalekite. But it is hard to be understood, how Atoffa, the daughter of Cynus, should have beene Esther, whose History seemes rather to appertaine to the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, than of Darius the son of Hystaspes, or of Xerxes. The desire of Atossa to have Greece brought under the yoke of Persia, was party grounded upon the honour which thereby she thought her husband might obtaine, parely upon a feminine humour of gerting many brave Dames, Corinthians, Athenians, and others of that Nation to bee her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot give affent to the opinion of Codoman, who upon the neare found of the two names, Aroffa and Hadaffa, (by the latter of which Efther was also called) makes them to have been one person. For thoughit beetrue that Efter concerning her parentage, a while might beetaken for a great Lady; yet Codomans inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and

Eld.z. 2 Efd-7-

Efd.3.3. Ed.4.85. Fof.l.Am.II.

1 Efd.2.16.

Efd.2.16.

r Efd.5.33.

CHAP.4.S.I.

for the great affection which the King bare unto her, be thought the daughter of Cyrus. Certaine it is, that Efther did at length discover her Kindred and Nation; whereby, if Histories could be kept free from this errour, yet the people and especially the Nobility, must needs have understood the truth: who neverthelesse did so well know theparentage of Atoffa, that for her fake, as being daughter of Cyrus, her fon Xerxes was prefer red to the kingdome before his elder brother, against whom also he could have pretended a very weake claime. But of these things more hereafter in fitter place.

CHAP. IV.

The estate of things from the death of Cyrus to the reigne of DARIUS.

6. I.

Of the number and names of the Persian Kings.

F the fucceffors of Cyrus, and the continuance of the Persian Empire, there are many opinions; As that of Metasthenes, who hath numbered the Persian Kings, and their times as followeth.

Darius Medus, and Cyrus joyntly.	2	1
Cyrus alone.	22	
Priscus Artanernes.	20	[]
Darius Longimanus.	37	1
Darius Nothus.	19	> yeare
Ataxerxes Mnemon.	55	li .
Artaxerxes Ochus.	26	
Arfes, or Arfames.	4	
Darius the last, conquered by Alexande	r. 6	jį

To which Philo agreeth; which number of yeares added, make in all an hundred ninetie and one. But in this Catalogue Metasthenes hath left out Cambyses and Xerxes, and names Artaxerxes Affuerus for the immediate fuccessor of Cyrus; in place (faith Mulancton) of Darius the son of Hystashes: for Metasthenes, as Melancton conjectureth, doth not account Camby ses in the Catalogue, because his reigne was consounded with that of Cyrus.

There is a fecond opinion, though ridiculous, of Sedar Olam, who finds but foure Per-

fian Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, Schubert, and Beroaldus have also a differing account from the Greeks; whom nevertheleffe Eusebius and most of the Latines follow, and sodoth Krentzhim, who hathfully answered, and, as I take it, refuted all the former Authors varying from that account. For in this fort doe the Greekes marshall the Persian Kings with the times of their reignes.

Cyrus in all. Melaniton gives 8 Cambries with the Magi. Cyrus but 29. 36 Darius Hyftaspes. 21 Xerxes. Melantt. but 20. Artaxerxes Longimanus. veares, Darius Nothus. 43 Artaxerxes Mnemon. Melantt. but 40 Artaxerxes Ochus. 23 Melanit.26. Ar fames. Darius the last. Melanel-4

Which numbers put together, make in all two hundred and thirty.

This account (as I have faid) the most Chronologers and the best learned approve. These Persian Princes, being all warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, as Peucer in his historicall Animadversions hath gathered the places; finding first Cyrus in the second of Chronicles, ch. 36. ver. 22,23. EZra. 1. ch. 1. ver. 1. and often elsewhere.

Secondly, Cambyfes in the eleventh of Daniel, who may indeed be well efteemed for one of those three Kings in the second verse named, and so the marginall Commentor aponthe Geneva undestands that place; but, under correction, mistakes the matter greatly, when he faith in the fame note, that Darius Hystaspes was an enemy to the people of God, and stood against them: his great favour and liberality to the Jewes being else-

Thirdly, is Darius Hystaspes found in Ezrathe first, c.4.v.5. who in the fixt verse is al-

foramed Ahas Juerus.

Fourthly, in the eleventh of Daniel verse the second, Xerxes is plainely foretold and described, and the great warre which he should make against the Greekes by Daniel re-

Fifly, Artaxernes Longimanus in Ezra the fourth, verse seven, who is also called Arthatalta, c.4.l. I. EZr. v. 7. and cap. 7. v. 7.

Sixtly, Darsus Nothus, Ezra cap. 4. verse 24. and cap. 5. verse 6. Nehem. cap. 120

Seventhly, Artaxerxes Mnemon in Nehem. 6.2. v. 1. who was father to Artaxerxes Ochas and Arfames: for Darius the last, he was of another Family, the Line of Cyrus the Great ending in Ochus, who descended from Xerxes the son of Atosa, Cyrus his daughter; and the iffue male of Cyrus failing with his owne fons.

Butto proceed, Eufebius with the Latines, following the Greeks, apply the beginnings and ends of every Persian King with their Acts, to some certaine Olympiad; As the war of Alyages (Cyrus his maternall Grand-father) and Alyastes (Crafus his father) to the nine and fortieth Olympiad; The beginning of Cyrus reigne to the beginning of the five and fifieth Olympiad; The taking of Sardis by Cyrus to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; Theinvasion of Egypt by Cambyses to the third year of the threescore and third Olympiad, and so of the rest. Which reference with good agreement between severall formes of computation, adde the more credit unto both.

Againe, this historicall demonstration is confirmed by the Astronomical Computati- Prolin Alm. 1.30 onof Pulamie, who refers the death of Alexander the Great, who died the 12.0f No- eq. 8. vember, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, to the foure hundred and foureand twentieth yeare after Nabonassar. And the Ara of Nabonassar began onthe fixe and twentieth of February: which conferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth Moneth of the first yeare of the eighth Olympiad; So that whether wee follow the accounts of the Olympiads, as doe the Greeke Historians, or that of Nabonassar with Ptolomie, we shall finde every memorable accident to fall out right with each comto putation.

For Ptolomy reckons the time answerable to two hundred and foure and twenty Julimyears, and an hundred and forty dayes from Nabonassar to the fixteenth of July in the seventh year of Camby ses.

The Greekes, and namely, Diodorus Siculus, place the taking of Egypt by Cambyles in the second or third yeare of the three score and third Olympiad, and the beginning of Cambyfes seventh yeare, in the first of the threescore and fourth Olympiad: which first of the three score and fourth Olympiad runs along with part of the two and twentieth of Nabonasfar. The like agreement is consequently found about the beginning and end

Likewise the twentieth of Darins, who succeeded Camby ses, is according to Ptolomie thetwo hundred and fixe and fortieth of Nabonassar, which observing the differences of Nabonassars Ara and the Olympiad, vil eight and twenty yeares) agrees with the third of the three ftore and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the Greek. In this Josephus agrees with the Greekes throughout, faving that he joyneth Darius Medus, whom Xeno-Hom calleth Cyaxares, with Cyrus in the destruction of Babylon; which is true, and not contrary to the Greeke computation, but may very well frand with it.

Lastly, the disagreements & confused accompts of those that follow the other Catalogue of the Persian kings formerly rehearsed, doth give the greater credit to this of the

Greekes, which being constant in it selfe, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise with the holy Scriptures.

§. II.

of Cambyses, and the conquering of Egypt by him.

Ee will therefore according to the truth give the Empire of Persato Camby less the fon of Cyrus, though degenerate in all things, faving the defireto increase the greatnesse of his Empire: wherof he was possest in his Fathers time while Cyrus made war in the North. Cresius with others give him a longer reigne

than agreeth with the Grecian accompt before received.

In the fifth yeare of his fole reigne, and in the third yeare of the threefcore and third Olympiad, according to Diodore and Eusebius, he invaded Egypt, and having overthrown the King thereof, Pfammenitieus, he not onely caused him to be slaine, but also did putto death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his children.

Herodotus and Ctefias give for cause of this war (being no other indeed than the Ambition of Cambyses) that when he sent to Amasis king of Egypt, to have his daughter in marriage, Amasis presented him with Nitetis the daughter of Apries his predecessor, which

Cambyfes disdained.

Howsoever it were; true it is, that Cambyses gathered an Armie fit for such an enterprise, and caused the same to march. But before they entred Egypt, Amasis died, and left 20 Pfammeniticus, whom Ctesias called Amyrteus, his successor; who enjoyed Egyprafter his father (according to the best copies of Herodotus) but sixe Moneths, though other Chronologers give him fixe yeares.

But how long soever he held the Crowne, in one battell hee lost it, and was himselfe

It is faid that Cambyfes, following therein the example of Cyrus, did not only sparelie to the conquered King, but that he also trusted him with the government of Egypt, and that upon fome revolt, or suspicion thereof, he caused him to be flaughtered. But the race of this King was not so extirpated, if we may believe Herodotus and Thucydides, butthat heleft a foncalled Inarus, who caused the Egyptians to revolt both from Xerxes and dr-

That Pfarmenitions was at the first entreated gently by Cambyfes, I hold it very inprobable, if it beetrue which is also written of him, That he so much hated Amasisthe King of Egypt, who died before his arrivall, that he caused his body to be drawne out of the grave, and after divers indignities used, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custome both of the Egyptians and Persians. For the Egyptians used to powdertheir dead bodies with falt, and other drugs, to the end the wormes might not devourethen. The * Persians durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and

therefore feared to feed it with Carrion.

6. III. The rest of Cambyses his Ads.

Fter this victory obtained in Ezypt, Camby fes fent an Army into Cyprus, and conftrained Eveliber King thereof to acknowledge him, who before held that Iland of the Egyptians.

While Camby (es yet busied himselfe in Egypt, he so much detested the Idolatry of that had untombed Nation, as he caused the images themselves, with the Temples wherein they were worthe carkaste of the carkante of Cains Marins at Thipped, to be torne downe and defaced. This done, he directed a part of his Armie into Lybia, to overturne the Temple of Jupiter Ammon; but the Divell in defence of his Oratorie raised such a Tempest of Sand, wherewith the greatest part of that Country is co-

vered, as the Persians were therewith choked and over-whelmed.

Notwithstanding which misadventure, Herodotus and Sentea report, that disdaining to be refifted, he prepared the rest of his Army, which himself meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those incommodities, which his first-sent troupe had tryed, he changed his purpose. For though conquering Kings have power over men, yet the elements doe not obey them, according to that old English proverbe, Got, sith After the King; Stay, faith the Tide.

After his returne from the attempt of Athiopia, he caused Apis the Egyptian Bull. worshipped by that Nation as God, to be flaine: a deed very commendable, had it proreeded from true zeale, and been executed as in service of him that onely is, and liveth. But soone afterwards, when in a dreame it seemed unto him that Smerdis did sit in the royall throne of Persia (which apparition was verified in Smerdis the Magus) he gave it incharge to his favorite Praxaffes, to murther Smerdis his brother. And having married his own fifters, contrary to the Perfian Lawes, he committed a most causelesse and most derestable murder upon the one of them called Meroe, then by himselfe with child. because she bewailed the death of her brother Smerdis. I finde it written of this Cambyles, Her. 189.90 That because his Predecessors observed religiously the ordinances of their Empire. he affembled his Judges, and enquired of them whether there were any Law among the Profians that did permit the brother to marry his owne fifter: it being his owne intent for todoc. The Judges (who had alwayes either lawes or diffinctions in store to satisfic Kings and times) made answer, That there was not any thing written allowing any such conjunction, but they not with flanding found it in their cultomes, that it was alwaies left to the will of the Persian Kings to do what best pleased themselves; and, so as Nauclerus termes it, invenerunt occasionem: That is as much to fay, as the Judges found a shift to please the King, and to secure themselves. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings

private fatisfaction, he caused Sisamous one of his Judges, and perchance one of those which favoured his incestuous match, to be flayed alive, for an unjust judgement given. and the same his hide to be hung up over the judgement seate. After which, best owing the fathers Office on his fon, he willed him to remember that the fame partiality deferved the same punishment.

Among other his crucltics, that which he exercised against the some of his beloved Prixities was very frange and ungrateful. For when he defired to be truly informed by him what the Perlians thought of his conditions, Praxafees answered, That his vertues werefollowed with abundant praise from all men; onely it was by many observed, that hetookemore than usuall delight in the tast of Wine. With which taxation instanted. heused this replication: And are the Persians double-tongued, who also tell mee that I havein all things excelled my father Cyrus? thou Praxalpes shalt then witnesse, whether in this report they have done me right: for if at the first shot I pierce, thy somes heare withan arrow, then is it false that hath been spoken; but if I misse the marke, I am then phased that the fame be accounted true, and my subjects believed. This being spoken, he immediatly directed an arrow towards the innocent child, who falling downe dead with the stroke, Camby ses commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being brochedon the arrow, this monftrous Tyrant greatly rejoycing, shewed it to the Father, with this faying in stead of an Epicaph: Now Praxaspes, thou mail resolve toy selfe, that I have not lost my wits with Wine, but the Persians theirs, who make such report.

Many other barbarous cruelties he exercifed, till at the last, according to the phrase of our Law, he became felon de foy. For when he was informed that Patizites, and smerdis the Magi (Cedrenus writeth them Sphendanes, & Cimerdia) Ministers of his domestical affilies, taling advantage of the great relemblance between Smerdis, the Kings brother, and smerdis the Magus, possess themselves of the Empire he made all haste towards Per-14, and in mounting hastily on horsebacke, his sword discheathing, pierced his owne thigh, where-with deadly wounded, falling anto, an over-late and remedileffe, repentance of the flaughter, which he had executed upon his own brother, he some after gave up his wicked ghost, when he had reigned eight years, accounting therein those seven Mo-neths in which the Magi governed, while he was absent.

In Cambyles the Male Line of Cyrus failed. For he had no iffue either by Atoffa or Me-100: yet Zonaras out of Hierome gives him a daughter called Pantaptes, and a fon called zoncome party Orontes, who being drowned in the river Ophites by Amioch, the same was afterward in memory of the Princes death called Orontes.

Hebuilt the Citie of Babylon in Egypt, in the place where Latopolis was formerly feated and that of Merce in the Hand of Nilus, calling it by the name of his fifter Merce.

the Romanes C. ver confume their dead to ashes, till the that element, called Talionis, orlike for like,

Eib 2.C.2.

Her.1.3.pag.83, 84,85.

> time of Sylla Di-Cator, who caufed his owne to be devoured by fearing the Law ter his death. Herd.3Plind.6. C.54. Stra. & Fusi, I.X Pag.87.88.

Her.L.3 Scn.l.7.

§ IIII.

6. IIII. of the inter-regrum betweene Cambyses and Darius.

True and his two formes being now dead, and the Kingdome in the possession of one of the Mazi, the counterfeit of Smerds, the Princes, or Satrapes, or Provincial Governors of the Empire(to wit, Oranes, Intaphernes, Gobrias, Megabyfus, Afbha. sines, Hidarnes, and Darius, who were all descended from Achamenes the first Persian King) having discovered the fraud of this imposture, joyned their forces together, surprifed and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions and Assistants. Inwhich action (faith Justine) Intaphernes and Alphatines were flaine: but Herodotus otherwise, 10 that they were onely wounded; for he avoweth that all the feven Princes were prefent

at the election following. For the Empire being now without a Governour, these Princes grew into confultation how the same might be ordered from thence-forth. Otanes one of the sevendid nor fancie any election of Kings, but that the Nobilitie and Cities should confederate, and by just lawes defend their liberty in equality, giving divers reasons for his opinion, being as it seemed greatly terrefied by the cruelties of Cambyses; As first, that it was not fafe to give all power to any one, seeing greamesse it selfe, even in good men, doth often infect the minde with many vices, and the liberty and freedome in all things is most apt to infult, and to commit all manner of wicked outrage. Againe, that tyrants do common- 20 ly use the services of wicked men, and favour them most; they usurp upon the lawes of their Country; take other mens wives by force, and destroy whom they please without

Megabylus was of another opinion, affirming that the tyranny of a multitude was thrice more intolerable than that of one. For the multitude doe all things without judgement, runne into businesse and affaires with precipitation, like raging and overbearing flouds.

He therefore thought it fafeft to make election of a few, and those of the best, wifest, and most vertuous; because it is ever found, that excellent Counsels are ever had from excellent men.

Darine gave the third judgement, who perswaded the creation of a King, because even among few diuturnity of concord is feldome found, and in great Empires it dothever happen that the discord of many Rulers hath enforc't the election of one Supreme. It were therefore, faith Darius, farre fafer to observe the lawes of our Country, by which Kingly government hath been ordained.

The other foure Princes adhered to Darius, and agreed to continue the fame Imperiall government by God established, and made prosperous. And to avoyd partiality, it was accorded, that the morning following these seven Princes should mount on Horse backe, and on him the kingdome should be conferred, whose Horse after the Sun-rising should first ney or bray. In the evening after this appointment was made, it is faid that 40 Darius consulted with the Master of his Horse Ocharus, who in the Suburbs of the City where the election was refolved of caused the same Horse, whereon in the morning D4rise was mounted sto cover a Mare, who as foon as he came into the fame place, was the first Horse that brayed. Whereupon the other fixe Princes descended from their Horfes, and acknowledged Dariss for their Lord and King.

Plan in the third of his Lawes affirmeth, that in memory of the feven Princes, whereof Daris himsefe was one, that delivered the Empire from the usurparion of the Magie he divided the whole into feven governments; Heredotus faith, into twenty Satrapies.

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. (ในปักษาที่ 1 พ.ศ. 2016) อนที่พระ (ชาวัทที่ 15 ก.) ให้ตั้งไปเดิม (วัดเกม (17 ที่ที่ 2003) คระวัทสุดี (กูเมื่อสุด) ในปี (วัตที่มีรู้เกียด)

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Of Darius the sonne of Hystaspes.

6. I. of Darius his Linage.

Marius was descended of the ancient Persian Kings, to wit. of the Achamenida, of which, Gyrus the Great was the lineal facceffor. For in this fort Herodotus derives him as before.

> Cyrus the first, who had Teispius, who begat Arearamnes, who was father of Arsamnes, the father of Hystaspes, the father of Darius, furnamed Celes, the father of Xerxes.

CHYLLAD

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Hyftaspes accompanyed Cyrus the Great, in the warres against the Seythians, at which time Cyrus being made jealous of Darius by a dreame of his owne, caused him to be sent into Persia, others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of Cyrus he was delivered, and made Governour of the Perfian Magi. He afterward followed Cambyfes into Hall of Egyi; he then joyned with the rest of the Princes against the Magi, and either by the neying of his horse, or, as others affirme, by strong hand he obtained the Empire, which hethemore affured to himselfe by taking two of Cyrus Daughters, and as many of his

Hypaspes, according to * Herodotus, had besides Darius, these three somes, who were Pag. 1372.

great Commanders in the warre which Darius made in Asia the lesse, Thrace, Macedon, Pag. 130. and Greece; Atarnes, Artabernes, and Artabanus, who diffwaded Xerxes from the fecond Paror & 2022 Grecian warre. Hy faspes had also a Daughter married to Gobryas the Father of Mardo-Herito, 180, nius, who commanded the Army of Darins in Macedon, and marryed the Daughter of Pag. 180.190. Darius, Artozostre his Cosen germane.

Reineccius gives to Hyltafees five fonnes, Darius who fucceeded Cambyfes, Artabanus, & pag. 223,289; Artaphernes, Otanes, and Atarnes, with two daughters.

Pag.200.204. Fol.32

6. II. Of Darius his Government, and suppressing the rebellion of Babylon.

Arius devised equal lawes whereby his subjects might be governed, the same being formerly promised by Cyrus. He gave accesse to all his subjects, and behaved himselfe so mildly to all men, that many Nations defired and offered themselves to become his Vassals: Only he layd divers payments and taxes on the people, which had not been accustomed in Gyrus time, to the value of fourteenethousand five hundred and threefcore talents, faith Herodotus.

The war which Camby fes made a far off in Egypt, and the contention between the Magiand the Princes of Persia, for the Empire, gave heart to the Babylonians to recover their liberty, and to shake off the Persian yoke; whereof Darins being advertised, he prepared an Army to recover that Citie and State revolted. But finding the same a difficult work, he wied the fervice of Zopirus, who for the love he bare Darius, did cut off his own Exts and Nofe, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to sye to the Baby lomians for succour sto whom he accused the cruelty of Darius: who for having given him advice to give over the fiege of their City, had in this fort difmembred and deformed him; whereupon the Babylonians gave him that credit, as they trusted him with the difposition and commandement of their greatest forces: which when Zopirus had obtained, after forme finall colourable over-throwes given to the Perfens uponfallies, he deli-Hall vered the Citic into Danius his hands, who had lyen before it twenty mismeths.

6. III. of

CHAP.5.5.3.4

ExTA.C.6.

E7f4.6.11.

Juft.l z.

Diedl. II.

Of Darius his favour to the Jewes in building the Temple.

N the second years of Darius, hee gave order that the building of the Temple at Hierusalem should goe on, and commanded that the same should bee finished Lat his owne charge, and out of the revenues of the Crowne. And whereas the Governours of those Provinces which are fituate between Euphrates and the Phaenician and mid-land Sea(whom Elra calleth the Captaines beyond the River) had hindred the worke in Camby (es his time, Darius gave commandement that they should not thence to forth come neare unto Jerusalem, to give any impediment to the building, but that they Thould with-draw themselves, and get them far off till all were finished, and at anend. In the old Latine it is written, Procul recedite ab illis; with-draw your selves far from them; In our English, Beyefar from thence, to wit, from the City and Temple now in building. Healfo made a decree which concerned his owne Subjects, That who sever should

thenceforth hinder the setting up of the Temple of God, that his house should betorne downe, and the disturber hanged on a Gallowes made of the timber thereof. Healfo in the same decree maketh invocation to God; That hath caused his Name to dwell there (to) destroy all Kings and People that put their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in Jerusalem & In foure years after which decree (the Jewes being really fur 10 mished with money and all things necessary from Darius) the Temple was in all finished, to wit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the fixth yeare of Darius Hyft afpes, and in the two and fortieth after their first returne.

6. I V.

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of Darius his Scythian Warre.

Free the recovery of Babylon he invaded the Scythians, whoseking Justinecalleth Lauthinus; and faith, that Darius undertooke this warre against him, because herefuled him his daughter in marriage. The better to convoy his Amyirto Scythia, he built abridge of finall Veffels over the River Ifter or Danubius, & gave the custody of the same in charge (among others of Asia the lesse) to the Ionians & Rollans, among whom was Militades, who perswaded the Asian Grecians to breake downethe bridge, to the end Darius might not returne thereby, and if by any other way, thennot without great difficulty; but the same was resisted by Histiaus Prince of Milet, a Citic of Ionia, which Nation being a Colonie of the Greeks, Diodorus calleth Traytors to their Countrey, because they joyned themselves to Darius. Butthe Seythians more elegantly termed them good flaves, for as much as they would not runne away from their Master, but were more mindfull of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, 4 when they were presented with as faire an occasion of liberty as could have been defi--red. For the great Armie of Darius entring the defart Countrey called Beffarabia, found in it neither people to refilt them, nor any fultenance to relieve them. For the Southians were then, as are the Chrim Tartars, their posterity, at this day all Horse-men, using the Bow and Sword. They were not Plough-men, but Grafiers, driving their Heards from one place to another, as opportunity of Pasture led them. Standing Townesthey had none, but used for Housesthe Waggons wherein they carried their wives and children These Waggons they place at every Station in very good order, making Streets and Lanes in the manner of agreat Towne, removeable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour him felfe, called now the great Chrim, any other Citie than fuch as Azora, (as they name it) or Towne of Carts. When as therefore Darius had wearied himfelfe, and wasted his provision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither wayes to direct him, victuals to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitfull trees, or living creatures, nor any thing at all, which either he himselfe might make use of, or by destroying it might grieve his enemics; he began to perceive his owne folly, and the danger into which he had brought him. Yet fetting a good face upon a bad game, he fent brave messages -to the Softhism, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make triall of his valour & fortune in plaine battell : Or, if he acknowledged himselfe the weaker, thento yeeld

by faire meanes, and become his Subject, giving him Earth and Water, which the Perhans uled to demand as a figne that all was yeelded unto them. To this challenge the South an returned an Hieroglyphicall answer; sending a Bird, a Frog. a Mouse, and five Arrowes: which dumbe shew Darius interpreting by his owne wish, thought that he did weelde all the Elements wherein those creatures live, and his weapons withall into his hands. But Gobryas, one of the seven Princes, who had flaine the Magi, construed their meaning aright, which was thus; O ye Persians, get ye wings like Birds, or dive under thewater, or creepe into holes in the earth, for else ye shall not escape our arrowes. And this interpretation was soone verified by the Scythians themselves, who assailed the Persian campe, drave the horsemen into the trenches, and vexed the Armie with continual Allarums day and night; were so fearelesse of this great Monarch, and so little regarded him. that within his hearing, and even in his fight, they did not forbeare the pastime of courfing a Hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldnesse of theirs, Darius was fodifcouraged, that he forfooke his Campe by night, making many fires, and leaving all that were fick and weake behinde him, and so with all speed marched away towards the River Ifter. He was pursued hardly by the Scythians, who mist him; yet arriving at the Bridge before him, perswaded the Ionians to depart, affuring them that the Persian king should never more be able to do them either good or harm. Which words had certainly been proved true, had not Hysti aus the Milesian prevailed with his people, to attend the comming of Darius, whom the Scythians did likewise faile to meet, when they returned from Ister to seeke him out.

Some actions of the Persians in Europe, after the Scythian Warre.

Arius having thus escaped out of Scythia, determined the invasion of Thrace and Macedon, in which Warre he employed Megabasus, who mastered the Paonians, and transplanted them, and possest Perinthus, Chalcedon, By Zantium, and other places, being also soone after subjected, and added to the Persian Empire by Otanes, the son of Sysamnes, whom Cambyses had excoriated for false judgment. So were Her.15. the Cities of * Selybria, and * Cardia likewise taken in for the Persian, who having now * Americance reduced under his obeyfance the best part of Thrace, did send his Embassadors to A. Civyotthrace mints King of Macedon adjoyning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the So-to the South of Conflantinople. versignty over that kingdome. Amintas doubting his owne strength, entertained the a Cardia, a City Emballadors with gentle words, and afterwards invited them to a solemne and magnifi- upon the Chersa centeast; the Persians greatly defired that the Macedonian Ladies might be present: afterward Lyswhich being granted, the Embassadors, who were well filled with wine, and presumed machia. Pro. Paus upon their great neffe and many victories, began to use such embracings, and other lascivious behaviour towards those Noble Ladies, as Alexander the Kings son, great Grandfather to Alexander the Great disdaining the Persians barbarous presumption, befought his father to with-draw himselfe from the assembly, continuing not withstanding all honourable respect towards the Embassadors, whom withall he entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselves for a while; promising their speedy returne. This being obtained, Alexander caused the like number of well-favoured yong men to clothe themselves in the same garments, & to use the same actives which the Ladies had worn at the feast, giving them in charge, That when the Perfans offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpierce them with their long knives, of which they were provided for that pur-Pole, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soone after given by Darius for a severe revenge of this murder. But Alexander somewhat before the death of Amintas, gavehis fifter Gygea in marriage to Bubaris, a principall Commander of Darius forces on that fide, who perfwading her husband how helpfull the Alliance of Macedon would prove for the invasion of Atties intended, so prevailed, as Alexander escaped that tem-Pell, which threatned to fall upon him very fuddenly; the war of Afia the lefte, called 10nick, falling out at the same time.

CHAP.5.5.6

The first occasion of the War which Darius made upon Greece, with a rehearfall of the govern ment in Athens, whence the quarrell grew.

TOw the better to understand the reason and motives of that great War, which followed soone after, between the Persians and Greeians, it is necessary to make a short repetition of the state of Athens, which Citie endured the hardest and worst brunt of Barius invasion on that side the Sea, with admirable successe. Neitherda I hold it any impertinency to be large in unfolding every circumstance of so great a bush. nesse as gave fire to those wars, which never could be throughly quenched, untill in the 10 ruine of this great Persian Monarchy, Persepolis the capital City of the Empire, was at the request of an Athenian Harlot confumed with a flame, as dreadfull as in the pride of their greatnesse, the Persians had raised in Athens.

Now therefore as out of the former books it may be gathered, how Athens and other parts of Greece, were anciently governed, the fame being already fet downe, though farteringly, & in severall times, among other the Contemporary occurrents of the Fasterne Emperors, and the Kings of Judea; fo I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember againe the two last changes in the State of Athens. As for the Laced amonians, they maintained still their ancient policy under Kings, though these also after some fisteends

fcents were bridled by the Ephori. Codrus King of the Athenians, in the former bookes remembred, who willingly died for the fafety of his people, was therefore so honoured by them, as (thinking none worthy to fucceed him) they changed their former government from Monarchicall to Princes for terme of life, of which Medon the Son of Codrus was the first, after whom they were called Medoniide; and of these there were twelve Generations besides Medonito wit.

Agestus. Archippus, in whose times the Greekes transported themselves into Ionia, after Troy an hundred and fourescore yeares, according to Eusebius: which migrationall other Chronologers (fuch as follow Eufebius herein excepted) finde in the yeare after Troy fallen one hundred and forty. Ther sippus.

Phorbas. MeZades.

Diegenetus, in whose time Lycurgus gave Lawes to the Spartans.

Pheredus. Ariphron.

Pauf.pag.159

Pauf.0.169.

Pag.331.

Theispius, in whose time the Assyrian Empire was over-throwne by Belochus and Arbaces.

Agamnefter.

Æschylus, in whose time the Epheri (according to Eusebius) were crected in Laceda.

Alcamenon, the last Prince for life, after Megacles. whose death the Athenians elected De- Solon, & others, who are the leffe to be re- 50

for life having continued in all three hundred and fixteene years. The first of those that governed for ten years, or the first Archon, was

Charops, then A Symedes. Elydicus. Hyppomenes. Leocrates.

Absander. Erixins was the last Archon of the decennal Governours, which forme continuing threescore and tenne yeares, was then changed into annual Magistrates, Mai- 40 ors, or Burg-mafters, of which Thefeus was the first according to Paulanias: 0-

thers finde Leoftrasus; and then Anthosthenes. Archimedes.

Miltiades. Damafias.

Drace.

cennall Governours: the former Princes | garded, by reason of the yearly change.

This Salon being a man of excellent wisedome, gave Lawes to the Asbenians, which were published, according to Gellius, in the three and thirtieth year of Tarquinius Prisess, and were in after Ages derived unto the Romanes, and by the Decem viri (Magistrates in Rome created for that purpose) reduced into twelve Tables, which were the ground of the Romane lawes. But these goodly ordinances of Solon, were in his owne dayes violate ted, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed unto the

practice and maintenance of a popular government; the state of Athens was very soone changed into a Monarchie by Pififtratus the son of Hippocrates: who finding the Citirens distracted into two factions, whereof Megacles & Lycurgus, two Citizens of noble Families, were become the heads, tooke occasion by their contention and infolency to raisea third faction more powerfull than the other two, and more plausible, for that he feemed a Protector of the Citizens in generall. Having by this meanes obtained love and credit, he wounded himselfe, and fained that by malice of his enemies he had like to have been flaine for his love to the good Citizens; he procured a guard for his defence. and with that band of men surprising the State-house, or Cittadell of Athens, he made himselfe Lord of the towne; Hegefistratus being then Governor. But the Citizens, who to inevery change of government had fought to remove themselves further and further from the forme of a Monarchie, could so ill brooke this usurpation of Pisistratus, that he was driven for lack of help, to flye the towne, as foone as Megacles and Lycurgus (joynine their forces) attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his tyranny, founded upon the diffention of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; fo was it foone after wel reedified by the new breaking out of the old factions. For when Megacles found the power of Lycurgus to grow greater than his own, he did (as is the usuall practice of the weaker fide) call in the common enemy Pififiratus, to whom he gave his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Family of the Alemaonida, wherof Megacles was chief, became very powerfull, yet so, that Pifistratus by their power was made Master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the Alemeonida, and especially Megacles being incenfed against Pefestratus for his misdemeanour towards his Wife. Wherefore they practifed with the Souldiers of the Towne; proceeding in their treason Her. 122 fo secretly, and so farre, that Pifistratus upon the first discovery of their intent, perceived Ereina City of no other remedy for his affaires, than to with-draw him felfe to Eretria, where he remaither salled nedeleven yeares. Which time being expired, having hired Souldiers out of many Melaneby Sieparts of Greece, he againe recovered the principality of Athens: after which third obtai- phonus Erotria, parts of Greece, ne again executed the principality of America. after which that obtain Pols.

ning his effacte, he governed Athens feventeene yeares, according to Ariffotle, and reightered the Heradia apad Enedinall thirty and three yeares, faith Elianus, but as Juline hath it, foure and thirty, ac-lian, page 262. counting the time belike as well before as after his feverall expulsions. Herodotus gives Juli pag. 28. the Father and the Son fixe and thirty years; Ariftotle five and thirty. But Thucidides af- Thucidides. 10 firmeth, that he died very old, leaving for his Succeffors, his two Sonnes, Hippias and Hipparchus, who governed the Athenians with fuch moderation, as they rather feemed the Lineall successors of a natural I Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, & some three years before Hippias was expelled out of Athens, his brother Hipparchus was murdered by Harmedius and Aristogiton. The cause why and the manner how performed, Thucidides hath written at large. And though Hipparchus were charged with unnaturall luft, after Harmodius, yet Plato in his Dialogue, intituled Hipparchus, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent vertues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers & authors of that scandall. Hippias fearing that this enterprise upon his brother had more and deeper roots than were apparent, first fought todiscover the further intents of Hermodius and Aristogiton, by a Harlot of theirs called Lemnia: who because she would not reveale her Companions, did cut out her owne tongue. Then did Hippias, the better to strengthen himself, enter into a strait amity with Lamplacus a city Eartides, Tyrant of the City Lampfacus, whom he knew to be greatly favoured by Da. of Mystaupon the Helelpont rius, to whose son Hypoclus he gave one of his Daughters in marriage. But some three Herles years after the death of his brother, doubting I know not what strong practice against Thuistice. 1. himselfe, he began to use the Citizens with great severity, which neither Pifistratus the Father, nor Hippias himselfe had ever exercised, during their usurpation till this time. And therefore the Athenians fearing lest that this disease might rather increase, than diminish in Hippias, they stirred up Cliftines one of the noblest and best able of their City, to practife their delivery: who calling to his affiftance the banished Alemanida, together with an Army of the Laced amonians led by Cleomenes their King, so affrighted Hippias, as by composition he gave over his estate, and the possession of Athens, and from thence * sigum a proimbarking himselfe, took land at * Sigeum, whence he went to Lampsacus in Mysia go-montory oppo-verned by Rantides, who presented him to Darius. He was deprived of his estare, as strends, which Herodotus and Thucidides agree, twenty years before the battell of Marathon: all which Asiling, Animal. time he continued, partly with Eantides, at other times with Artaphernes Lievtenant for cals the premon-Darins.

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CHAP. 5. S. 7.

Darius in Sardis, the Metropolis of Lydia; perswading and practising the enterprise upon Athens, which Darius in the end to his great dishonour undertooke, twenty yeares after Hippias had refigned his estate.

Thus farre I have digreffed from Darius, to the end the Reader may conceive the better the causes and motives of this warre: whereof the hope that Hippias had to be restored red to Athens by the help of Darius, which made him folicite and perswade the Persians to conquer Greece, was one, but not the most urgent.

6. VII.

Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principall cause of the warres ensuing betweene Greece and Persia.

Nother, and a firong motive to this expedition, was the Ionick warre, breaking out in Asia about the same time. The Colonies transported out of Greecinto Afia, which occupied the greatest part of the Sea-coast, having enjoyed their liberry about 500 yeares, even from the lonick migration, to the time of Crafas, wereby this Lydian King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcell of his Dominions, were taken in by Cyrus, and left as hereditary Servants to the Crowne of Persia.

But as it is the custome of Nations halfe conquered (witnesse Ireland) to rebel againe 20 upon every advantage and opportunity: so did the Ionians, and other Grecians, bothin Cyrus his life, and after him, feeke by all meanes possible to free themselves.

At this time they found such men ready to spurre them into Rebellion, as hadby the Persian been given unto them for bridles to hold them in subjection. Every one of those Townes had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the government of one man) called their Tyrants. These Lords were very true to the Persian, by whose onely might they held the people in subjection. And this their dutifull affection they had well declared, when, Darius being in great extremity, they used all meanes to deliver him and his Armie (that otherwise had been lost) out of the Scythians hand. Of this great piece of fervice Histiaus the tyrant of Miletus expected the chiefe thanks, as having beenchiefe Author of their expecting Darius, when the rest, either perswaded by the Scythians, or carried away with their owne defires, were ready to have abandoned him. But it came foto passe, that Darius being more fearefull of the harme that Histians (being powerfull and crafty) might doe to him in the future, than mindfull of the good which he had already received at his hand, found meanes to carry him along to Sufa, where he detained him with all kinde usage of a friend, yet kept such good espiall upon him, as an enemy, he could not flart away. Histiaus had subtlety enough to discover the kings purpose, which ill agreed with his owne defires. For he thought it more ple afant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one faire Citie, having a small Territory, than to sit and feast at the great Kingstable, and heare the counsels by which a large Empire was managed; being 40 himselfe an idle beholder, and enjoying with much restraint of liberty, none other pleasures than a private man might bestow upon himselfe.

Wherefore he bethought himselfe of raising of some tumults in the lower Asia, to pacific which, if he might be fent, as one that had great experience and authority in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either satisfie the King with excuses, or deale as occasion shall require. Resolving upon this course, he sent very fecret instructions to Aristagoras his kinsinan, whom he had left his Deputy at Miletus, advising him to stirre up some Rebellion. These directions came seasonably to Aristage-745, who having failed in an enterprise upon the Isle of Naxos, through the false dealing of a Persian his Associate, stood in searce of disgrace, if not of some further ill that might 50 befall him, as one that had wasted the Kings treasures to no good purpose.

Therefore he readily embraced the counfell: and the better to draw the whole Country of Ionia into the same course which he determined to run, he abandoned his tyranny, and did fet Milets at liberty. This plaufible beginning wan unto him the hearts of the Milesians: and his proceeding with other Ionian Tyrants (of whom some he tooke and fold as flaves to their Citizens, others he chased away) caused the whole Nation to be at his command. The Persian Fleet, whereofhe lately had beene Admirall in theen terprise of Naxos, he had surprised in his first breaking out, together with the principall Officers and Captaines, fo that now he thought himselfe able to deale with the great Kings forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all Asia would shortly be upon his neck, and crush both him and his affistants to pieccs.unlesse he were able to raise an Armie that might hold the field, which the Ionians alone were in sufficient to performe. Therefore he took a journey to Sparta, where having affayed in vaine with many arguments, and the offer of fiftie Talents, to win to his partie Cleomenes King of the Lacedamonians: he went from thence to Athens, and with hetter successe besought the people to lend him their assistance. The Athenian Embassadours which had beene fent to the Persian Kings Lievtenant in the lower Asia, desiring other not to give countenance to Hippias, now a banished man, and lately their Tyrant. werea while before this returned with ill answers, having found very churlish entertainment. So that the evill which they were to expect in all likelihood from the Persian. madethem willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their consanguinitie with the Inians, and the perswasions of Aristagoras, drew them on a-pace, if perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twentie ships the Athenians furnished for this voyage; to which the Fratrians furnished five more in regard of the ancient kindnesse that had passed between the Ionians and them. With these and their own forces joyned, the Ionians entred the River Caiffres, which falleth into the Sea by Ephefus: by which advantage they furprifed sardis when no enemie was heard of or suspected; informuch, as Artaphernes, who , ruled as Vice-roy in those parts, had no other hope of safetie, than by retraiting himself into the castle, which the Grecians could not force: from whence he beheld the slaughter of the Citizens, and the Citie flaming.

The Perfians, at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recovered the Market place, strengthened by the river Pattolus, which ranthrough it; and borrowing courage from desparation, they both defended themselves, and chargedtheir enemies; who well advising themselves, made all the haste they could toward the feafide. But Artaphernes having gathered all the strength he could, pursued the Grecians, and found them neere Ephefus; where fetting refolvedly upon them, he flaughteredagreat part of their Armie, the rest saving themselves in Ephelus. In this fight Evalgo cides, Captaine of the Eratrians perished: but his fame and memorie was by that excellent Poet Simonides preserved. After this overthrow, the Athenians, which were beforesentunto Aristagoras and to the Ionians, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their teares, be perswaded to make any second triall of their fortunes on that side the

Yet the burning of Sardis made a greater noise in the world, than the late good successe which the Persians had in one or two skirmishes, could raise. Wherefore the Ionians bravely proceeding, won a great part of Caria; and fending their Fleet into the Hellespont, got Biz antium and other Townes into their hands. Yea, the Cyprians, lately subdued by Cambyses, began hereupon to take heart; and entring into confederacie with the Ionians, who were able to give them aide by Sea, rebelled against the Perfians.

These newes comming to the care of Darius, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the Athenians, upon whom he vowed to take sharpe revenge. As for the Ionians, his contempt of them, and their knowledge of his power, made him to thinke, that they would not have dared to attempt fuch things, but by the instigation of those, to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to pro-Voke him. This was the maine ground of the Warre commenced by Darius, and purfuedby Xerxes against Athens: To which the solicitation of Hippias, before remembred, gave onely some forme and assistance: the businesse, when once it was thus far on foot, being like enough to have proceeded, though he had perished ere it were advanced any

Some other occurrents in this Ionian commotion extended the quarrell of Darius against many of the Ilanders, if not against the whole Nation of the Greekes; for all of them gave to his Rebels free harbour: the Ilanders moreover did helpe to furnish out a Navie of three hundred and fixtie faile against him. These provocations did rather breede in him a defire to abate their pride, than any feare of harme that they were like to doe him. For what they had done at Sardis, was but by surprize. In every fight they were beaten by the Persians, who had not yet lost the fruits of their discipline, wherein CHAP.5. S. 8.

wherein Cyrus had trained them, nor all their ancient Captaines. In one fea-fight by the Isle of Cyprus, the Ionians indeed had the upper hand; but they were Phanicians. Egyptians, and Cilicians, whom they vanquished: neither was that victorie of any use to them; the Cyprians, in whose aide they came, being utterly beaten by the Persian Armie at Land, and reduced into their old subjection. So had the Persians likewife by open warre and faire force overthrowne the Carians in two battels, and reclaimed that Nation; as also they had recovered the Townes upon Hellespont, with fome Eolian and Ionian Cities, when Ariftagoras with his friends quitting Miletu. fledinto Thrace, desirous to seat himselse in Amphipolis, a Colonie of the Athenians. But the Edonians, on whose Territorie belike he landed, overthrew him, & cut his troups to in pieces.

About the same time, Histiam, the first mover of this insurrection, came downe into those quarters; who having undertaken the performance of great matters to Darius, was glad to flye from his Lievtenants, by whom his double dealing was

But this evaluon preserved him not long. For after many vaine attempts that he made. he was taken in fight by the Persians, and hastily beheaded, lest the King should pardon him upon remembrance of old good turnes; as it feems that he would have done, by the buriall which he commanded to be given to his dead bodie that was crucified, and by his

heavie taking of his death. Histiaus had fought to put himselse into Miletus; but the Citizens doubting his conditions, chose rather to keepe him out, and make shift for themselves, without his helpe. The strength of their Cirie by land, which had in old time withstood the Lydian Kings, and their good Fleet, which promifed unto them the libertie of an open Sea, emboldened them to trie the uttermost, when very few friends were left upon that Continent to take their part. But their Navie was broken as much by threatnings as by force: many of their companions and fellow-rebels for faking them upon hope of pardon; and many being daunted with the causelesse slight of those that should have affisted them. Neither was it long before the Towne it selfe, being affaulted both by Landand Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens flaine, their wives and children made flaves, and 30 their goods a bootie to the Persians, whom for fixe years space they had put to so much trouble.

§. VIII.

The warre which Darius made upon Greece, with the battell of Marathon, and Darius his death.

His Warre with good fucceffe finished by the Persians, and some attempts made on Europe fide with variable successe: Darius obstinate in the enter-40 prise and Conquest of Greece (though at first hee pretended to make the Warre but against the Athenians and Eritraans, who joyntly assisted the Ionians against him, and burnt Sardis in Lydia) did now by his Embassadours demand an acknowledgement from them all: among whom, fome of them not fo well refolved as the rest, submitted themselves; as the Æginets and others. Against these, the Athenians being inflamed, (by the affiftance of the Lacedamonians) afterdivers Citie or People encounters forc't them to give pledges, and to relinquish the partie of the Persians. refus in significant Cleomenes led the Lacedaminians in this warre, and caused his companion-King Demantus to bee deposed: who thercupon fled to Darius, farrethe more consident of or of Agea, beand Macedon, I victorie, by reason of these discords, alienations, and civill warres among the Greekes, so doenorknow: He therefore gave order to Hippagoras to prepare a Fleete of ships sit to transport his Armie over the Hellespont : the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and ten next the enemy thousand horse. The charge inchiefe of his Armie he committed to Datis, accompanied and affifted by Hippias, the fon of Piliftratus, expelled out of Athens twentie yeares bep und than the fore, and by Artaphernes his brother, Governour of Sardis, and the Sea coult of Asia instar off, There is also a the lesse. These Commanders having their Companies brought down to the Sea-side,

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imbarked themselves in fixe hundred Gallies and other Vessels; and first of all attempted the Islands called Cyclades, which lay in the mid-way between Asia the lesse, and Greece. For (obtaining those places) the Persians had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces over the Agean Seasbut on the contrarie they might alwaies both relieve themselves in their passage, and shroud themselves from all sudden tempests and out-

To this end they first possest themselves of Samos; secondly they attempted Naxos : Which Island, the inhabitants despairing of their owne forces, abandoned. So did the people of Delos, of which Apollo was native: Which Island Darius did not only forbear to facke, but recalling the inhabitants, he gave order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice to Apollo erected. And having recovered these and other Islands, the Persians directed their course for Eretria in Eubaa: for that Citie (as alreadie hath been shewed) in Herod. had affifted the Ionians at the taking and firing of Sardis. In this Island the Perfians took ground, and befreged Eretria very straitly, and after fixe daies affault, partly by force, and in part by the treason of Euphabus and Philagius; they tooke it, sackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus far the winds of prosperous fortune filled their sayles. From Eubera the Persians past their Armie into Attica, conducted and guided by Hippias, late Prince of Athens, and marching towards it, they encamped at Marathon, in the way from the Sea. wherethey landed towards Athens.

The Atbenians finding the time arrived, wherein they were to dispute with their own vertues against Fortune, and to cast lots for their libertie, for their wives, their children. and their lives, put them selves in the best order they could to make resistance, and withall fent away with speed to the Lacedamonians for succour, imploying in that Negotiaarion one Phidippides: who passing through Arcadea, encountred in the way a familiar Divell, which he supposed to be Pan, who willed him to assure the Athenians of victorie. promifing that fome one of the gods should be present at the battell, to affift them and defend them against the multitude of their enemies. Phidippides at his reture seeing he could not bring with him any prefent fuccours from Sparts, yet he thought it greatly avaling to bring newes from the gods, and promife of affiftance from Heaven, which no 30 doubt (though the device was formewhat likely to be his owne, yet) it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages have bin more firred up with fond Prophecies and other like superstitious fooleries, than by any just cause or solide reafon.

The Athenians being now left to themselves, with one thousand onely of the Platains (who having beene formerly defended by the Athenians against the Thebans. did in this extremitie with effect their thankefulnesse and gratefull disposition) began todifute. Whether it were most for their advantage to defend the walls of Athens, or to put themselves into the field with such forces as they had, the same confilling of ten thousand Athenians, and one thousand of the Plateans. In the end pandafter great diversitie of opinions, Militades, who perswaded the triall by battell. prevailed.

The Armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the Athenians disposed themselves, into three troupes: two wings or hornes, as they terme them, and the bodie of a battell. The Persians when they perceived so small a troupe advancing towards them, thought the Athenians rather disposses of their understandings than possess with the resolution whereof they made shew. So invincible and resistlesse the Persians esteemed their owne numbers to be, and that small troupe of their enemies then in view, rather to be despised than to be fought withall: But in conclusion, the vidoriebeing doubtfully ballanced for a while, sometime the vertue of the Grecians, and so lometimes the number of the Persians prevailed, the Grecians fighting for all that they had, the Persians for that they needed not, these great forces of Darius were disordered and put in rout; the Athenians following their victorie even to the Sea-shore; where the Persians, so many of them as lost not their wits with their courage, saved themselves in their inips.

The Persian Armie consisted of an hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse; of which there were flaine in the place fixe thousand three hundred, and of the Greclans an hundred fourescore and twelve. For howsoever it came to passe, either by trange visions, which were afterward called Panici terrores, or by some other affright,

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Ad.Att.

Invita Arist.

it feemeth that the invading Armie, after the first encounter, fought with their backs towards their enemie, and lost that number, by Herodorus set down, in their disorderly retrait, or rather in their slat running away. As for Justines report, That two hundred thoufand of the Persian armie were slain, the same hath no appearance nor possibilitie of truth. In this sight Hippias the perswader of the enterprise was slain, suth Justine and Cierro; but Suidas tels us, That he escaped, and died most miserably in Lemnos.

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The greatest honour of this victorie was cast upon Militades, who both perswaded the triall by battell, and behaved himselfe therein answerably to the counsell which hee gave. Themistotes had his sirstreputation in this sight, being but young and of the sirst beard. Those of the Grecians, of mark & commandement, that tell in the first encounter, were Callimachus and Stessleus. It is also said, That Cynegyrus following the Persanto their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to liave held it from putting off the shore, and having his right handout off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left; of which also being deprived, he took hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the sirst year of the threescore and twelfth Olympiad, about the time of the war made by Conelanus against his sellow-Romans: Alexander the son of Amyntus being then King of Macandon, and Phanippus then Governour of Athens, according to Plutarch, or Hybrides, after Haltearnalleus.

This great fray thus parted, and the Persians returned backe into the lesser Asia, Milliades fought and obtained an imployment against the Handers of Paros, one of the Cycla- 10 des, and passing over his Companies in threescore and ten Gallies, after sixe and twentie dayes assault he brake his thigh; in feeking to enter it by the Temple of Ceres, wherewith himself being made unable, and his companies discouraged, his returned to Athens, where those ungrateful Citizens sorgetting all his services pass, and that of all other themost renowned at the battell of Marathon, did by the perswalion of Xampipus, the father of Periodes (who enviced his same) east him into prison, and set on him a fine of fiftie Talents; where his weak and wounded bodie being not able to endure the one, nor his estate to pay the other, he after a few dayes ended his life.

Which envicof the better fort to each other, with their private Factions, affifted by the unthankfull and witleffe people, brought them, not many yeares after, from a victorious jo and famous Nation, to base subjection and slaverie. Militades left behinde him one so called Cymon, begotten on Hegespila, daughter of Olorus King of Thrace, who (faith Plutareh) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to Themistocles in understanding, but exceeded them both in justice and good government.

Now Darins taking greater care how to recover his honour, than forrow for the losse received in Greece, gave order for new levies of men, & all other warlike provisions. But the Egyptians revolting from his obedience (a Kingdome of great strength and revenue) greatly distracted his resolution for the re-invasion of Greece. The dissentional so among his sons, of whom the younger being born after he was king, and by so great a mothers Atossa, dissained to give place to his elder brother, born before Darins obtained the Em 40 pire, greatly xexed him. And lastly, death, who hath no respect of any mans affaires gave end to all his consultations and enterprises, and joyned him to the earth of his ancestors, about a year after the battel of Marathon, & after that he had reigned fixe & thirty years. He less the hind him five sons, namely, Artabasanes, born before he obtained the kingdom, Xerxes who succeeded him, Achamenes Governour of Egypt, Massises and Anabignes.

CHAP. VI.

Of Xerxes.

6. I.

The preparation of Xerxes against Greece.



Erxes received from his father, as hereditarie, a double Warre, one to be made againft the Egyptians, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the Grecians, of which it is hard to judge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the successe ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this War, which was chiefely

bent against the Athenians, the Princes of Persia were divided in opinion. Mardonius, who had formerly commanded in Thrace and Macedon, under Darius, and had also Hysasses for his grandsather, as Xerxes had, and married Xerxes, his sister ArtoZostres, perswaded by many arguments the European warre. But Artahanus, brother to the late Darius, and uncle to Xerxes, maintained the contrary counsell, laying before Xerxes the lamentable and ridiculous successes of the two late invasions, which Darius had made contrary to his counsell: The one in person upon the Scythians, the other by his Lievtenants upon the Greeks; in each of which Darius less to his enemies both his Armie and his Honour.

Hetherefore befought Xerxes to be right well advised before he did too far imbarke himself in this businesse. For whatsoever undertaking hath deliberate and sound counsell forconductor, though the successe doe not alwaies answer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variablenesse of his owne nature, which only the divine Providence, and not any humane power, can constraine.

But so obstinate was the resolution of *Xernes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Artabanus*, whether terrefied by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which he made knowne to all those that opposed his defire to this Warre (changing opinion and counsell) affished the *Grecian* Expedition with all the power he had.

After the war of Egypt was ended, four eyears were confumed in describing and gathering an Army for this invasion: which being compounded of all Nations subject to the Pussus Empire, confisted of seventeene hundred thousand foot, and eightie thousand horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts for Carriage, if we may believe Hundrus: for of this multitude, Trogus sindes the number lesses seven hundred thousand of hand sootmen.

The Commanders of the severall Nations were the Princes of the bloud of *Perfia*, eitherby marriage in the kings house, or otherwise: for to these were all commandements of this nature given, some few people excepted, who had of their owne Leaders.

The charge of the whole Armie was bestowed on Mardonius, the son of Gobrius by a sister of Darius, to whom were joyned some others of Xerxes his nearest kinned, as Generalls over all; saving that the charge of ten thousand select Persans, called the immortall Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died, or were slaine; there was another presently chosen in his stead) was given to Hydarnes; the eightie thousand horsemen were led by the sons of Darius, who commanded the late Armie of Darius in Greece.

The Fleet of Gallies were 2200 and eight, furnished by the *Phanicians*, who had Commanders of their owne Nation, and by the *Cypriotes*, Cilicians, Pamphilians, Lycians, Dorians, Carians, Ionians, Eolians, and Hellesson who were trusted with the furnishing of their owne Vessels, though commanded by the Princes of Persia, as by Ariabignes, the son of Darius, and others. The rest of the Vessels for transportation were three thousand. There were also certaine Gallies surnished by Artemisa, the daughter of Lygdames, Princesse of Halycarnasseus, and the Hands adjoyning, which her selse commanded. Those Gallies by her prepared and surnished, exceeded Mmm 3

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CHAP. 6. S.Z.

6. II.

Xerxes Armie entertained by Pythius: his cutting off Mount Athos from the Continent his bridge of Boats over the Hellespont: and the discourse betweene him and Artabanus upon the view of the Armic.

Hen this world of an Armie was throughly furnished, he caused all them to tions of which it was compounded, to make their Rendeztoss, and repair at Sardis in Lydia. And when he had affembled to the number of seventeene hundred thousand foot, as he entred the bodie of Celense, he was by one Pythiss the Lydian entertained, who out of his Flocks and Herds of Cattell gave food to Xerxes and his whole Armie. The feast ended, he also presented him with two thousand Talents of she ver, and in Gold four Millions, wanting seven thousand of the Persian Daries, which make so many of our Markes.

The King overcome with the exceeding liberalitic of Pythim, did not only refuse his treasure offred, but commanded that seven thousand Daries should be given him to make up his foure Millions; of which, so many thousands were wanting when he made the 10 present. But soone after, when Pythim befought him to spare one of his sive sons from his attendance into Greece (because himselfe was old), and had none whom he could so well trust as his owns fon) Xerxes most barbarously caused the young man, for whom his father sought exemption, to be sundred into two parts, commanding that the one halfe of his carkasse should be layed on the right, and the other halfe on the less hand of the common way by which the Armic marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-side. The one was a passage for Gallies to be cut behinde Mount Athos, making the same (with the halfe Island or Headland, whereon it stood) to be an entire Island, fundring thereby from the Continent of Thrace five Cities, besides the Mountain and the Chersoness or Necke of 30 Land it selfe: a worke of more oftentation than of use, and yet an enterprise of nogreat wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent having but twelve surlongs (which make about a mile and halfe) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two Gallies to passe in front. The Cities so severed from the maine, were Dien, Obspace, Acrothoon, Thysus and Cleone.

He also gave order, that a Bridge upon Boats should be made over the Hellesont betwen Abidus and Sessos, the Sea there having a mile of bredth, wanting an eighth part; which after the finishing, was by a Tempest torne assunder and dissevered: wherewish Xerxes being more enraged than discouraged, commanded those to be slaine that were masters of the worke, and caused sixe hundred threescore and source enraged coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and industrie of the Phanietans was so well anchored to resist both winds blowing into and from the Euxine Sea, as the same being well boorded and rayled, the whole Armie of seventeenhundred thousand foot, and sourcescore thousand Horse, with all the Moyles and Carriages, past over it into Europe in seven dayes and seven nights, without intermission. This transportation of Armies did Casar afterward use. And Caligula that mad Emperour, in imitation of Xerxes his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finished, and the Armie brought neere to the Sea-side, Xerxes tooke a view of all his Troupes, assembled in the Plains of Abidus, being carried up, and seated on a place over-topping the Landround about it, and the Sea adjoyning: and after he so had gloried in his owne happinesse, to behold and command so many Nations, and so powerfull an Armie and Fleet, he suddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into teares, moved with this contemplation, That in one hundred years there should not any one furvive of that marvellous multitude: the cause of which sudden change of passion when he uttered to Artabanus his Uncle; Artabanus spake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the dissolution of this great Troupe within that number of yeares by the King remembred, is, That the life it selse which we enjoy is yet more uniferable than the end thereof: for in those few dayes given us in the world,

there is no man among all these, nor essewhere, that ever found himselfe so accompanied with happinesse, but that he oftentimes pleased himselfe better with the desire and hope of death, than of living; the incident calamities, diseases, and for rowes where to mankinde is subject, being so many and inevitable, that the shortest life doth oftentimes appear unto us over-long; to avoid all which, there is neither resuge nor rest, but in desired death alone.

With this melancholy discourse, Xerxes being not much pleased, prayed Artabanus not. mover-cast those joyes which they had now in pursuit with sad remembrances. And holding still a doubtfull conceit, that Artabanus utterly condemned the invasion of in Gruce, against which he had formerly given many strong reasons, defired him to deale freely with him, Whether he were returned to his first resolution, that the enterprise of Gruce could not be prosperous? Or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Vision, he was confident of good successe: Artabanus, norwithstanding that he affured himselfe of the Kings resolution to goe on, and dared not by any new arguments to batter the great purpose it selfe, yet he told the King, That there were two things which marvelloufly affrighted him, and which the King should finde, as he seared, tobemost adverse; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, because it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of so great a Fleet; insomuch, as if any tempest should arise, all the Continent of Greece could hardly receive them, nor all the Havens on thereofafford them any fafety: and therefore when any fuch shelter shall be wanting unwithem, he prayed him to understand, that in such a case of extremitie, men are lese to the will and disposition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and disposition of men. The Land, be fides other incommodities, will be found by fo much the more an enemie, by how much the unsatiate desire of man to obtain more and more thereof, doth lead himforward: for were there no man found to give relistance, yet the want of meanes to feedfuch an Armie, and the Famine, which cannot be prevented, will, without any other violence offered, dif-inable and confume it. By these Arguments Artabanus hoped to have diverted Xerxes, not during perchance to utter what indeed he most feared; to wit, theoverthrow of the Armie it selfe both by Sea and Land, which some after followed. 30 These Cautions were exceeding weightie, if Xerxes his obstinacie had not mis-prised them. For, to invade by Sea upon a perillous Coast, being neither in possession of any Port, nor fuccoured by any partie, may better fit a Prince prefuming on his fortune, than earithed with understanding. Such was the enterprise of Philip the second upon England inthe year 1588. who had belike never heard of this Counsell of Artabanus to Xerxes, or

Now concerning the second point, it is very likely, that Xerxes his Armie, which could not have in it lesse than two millions of Soules, besides his beafts for Service and Carriage, should after a few dayes suffer samine, and using Machiatels words, Mourire surseless, dictorthout a knife. For it was impossible for Greece, being a ragged, strait, and mountainous Countrey, to yeeld food (besides what served themselves) for twentie hundred thousand strangers, whom they never meant to entertaine, but with the sharp-ned points of their weapons, destroying with all what soever they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may believe Herodotus, the Armie of Xerxes, being reviewed at Thermopylæ, consisted of five millions, two hundred eightie three thousand, two hundred twentie men, besides Laundresses, Harlots, and Horses, and was therefore likely to endure a speedie farmine.

The effect of Xerxes his answer was, That it was impossible to provide for all things; and that whosover should enterprise any great matter, if he gave the hearing to all that could be objected of accidentall inconveniences, he should never pursue the same farsother than the dispute and consultation: which is Predecessors, the Persian Kings, had done, they had never growne to that greatnesse, or possess for many Kingdomes and Nations as they now did; and therefore concluded. That great enterprises were never undertaken without great perils. Which resolution of Xerxes was not to be condemned, if any necessitive had enforc't him to that warre. But seeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he alreadie commanded, were more than could be constrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull prosperitie of the Persians endured, and that Greece was separated by the Sea from the rest of Xerxes his Dominions (of whose resolution his Father Daria- had made a deare experience) the fruit of this Warre was

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answerable to the plantation, and the successe and end agreeable to the weake counsell whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his own judgement not fufficient, (for he gathered in marching on, all the ftrength of Thrace and Macedon) were an argument, that he rather hoped to feare the Greekes by thefame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and refolution, whom he conducted. For it is wifely faid of those uncountable multitudes: Non vires habent sed pondus & impedimenta potius sunt quam auxilium; They are great in bulke, but weake in forces, and rather a luggage than an aide.

Befides, as it was impossible to marshal such a world of menin one Armie, so the divers Nations, speaking divers languages, bred the same consustion among the Persian comman-10 ders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of Babel, when they came to work. Whereas if Xerxes had of his five millions compounded ten Armies of fiftie thousand chosen Souldiers in each, and sent them yearly into Greece well victualled and furnished, he had either prevailed by the fword, or forced them to forfake their territorie, or brought them into obedience by necessitie & famine, which cannot be refisted. But while Xerxes resolved to cut down the banks of Greece, and to let in a sea of men upon them, he was deceived both of his own hopes, and in their hearts whom he imployed, and beaten by the Greeks, both by Land and Sea; yea, he himfelf, conducted by his fear, fled shamefully into Afis. A great part of his Armie was buried in Greece : the remainder whereof. which wintred in Thessale, and led by Mardonius, who perswaded the enterprise, was in 20 the Summer following utterly defeated, and himself flain.

6. III.

Of the fights at Thermopyla and Artemisium.

Free fuch time as Xerxes had transported the Armie over the Hellefont, and landed in Thrace, (leaving the description of his passage alongst that Coast, and how the River of Lissue was drunke dry by his multitudes, and the lake neereto Piffirm by his cattell, with other accidents in his marches towards Greece) I will speake 30 of the encounters he had, and the shamefull and incredible overthrowes which he received. As first at Thermopy la, a narrow passage of halfe an acre of ground, lying between the Mountains which divide Theffalie from Greece, where sometime the Phoeians had raised a wall with gates, which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance Leonidas, one of the Kings of Sparta, with three hundred Lacedamonians, affifted with one thousand Tegeate and Mantineans, one thousand Arcadians, and other Peloponness ans, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole; besides one thousand Phocians, foure hundred Thebans, feven hundred Thespians, and all the forces (such as they were) of the bordering Locrians, defended the passage two whole dayes together against that huge Armie of the Persians. The valour of the Greeks appeared so excellent 40 in this defence, that in the first dayes fight, Xerxes is faid to have three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the destruction of his Armie by one handfull of those men, whom not long before he hadutterly despised: and when the second dayes attempt upon the Greeks had proved vaine, he was altogether ignorant how to proceede further, and so might have continued, had not a run-agate Grecian taught him a fecret way, by which part of his Armie might ascend the ledg of Mountains, and set upon the backs of those who kept the Straits. But when the most valiant of the Persian Armie had almost inclofed the small forces of the Greeks, then did Leonidas, King of the Lacedamonians, with his three hundred, and feven hundred Thespians, which were all that abode by him, refuse to quit the place which they had undertaken to make good, and with admirable courage of not onely refift that world of men which charged them on all fides; but iffuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquishers, though all of them were slain upon the place. Xerxes having lost in this last fight, together with twentie thousand other Souldiers and Captains, two of his own brethren, began to doubt what inconvenience might befall him by the vertue of fuch as had not bin present at these battels, with whom he knew that he shortly was to deale. Especially of the Spartans he stood in great searc, whose manhood had appeared single larin this triall, which caused him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could

bring into the field. It is reported of Dieneces the Spartan, that when one thought to haveterrefied him by faying, That the flight of the Persian arrowes was so thicke as would hide the fun: he answered thus; It is very good newes: for then shall we fight in the coole shade.

Such notable resolution having as freely been expressed in deeds; as it was uttered in words, caused the Persian to stand ingreat doubt, when he heard that the Citie of Sparnacould arme well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, and that the other Lacedamonians, though inferior to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counfell of Demaratus, a banished King of the Spartans, who had alwayes well advised and in-Articled him in the things of Greece, what course were fittest to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of Demaratus was, That all the Land-forces should affemble together to defend the Isthmus, that fireight necke of ground which joyneth Peloponne-Strothe Continent. For which cause he advised, That three hundred ships well manned should be sent unto the Coast of Laconia, to spoile the country, and to hold the Lacodemonians and their neighbours busied at home, whilest Xerxes at his leisure having subdued the rest, might afterward bring his whole power upon them, who remaining definnte of fuccour, would be too weake alone to make refiftance. To this purpose also the fame Demarat his further advised, That the faid Fleet of three hundred ships should feizeupon the Hand then called Cythera, now Cerigo, which lying neare to the Coast of Laconia, might ferve as a fit place of Rendez-vous upon all occasions, either of their own defence, or endamaging the enemie: whereby that ancient speech of Chilon the Laced &monian should be verified, That it were better for his Countriemen to have that Ile drowned in the sea, than stand so inconveniently as for them it did. What effect this countell might have taken, had it bin followed, it is not caffer ogheffe. But a contrarie opinion of Achiemenes brother to King Xerxes was preferred as the fafer. For the Persian fleethad bin forely vexed with a grievous tempert, which continued three whole dayes together, wherein were lost upon the Coast of Magnesia, foure hundred thips of war, befidesother veffels innumerable accordingly as Ariabanus had forefeen, that if any fuch calamitic should overtake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to givethem fuccour. Therfore Achiemenes perswaded his brother not to disperse his fleets forif (faid he) after the loffe of foure hundred flips we shall fend away other three hundredto feek adventures, then will the Greeks be ftrong enough by fea to encounter the relt of the Navie, which holding all together is invincible. To this comfell Xerxes yeelded, hoping that his Land-armie and fleet should each of them stand the other in good flead, whileft both held one courle, and lay not far afunder. But hereinhe was far deceived; for about the fame time that his armie had felt the valour of the Greeks by land; his Navielikewife made a forrowfull proofe of their skill and courage at fea. The Grecians fleetlay at that there at Artemishum in the straits of Eubara, where the Persians thinking toincompasse them, sent two hundred fayle about the Hand to fall upon them behinde, outinga like stratagem to that which their King did practife against Leonidas in a case not milke, but with far different successe. For that narrow channell of the sea which divideth Eubea from the main, was in the same fortheld by a Navie of two hundred three-Greand eleven faile against the huge Persian Armada, as the straits of Thermopyle had formerly bin maintained by Leonidas, til he was circumvented, as this Navie might have bin, but was not. The departure of those two hundred ships that were sent about the Iland, and the cause of their voyage, was too well known in the Persian fleet, and soone chough disclosed to the Greeks, who setting faile by night, met them with a counter-furprile, taking & firthing thirty veffels, inforcing the reft to take the Sea, where being overtaken with foule weather, they were driven upon the rocks and cast all away. Contrario wife, the Navie of the Greeks was increased by the arrivall of fiftie three Arbenia fhips, and one Lemnian, which came to their partie in the last fight. As these new forces encoutaged the one fide. fo the feare of Xerxes his displeasure stirred up the other to redeeme their losse with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their unfortunate policies they resolved in plain fight to repaire their honour, and casting themselves into the form of a Crescent, thought so to inclose the Greeks, who readily did present them battell at Arremi fiam.

The fight endured from noone till night, and ended with equal loffe to both parts. Though more of the Persian ships were sunke and taken, yet the lesser losse feltaltogether CHAP. 6. S.5.

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gether as heavie upon the *Greekish* fleet, which being small could worse beare it. Herein only the *Barbarians* may seem to have had the worse, that they for sook the place of sight, leaving the wrack and spoils to the enemie, who neverthelesse were fain to abandon presently even the passage which they had undertaken to defend both for that many of their ships were forely crusht in the battel, and especially because they had received advertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at *Thermopylæ*. Before they wayed anchors, *Themistocles*, Generall of the *Atherians*, engraved upon stone at the watering place an exhortation to the *Inians*, that either they should revolt unto the *Greeks*, or standaeutrall; which perswassion, he hoped would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the *Persians*.

6. IV. The attempt of Xerxes upon Apollo's Temple: and his taking of Athens.

Hen Xerxes had past the straits of Thermopyla, he wasted the country of the Phocians, & the regions adjoining : as for the inhabitants, they chose rather to flie, & reserve themselves to a day of battel, than to adventure their lives into his hands, upon hope of faving their wealth, by making proffer unto him of their fervice. Part of his armie he fent to spoil the Temple of Delphi, which was exceeding rich by means of many offerings that had bin made by divers Kings and great personages; of in all which riches it was thought that Xerxes had a better Inventorie than of the goods left in his owne Palace. To make relation of a great aftonishment that fell upon the companies which arrived at the Temple to have facked it, and of two Rockes that breaking from the Mount Parna ([166, overwhelmed many of the Barbarians, it were peradvenue fomewhat superstitious. Yet Herodorus, who lived not long after, faith, That the broken Rockes remained even to his memorie in the Temple of Minerva, whither they rowled in their fall. And furely this attempt of Xernes was impious; for feeing he beleeved that Apollo was a god, he should not have dared to entertaine a covetous defire of inriching himself by committing sacriledge upon his Temple. Wherefore it may possibly betrue. that licence to chastise his impietie, in such maner as is reported, was granted unto the di-30 vell, by that Holy One, who faith, Will a man spoile bis gods? and elswhere; Hathan, Nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Go to the Iles of Kittim, and behold and fend to Kedar, and take diligent heed, and see whether there be any such things. Now this impiety of Xerxes was the more inexcusable, for that the Per sans alledged the burning of Cybeles Temple by the Athenians, when they fet fire on the Citie of Sardis in Afia, tobethe ground and cause of thewaste which they made in burning of Cities and Temples in Greece. Wheras indeed, in the enterprise against Delphos, this vizzor of holy and zealous revenge falling off, discovered the face of covetous nesses for much the more ugly, by how much the more themselves had professed a detestation of the offence which the Athense ans had committed in that kind by meer mischance.

The remainder of that which Xerxes did, may be expressed briefly thus: He cameto Athens, which finding for saken, be took and burnt the Cittadel and Temple which was therein. The Cittadel indeed was defended awhile by some of more courage than wisedome, who literally interpreting Apollo's Oracle; that Athens should be safe in woodden wall, had fortisted that place with Boords and Palissadoes: too weak to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might have yeelded it upon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relied upon the prophecie: whereos (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of Themistocles, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the words to the present need, than fashioning the business.

nesse to words.

6. V.

How Themistocles the Athenian drew the Greekes to fight at Salamis.

He Athenians had before the comming of Xerxes removed their wives and children into Trazene, Azina, and Salamis, not so highly prizing their houses and lands, as their freedome, and the common libertie of Greece. Neverthelesse, this great

orest zeale, which the Athenians did shew for the general good of their Countrie, was iltrequited by the other Greeks, who with much labour were hardly intreated to stay for themat Salamis, whilest they removed their wives and children out of the Citie. But when the Citie of Athens was taken, it was presently resolved upon, that they should forfike the Ile of Salamis, and withdraw the fleet to Isthmus: which necke of land they did purpose to fortiste against the Persians, and so to defend Peloponnesus by land and sea, leaving the rest of Greece as indefensible, to the furie of the enemie. So should the Ilands of Salamis and Agina have been abandoned, and the Families of the Athenians (which werethere bestowed as in places of securitie) have been given over into mercilesse bondage. Against his resolution Themistocles, Admirall of the Athenian Fleer, very Aronely made opposition; but in vaine. For the Peloponnesians were so possessed with feare of lofing their owne, which they would not hazzard, that no perswasions could obtaine of them, to regard the estate of their distressed Friends and Allies. Many remonstrances Themistocles made unto them, to allure them to abide the enemie at Salamb; As first in private unto Eurybiades the Lacedamonian, Admirall of the whole fleet; That the felfe-fame feare which made them for fake those coasts of Greece, upon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no checke at the first) cause them alfor diffever the Fleet, and every one of the Confederates to with-draw himselfe to the defence of his owne Citie and Estate: Then to the Councell of War, which Eurybiades no upon this motion did call together (forbearing to object what want of courage might worke in them hereafter;) he shewed that the fight at Isthmus would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, having the fewer ships, to determine the matterinthe streights; and that, befides the safeguard of Agina, Megara, and Salamis, they should by abiding where they then were, sufficiently defend Isthmus, which the Barbarians should not so much as once look upon, if the Greeks obtained victory by sea; which they could not fo well hope for elfwhere, as in that prefent place which gave him fo good advantage. All this would not ferve to retaine the Pelsponnefians, of whom one, unworthie of memorie, upbraided Themistocles with the losse of Athens, blaming Eurybiades for fuffering one to speake in the Councellathat had no Countrie of his own ptoinhabite. Abase and shamefull objection it was, to lay as a reproach that losse, which being voluntarily sustained for the common good, was intrue estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignitie did exasperate Themistocles, and put into his mouth a replie so sharp, asavailed more than all his former perswasions. He told them all plainely, That the Athenians wanted not a fairer Citiethan any Nation of Greece could boaft of; having well-neare two hundred good shippes of Warre, the better part of the Grecian Fleet, with which it was easie for them to transport their Families and substance into any part of the World, and settle themselves in a more secure habitation, leaving those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refused to stand by them. Herewithall he mentioned a Towne in Italy belonging of old to the State of Athens, of which Towne he said an Oracle had foretold, That the Athenians in processe of time should build it a-new, and there (quoth he) will we plant our felves, leaving unto you a forrowfull remembrance of my words, and of your owne unthankfulnesse. The Peloponnessans hearing thus much began to enterinto better confideration of the Athenians, whose affaires depended not, as they well Perceived, upon so weak termes, that they should be driven to crouch to others; but rather were fuch, as might enforce the rest to yeeld to them, and condescend even to the uttermost of their owne demands.

For the Athenians, when they first embraced that Heroicall resolution of leaving their grounds and houses to fire and ruine, if necessity should ensore them so farre, for the preservation of their liberty; did employ the most of their private wealth, and all the common treasure, in building a great Navie. By these meanes they hoped (which accordingly sell out) that no such calamity should befall them by Land, as might not well becounterpossed by great advantages at Sea: Knowing well that a strong sleet would either procure victory at home, or a secure passage to any other Country. The other States of Greece held it sufficient, if building a few new ships, they did somewhat amend their navie. Wherby it came to passe, that, had they bin vanquished, they could not have expected any other fortune than either present death, or perpetual flavery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the assistance of the Athenians, whose forces by

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feadid equall all theirs together; the whole confifting of more than three hundred and fourescore bottomes. Wherefore these *Peloponnesians* beginning to suspect their owner condition, which would have stood upon desperate points, if the sleet of *Athens* had forsaken them; were soon perswaded, by the greater seare of such a bad event, to forget the lesser, which they had conceived of the *Persians*: and laying aside their insolent braverie, they yeelded to that most profitable counsell of abiding at *Salamis*.

§. VI.

How the Persians consulted about giving battell: and how Themistocles by policie held the 10 Greekes to their resolution; with the vistorie at Salamis thereupon ensuing.

TN the meane season the Persians had entred into consultation, whether it were convenient to offer battell to the Greekes, or no. The rest of the Captaines giving fuch advice as they thought would best please the King their Master. had foon agreed upon the fight; but Ariemi sia Queen of Halicarnasseus, who followed Xernes to this warre in person, was of contrarie opinion: Her counsell was, that the King himfelfe directly should march toward Peloponness, whereby it would come to passe, that the Greeke Navie (unable otherwise to continue long at Salamis for want of provision) should presently be differered, and every one seeking to preserve his owne Citie and an goods, they should, being divided, prove unable to result him, who had won so far upon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to give battell; so on the other fide, the danger will be more (faid she) which we shall undergoe, than any need requireth us to adventure upon; and the losse in case it fall upon us greater than the profit of the victorie which we defire. For if we compell the enemies to flie it is more than they would have done, we fitting still: but if they, as better Sea-menthan ours, putus to the worst, the journey to Peloponnesses is utterly dasht, and many that now declare for us, will foon revolt unto the Greekes. Mardonius, whom Xerxes had fentfor that purpose to the Fleet, related unto his Master the common consent of the other Captaines, and withall this disagreeing opinion of Artemisia. The King well pleased with to her advice, yet resolved upon following the more generall, but farre-worse counsell of the reft; which would questionlesse have beene the same which Artemisia gave, had not feare and flatterie made all the Captaines utter that, as out of their owne judgement, which they thought to be most conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeed that Xerxes had entertained a vaine perswassion of much good, that his owne presence upon the shore to behold the conflict, would worke among the Souldiers. Therefore he encamped upon the Sea-fide, pitching his owne Tent on the mount Ægalaus; which is opposite unto the Isle of Salamis, whence at ease he might safely view all which might happen in that action, having Scribes about him to write downe the acts and behaviour of every Captaine. The neere approach of the Barbarians, toge-40 ther with the newes of that timorous diligence, which their Countrimen shewed in fortifying the Isthmus, and of a Persian Armie, marching a-pace thither; did now againe lo terrefie and amaze the Peloponne sians, that no intreatie, nor contestation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it meer madnesse to fight for a Country alreadie lost, when they rather should endeavour to save that which remained unconquered; propounding chiefly to themselves what miserie would befall them, if losing the victorie, they should be driven into Salamis, there to be shut up, and besieged round in a poore

Hereupon they resolved forth-with to set saile for Ishmus: which had presently bin done, if the wisedome of Themistocles had not prevented it. For he perceiving what a viso elent fear had stopt up their eares against all good counsell, did practise another course, and forth-with labour to prevent the execution of this unwholesome decree; not suffering the very houre of performance to finde him busic in wrangling alteration. As soon as the Councell brake up, he dispatched secretly a trustie Gentlemant othe Persian Captaines, informing them trustly of the intended slight, and exhorting them to send part of their Navie about the Iland, which incompassing the Greekes, might prevent their escape; giving them withall a salfe hope of his assistance. The Persians no sooner heard than believed these good newes, well knowing that the victorie was their owne affured.

affured, if the Athenian fleet joyned with them; which they might eafily hope confidering what ability their Master had to recompence for so doing, both the Captaines with richrewards, and the People with restitution of their City, and Territories. By these meanes it fell out, that when the Greeks very early in the morning were about to waigh Anchor, they found themselves inclosed round with Persians, who had laboured hard all that night, sending many of their ships about the He of salamis, to charge the enemy in reare, and landing many of their men in the Isle of Pfittalea, which lyeth over against salumis, to fave fuch of their owne, and kill fuch of the Gracian partie, as by any misformue should be cast upon the shore. Thus did meere necessity enforce the Gracians to una dettake the battaile in the Straights of Salamis, where they obtained a memorable vi-Mory, stemming the foremost of their enemies, & chasing the rest, who falling foule one upon another, could neither conveniently fight nor flie. I doe not finde any particular occurrences in this great battaile to be much remarkeable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of xerxes had a wearifome taske of writing downe many difasters that befell the Persian fleet; which ill acquitted it felfe that day, doing no one piece fervice worthy the presence of their King, or the registring of his Notaries. As for the Greekes, they might well feene to have wrought out that victory with equall courage, were it not that the principall honour of that day was ascribed to those of Aegina, and to the Athenians, of whom it is recorded, That when the Barbarians did flie towards Phalerus, where the Landto army of Xerxes lay, the ships of Aegina having possessed the Straights, did sinke or take them, while It the Athenians did valiantly give charge upon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of refifting.

S. VII. Of things following after the battatle of Salamis: and of the flight of Xerxes.

Fter this victorie, the Greeks intending by way of Scrutinie, to determine which of the Captaines had best merited of them, in all this great service; every Cap-Tain, being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write downe his own do name, but in the fecond place, as best deserving next unto himselfe, almost every Suffrage did concur upon Themistocles. Thus private affection yeelded unto vertue, as soone as her owne turne was ferved. The Persian King, as not amazed with this calamity, began to make new preparation for continuance of warre; but in fuch fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper, might easily discerne his faint heart through his painted lookes. Especially Mardonius, Author of the warre, beganne to call awary eye upon his Master, fearing left his counsell should be reworded according to the event. Wherefore purposing rather to adventure his life in pursuite of the vithorie, than to cast it away by undergoing his Princes indignation; hee advised the King to leave unto him three hundred thousand men, with which forces hee promised to reduce all Greece under the fubjection of the Perfian Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not to footh Xerxes with many faire words; telling him, That the cowardife of those Egyptians, Phanicians, and Cilicians, with others of the like metall, nothing better than flaves, who had fo ill behaved themfelves in the late Sea-fervice; did not concerne his honour, who had alwayes beene victorious, and had already subdued the better part of Gruce, yea taken Athens it felf, against which the Warre was principally intended. These words found very good acceptance in the Kings care, who prefently betooke himfelfto his journey homewards, making the more hast, for that he understood, how the Greeks hada purpose to faile to Hellesont, and there to breake downe his bridge, and intercept his paffage. True it was that the Greekes had no fuch intent, but rather wished his hasty o departure, knowing that hee would leave his Armie not fo strong, as it should have beene, had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did Eurybiades give counfell, that by no meanes they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, lest necessity should inforce the Persians to take more courage; and rather to fight like men, than dielike beasts. Wherefore Themistocks did, under pretence of friendship, send a false advertisement unto this timorous Prince, advising him to convey himselfe into Asia with all speed, before his bridge were dissolved which counsell Xerxes took very kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that hee found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into Asia; or whether it were torne in sunder by tempests, Nnn

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and he thereby driven to imbarke himself in some obscure vessell, it is not greatly materiall; though the *Greeks* dld most willingly imbrace the latter of these reports. Howsover it were, this slight of his did well ease the Country, that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as Locusts, had before overwhelmed it.

6. VIII.

The negotiations betweene Mardonius and the Athenians, as also betweene the Athenians and the Lacedamonians, after the flight of Xerxes.

Ardonius with his three hundred thousand had withdrawne himself into These salie, whence he sent Alexander, the son of Amyntus King of Macedon, as Embassiador to the Athenians, with promise of large amends for all their losses received; and of extending their Territories as farre as their owne defires; allowing them to retain their libertie and lawes, if they would make peace with Xerxes, and assist him in that warre.

The Athenians had now re-entred their city, but not as yet brought backe their wives and children; for as much as they well perceived that the place could not bee fecure, till the Army of Mardonius were broken and defeated. Wherefore the Laced amonians, understanding what faire conditions this Embassadour would propound, were perplexed with very great feare, left he should finde good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, they to likewise very spedily dispatched their Embassadors for Athens, who arriving before the Macedonian had audience, used the best of their perswasion to retain the Athenians firm. They alledged, that neither Xerxes nor Darius had any pretence of Warre against the rest of Greece, but had onely threamed the subversion of Athens, till they and all their Confederates arming themselves in defence of that City, were drawne into the quarrell, wherein the Athenians without much crueltic of injustice could not leave them. Wee know, faid they, that yee have endured great calamities, losing the fruit of the grounds, and being driven to forfake the Towne, the houses thereof bee ruined, and unfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, wee undertake to maintaine as our owne. your wives and children amongst us, as long as the warre shall continue, hoping that po yee, who have alwaies procured libertie to others, will not now goe about to bring all Greece into flavery and bondage. As for the Barbarians, their promises are large, but their words and oathes are of no affurance. It was needlesse to use many arguments to the Athenians, who gave answer to Alexander in presence of the Spartan Embassadors, That whilest the Sunne continued his course, they would be enemies to Xerxes, regarding neither Gold nor any riches, with which hee might feeke to make purchase of their libertie. Concerning the maintenance of their wives and children, it was aburden which they promifed to fustaine themselves, only desiring the Lacedæmonians, that with all fpeed they would cause their Armie to marche, for a sit was not likely, that Mardonius would long fit still in Thessalie, having once received such a peremp-10 torie answer. In this their opinion of Mardonius his readinesse to invade Attica, they found themselves nothing deceived. For hee, as soone as Alexander had returned their obstinate purpose of resistance, did forthwith leade his army towards them, and their City: they having now the second time quitted it, and conveyed themselves into places of more fecurity abroad in the Countrie, where they expected the arrivall of their confederates. From Athens he fent his Agent unto them, with instructions, not only to perswade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principall of them to his partie. His hope was, that either the people, wearied with for faking their houses so often, would be desirous to preserve them from fire, &to have those which were already laid waste, re-edified at the Kings charges: Or if this affection took no place with them, but that needs they would relie upon their old confederates, whose succors did very slowly advance forwards, yet perhaps the leaders might be wonne with great rewards, to draw them to this purpose; all which projects, if they should faile, the destruction of Athens would be a good meane to please his Master, King Xerxes, who must thereby needes understand, that Mardonius kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of Greece, in the ftrongest part of their owne Countrie. But his expectation was beguiled in all thefe. For the Athenians fo little regarded his offers, that when one Lycidas, or (as Demosthenes calls him)

Cyrcilus, advised the Senate to accept the conditions, and propounded them to the people; all the Senators & as many as abiding without the Counfaile house, heard what he had faid, immediately fet upon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were feare or mony, that had moved him to utter such a vile sentence. Yea, the women of Athens, in the Ile of Salamis, hearing of his bad counfaile, and bad end, affembling together did enter his house there, and put his wife and children to the like execution. All this bravery notwithstanding, when they perceived the slacknesse of the Peloponnefam in giving them aide, they were faine to betake themselves to Salamis againe, the oldplace of their fecurity. Remaining there, and feeing little forwardnes in those whom it most concerned to assist them, they sent very severe messages to Sparta, complaining of their flacknes, and threatning withall, to take fuch course as might stand best with their OWING good, seeing that the common estate of all was so little regarded. These messengers were at the first entertained with dilatory answers, which every day grew colder, when as the Peloponnesian Wall, builded a-thwart the Isthmus, was almost finished. But as the Lacedemonians waxed careless and dull, so the Athenians hotly pressed them to a quicke resolution, giving them plainly to understand, that if they should hold on in those dilatory courses, it would not be long ere the City of Athens took a new course, that should little please them. All this while the Persian fleet lay upon the coast of Asia, not daring to draw nearer unto Greece, as being now too weak at Sea. Likewise the Greekish Navie contained it selfe within the Harbours upon Europe side; both to doe service where need should require at home; & withall to shunne the danger which might have befallen any part of it, that (being distracted from the rest) had adventured over-farre. So mutual feate preserved in quiet the Ilands lying in the midst of the Aegean Seas. But it was well and leafonably observed by a Counsellor of Sparta, that the Wall upon Isthmus would ferre to little purpose for the defence of Peloponnesus, if once the Athenians gave eare to Mardonius: confidering that many doores would bee opened into that Demie-Iland, as foone as the Enemy should by winning the friendship of Athens, become the Master of the Seas about it. The Laced amonians upon this admonition, making better perufall of their owne dangers, were very carefull to give satisfaction to the Athenian Embassadors who not brooking their delaies, were upon point of taking leave, yea, as it feemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherefore dispatching away five thousand Spartans in the evening, under conduct of Paulanias; they gave audience the next day to the Embassadors, whose complaints they answered with vehement protestations of their readinesses. deeply swearing that the Army of Sparia was already farre upon the journey, and giving them leave to take up other five thousand Lacedamonians, out of the Region adjoyning, to follow after them.

The Athenians, though distasting such want of gravity, in a matter so important, were neverthelesse contented with the sinall conclusion; & levying the number appointed of Luckamenian Souldiers, made what haste they could to incampe in Attica. The other so Grecians were nothing slacke in sending forth Companies, whose neare approach caused Mardonius to for sake Attica as a rough Country, and therefore of much disadvantage to Hose, wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure he burnt the City of Athens, beating downe the Walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly escaped the survey of War.

§. IX. The great battaile of Platæa.

Twere too long a rehearfall to shew all that happened in many skirmishes between the Greekes and him, in the Country of Baotia, which Mardonius had chosen to bee the seate of that Warre. Much time was spent before the quarrell was decided by the triall of one maine battaile: for both parties did stand upon their guard, each expeding when the other should assaile them.

The army of Mardonius contained about three hundred thousand, which were by him chosenout of Xerxes his Army; to whom were adjoyned the forces of Thebes, Macedony, Thesself, and other parts of Greece, that now siding with the Persian, surnished his Campe with sifty thousand men. Against these the Lacedemonians, Athenians, and their Conferences, had leavied an Army of one hundred and ten thousand, of which forty thousands, had leavied an Army of one hundred and ten thousand, of which forty thousands.

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fand were weightily armed, the rest were only assistants to these forty thousand, being armed more sleightly, as rather to make excursions and give chase, than to sustaine any strong charges.

These two armies having eleven dayes confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of service; *Mardonius*, whose victuals began to saile, resolved any memorable piece of service; *Mardonius*, whose victuals began to saile, resolved any memorable piece of service; *Mardonius*, whose victuals began to saile, resolved to begin the fray. The *Greekes* were promised victory by an *Oracle*, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plaine of *Geres & Proserpina*, making prayers unto certaine gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphes. But it was hard to finde the certaine place which the *Oracle* designed. For the plaine of *Geres* was indeed in the Territory of *Athens*; but there was also an old Temple of *Geres* and *Proserpina*, neare unto the place where they to lay at that time encamped, as likewise the memorials of those Nymphes and Demigods, were in the same place, upon Mount *Githaron*, and the ground served well for foot-men against horse; onely the Land belonged unto the *Platæans*, and not unto the *Athenians*.

Whilest the Greeks were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtfull Oracle, the Plateans to make all cleere, did freely bestow their land on that side the Towneupon the Athenians.

This magnificence of the Plateans caused Alexander the Great, many ages after, to

re-edifie their City, which was ruined in the Peloponnesian wars.

All things being ready for battaile, the Lacedamonian Generall thought it most meet, that the Athenians should stand opposite that day to the Medes & Persians , whom they had formerly vanquished at Marathon; and that he, with his Spartans, should enterraine the Thebans and other Greekes which followed Mardonius , as better acquainted with their fight, and having beaten them often-times before. This being agreed upon, the Athenians changed place with the Laced emonians; which Mardonius understanding (whether fearing the Athenians, of whose valour the Medes & Persians had felt heavie proofe. or defiring to encounter the Spartans, as thinking them the bravest Souldiers in Green he did also change the order of his battaile, and oppose himselfe to Pausanias. All the Greekes might well perceive how the Enemy did shift his wings, and Pausanias thereupon returned to his former Station; which Mardonius noting, did also the like. Soone to whole day was spent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the Persians made that day with their Archers on horse-back, who did so molest the Greeks at their watering place, that they were faine to enter into confultation of retiring; because they could not withour much losse to themselves, and none to the enemy, lye neare to that fountaine which did serve all the Campe. Having therefore concluded among themselves to dislodge; and part of the Army being fent away before day-light: Mardonius perceived their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which to him feemed to proceed out of meer cowardise) he charged them in the reare with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, That the Laceda. monians being over-taken by the enemies horse, & over-whelmed with great flights of Arrowes, did quietly fit still, not making any refistance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and flaine, and some of especiall marke lost, before any signe of good successe appeared in the entrailes.

But as soone as Pausanias had found in the Sacrifice those tokens, which the superstition of that Age and Country accounted fortunate; he gave the Signall of battaile; and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did situpon the ground, as was their manner, arose alrogether, and with excellent courage received the charge of the Barbarians, that came thronging upon them without any seare of such notable resistance. The rest of the Greeke Army that was in march, being revoked by Pausanias, came in a-pace to succour the Lacedamonians: only that part of the Army which was led by the Athenians, could not arrive unto the place of the great battaile, because the Thebans, and others Greeks consederated with the Persians, gave them checke by the way. Neverthelesse, the Spartans with other their assistants, did so well acquit themselves, that the Persians were vanquished, and Mardonius with many thousands more slaine in the field; the rest sed into the Campe, which they had fortissed with woodden Walls, and there defended themselves with such courage as desperate necessity inforced them unto, holding out the longer, because the Lacedamonians were not acquainted with the manner of assaulting Fortresses, and Walls. In the meane time the Athenians having sound strong opposition

of the Thebanes and Thessalians, did with much labour & courage obtain victory, which having not long pursued, they came to help the Lacedamonians, whom they sound wearly bussed in assaulting the Campe, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themselves under-took it, & in short space forced a passage through the Wall; at which breach first, and then on all sides, the Greekes entred with such fury, and just defire of vengeance, that of three hundred thousand they are said not to have left three thousand alive, excepting those who fielde away with Artabazus, when as the Persian Army first fell to rout.

If the execution were so great, as is reported, an especiall cause of it was the foolish remait, or rather flight into the Campe. For though it were so, that the place was well To fortified, and the number of those who cast themselves into it greater than any of the Affailants; yet they being of severall Nations and Languages and having lost their Generall with other principall Commanders, it was impossible that they in such a terrour and aftonishment should make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemv Country, against an Army of men, farre more valiant than themselves, and enslamed with present victory. Therefore the same wall which for a few houres had preserved their lives, by holding out the enemy, did now impale them, and leave them to the flaughtering fury of unpitifull Victors. Artabazus fled into Thrace, telling the people of Thessaly, and other Countries in his way, that he was sent by Mardonius upon some 20 piece of service: For he well knew, that had they understood any thing of that great difconfiture, all places would have beene hostile unto him, and sought with his ruine to muchase favour of the vanquishers. Therefore making so large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behinde and loft, he came to ByZantium, whence he thipped his men over into Asia. Such was the end of the vaine-glorious expedition, undenaken by Xerxes against the Greekes, upon hope of Honour, and Conquest, though foring otherwise, accordingly as Artabazus had fore-seene, and rather worse, for as much as it began the quarrell, which never ended before the ruine of the Persian Empire was effected by that Nation of the Greekes, despised and sought to have beene brought o mo flavery. Hereby it may feeme, that the vision appearing to Xerxes, was from God himselfe, who had formerly disposed of those things, ordaining the subversion of the Persian Monarchie by the Greeks, who thus provoked, entred into greater consideration of their owne strength, and the weaknesse of their Enemies.

§. X.

Thebattaile of Mycale, with a strange accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and examples of the like.

The fame day on which the battaile was fought at Plataa, there was another battaile fought at Mycale, a Promontory, or Head-land in Afia, where the Persian fleet rode.

Leutychides the Spartan, with Xantippus the Athenian, Admirals of the Greeke Navie, atherequest of some Handers & Ionians, did faile into those parts, to deliver the Samians, & procure the Ionians to revolt from the Perfian. Xerxes himselfe at this time lay at Sardis, acity in Lidia, not farre from the Sea-fide, having left threefcore thousand under the command of Tigranes, for defence of Ionia & the Sea-coast. Therfore when Artagnies and libramitres, Admirals of the Perfian fleete, understood that the Greekes bent their course towards themsthey did forth-with draw their ships a ground, fortifying with Pa-Madres & otherwise, as much ground as was needfull for the encamping of all their land & fea-forces. Leutychides at his arrivall, perceiving that they meant to keep within their frength, & resolving to force them out of it, rowed with his gally close aboord the shore, and called upon the Ionians (who more for feare than good will were encamped among the Persians) exhorting them in the Greek tongueto remember liberty, & use the faire oc-Coffon which they now had to recover it. Herein hee did imitate Themistocles, who had done the like at Bubaa, trufting that either these perswasions would prevaile, or if the Persons did happen to understand them, that it would breed some jealousie in them, cauing them to fight in feare of their own companions. It need not feeme strange, that this Nnn 3

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very same stratageme, which little or nothing availed Themistocles, die now very happily succeed. For Xerxes being in his full strength, it was a matter of much difficulty, to perswade those inhabitants of Asia to revolt; who now in his declining estate, gaves willing eare to the fiveet found of liberty. The Persians likewise, who in their former bravery, little regarded and lesse feared, any treason to bee contrived by their subjects. were now so wary, that from the Samians which were amongst them, they tooke away their armes; the Milefians whom they did suspect, but would not seem to mistrust, they placed far from them, as it were for defence of the streight passages of Mycale; pretending that these Milesians did best of all others know those places. But these devices little availed them. For the Samians perceiving that they were held as Traitors, took courage to in the heate of the fight, and laying hold upon such weapons as came to hand, affailed the Perfans manfully within the Campe; which example the Ionians prefently followed, being very glad to have found some that durst beginne. It is said that while the Greekes were yet in a march toward the Enemies Campe, a rumour suddenly rannein the Army, that Mardonius was overthrowne in Greece, which (though perhapsir was given out by the Captaines to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the battaile of Plates was fought in the morning, and this of Mycale in the evening of the

The like report of that great battaile, wherein Paulus Aemilius overthrew Persus the last King of Macedon, was brought to Rome in foure dayes, as Livie with others do 20 record. And Plutarch hath many other examples of this kinde. As that of the battaile by the River Sagra in Italy, which was heard of the fame day in Peloponnefus: That of the battell against the Tarquinians & the Latines presently noised at Rome: And (which is most remarkable) the victory obtained against Lucius Antonius, who was Rebellio Domitian the Emperour. This Lucius Antonius being Lievtenant of the higher Germanie, had corrupted his Army with gifts and promifes, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himselse Emperour; which newes much troubling the City of Rome, with feare of a dangerous Warre, it was fodainly reported that

Antonius was flaine, and his Army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer facrifice to the gods, and shew all manner of publique joy, 20 as in fuch cases was accustomed. But when better inquiry was made, and the Authour of these tidings could not bee found; the Emperour Domittan betooke himselfe to his journey against the Rebell; and being now with his Army in march, he received advertisement by Poste, of the Victory obtained, and the death of Antonius: whereupon remembring the rumour noised before in Rome, of the selfe-same victory, he found that the report and victory were borne upon one day, though twenty thousand furlongs (which make about five & twenty hundred miles) a-funder. It is truely faid of Plurarch, that this last example gives credit unto many the like. And indeed it were very strange, if among fo many rumours, begotten by forgery or mistakings, & fostered by credulous imagination, there should not bee found (as happens in dreams among many thousand a vaine and frivolous) a few precifely true. Howbeit we may finde, that God himselfe doth sometimes use to terrefie those who presume upon their owne strength, by these light meanes of tumultuous noises, as he raised the siege of Samaria, by causing a found of Horses and Chariots to affright the Aramites; & as he threatned Senacherib, saying: Behold, I will fend a blast upon him, and he shall heare a noise, and returne to his owneland. Wherefore it may well have beene true, that God was pleafed by fuch a meane as this, to animate the Greekes; who (as Herodotus notes) went towards the Enemies with heavie hearts, being in great feare, lest their owne adventure should by no meanes fall out well; considering in what danger they had left their owne Countrey of Great, which was ready to bee subdued by Mardonius whilest they went wandring to seekeouts enemies a-farre-off, upon the coast of Asia. But the same of the battaile fought at Platas being noised among them; every man defired that his own valour in the present fight, might be some help to worke out the full deliverance of Greece. In this alacrity of spirit, they divided themselves into two Battalians, whereof the Athenians led the one, by the way of the plaine, directly towards the enemies Campe; the Laced emenians conducted the other, by the Mountaines and streight passages, to winne the higher ground. The Athenians did first set upon the Campe (ere the Lacedamonians could arrive on the other part) and being desirous to get all the honour of the day to themselves, didso

forcibly affault it, that they brake way through the Paliffadoes and Gabions, & made themselves Masters of the place, flaying all that could not save themselves by flight. In this fight the Samians did good fervice as is formerly mentioned.

But the Milesians, who upon the like jealousie, were placed by the Persians on the rops of Mycale, to defend the passages, did now (as if they had bin set of purpose to keep them from running away) put as many to the fword as fell into their hands, letting none escape, except very few, that fled through by pathes. The Lacedamonians that day did little service, for the businesse was dispatched ere they came in: Onely they broke such companies as retired in whole troopes; making them flie dispersed in very much disoro der, whereby the Milesians were enabled to doe the greater execution upon them. This was the last fight of that huge Army leavied against Greece, which was now utterly broken, and had no meanes left to make offenfive Warres

8. X T.

of webarbarous qualities of Xerxes: with a transition from the Persian affaires to matters of Greece, which from this time grew more worthy of regard.

Frxes lay at Sardis, not farre from the place of this battaile; but little minde had hee to revenge either this or other his great losses, being wholly given over to the love of his Brothers Wife: with whom hee could not prevaile by intreaty, nor would obtaine his defire by force, because he respected much his Brother her husband: hee thought it best to make a match between his owne Son Darius, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that means to finde occasion of such familiarity as might worke out his defire. But whether it were fo, that the chaltity of the Mother didfill reject him, or the beauty of the Daughter allure him; hee soone after fell in low with his owne Sonnes wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to governe himfelfein peace, as to guide his Army in warre. This young Lady having once defired the King to give her the Garment which hee then wore, being wrought by his owne Wife, go caused the Queen the reby to perceive her husbands conversation with her, which she imputed not for much to the beauty of her Daughther-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, against whom thereupon she conceived extreme hatred. Therefore at a Royall feat, wherein the custome was that the King should grant their request, she craved that the Wife of Maffler, her husbands brother, the young Ladies Mother, might be given inroller disposition. The barbarous King, who might either have reformed the abuse of fucha custome, or have deluded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by threatning her felfe with the like, to what foe ver the should inflict upon the innocent Lady, granted the requelt: & fending for his brother, perfwaded him to put away the Wife which hee had, andtake one of his Daughters in her stead. Hereby it seemes, that hee understood how villainously that poore Lady should be intreated, whom hee knew to bee vertuous, and whom himselfe had loved. Mafiftes refused to put her away; alledging his owne love; her deferving, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Some, as reasons important to move him to keepe her. But in most wicked manner Mirxes reviled him; faying, That hee now should neither keepe the Wife which he had, nor have his Daughter whom he had promifed unto him. Mafistes was much grieved with these words, but much more, when hee returned home, hee found his Wife most butcherly mangled by the Queene Amestris, who had caused her Nose, Lips, Eares, and Tongue to be cut off, and her Brefts in like manner, which were cast unto Dogs. Masistes imaged with this villany; tooke his way with his children; and some Friends; towards [®] Ballria, of which Province he was Governor, intending to rebell & avenge himselfe. But Xtrxes understanding his purpose, caused an Army to be eleavied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Company to the Sword. Such was the Tyrannicall condition of the Persian Government; and such are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is joyned with absolute power.

Yet of xerxes it is noted, that hee was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore Alexthe Great, finding an Image of his over-throwne, and lying upon the ground, faid, That hee doubted, whether in regard of his vertue, hee should againe erect it, or, for the mischiese done by him to Greece, should let it lye. But surely whatsoever his

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other good qualities were, he was foolish, and was a coward, and consequently mercitesse.

Therefore wee may firmely believe, that the vertue of Cyrus was very great, upon which the foundation of the Persian Empire was so surely laid, that all the wickednesse and vanities of Xerxes, & other worse Princes, could not overthrow it, untill it was broken by a vertuealmost equal to that which did establish it. In wars against the Egyptians, the fortune of Xerxes did continue, as at the first it had been, very good; but against the general estate of Greece, neither he, or any of his posterity, did ever make offensive warre, but received many losses in Asa, to which the last at Myeale served but as an introduction; teaching the Greekes, and especially the Athenians, that the Persian was no to better Souldier at his owne doores, than in a forraine Country: whereof good triall was made forth-with, and much better proofe as soone as the affaires of Athens were quietly settled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the Historie of Greece, taking in the matters of Persa, as also the estate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the Persian estate continued in her greatnesse, many ages following, in such wise that the knowne parts of the World had no other King.

dome, representing the Majesty of a great Empire.

But this greatnesse depended onely upon the riches & power that had formerly been acquired, yeelding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting to some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that excessive Luxury, where-with both it, and all, or the most of Empires that ever were, have been enervated, made unweldy, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry swords of poore and hardy Enemies. Hereby it came to passe, that Xerxes and his successours were faine to defend their Crownes with money and base policies; very seldome or never (unlesse it were with great advantage) daring to adventure the triall of plaine battaile with that little Nation of Greece; which would soone have ruined the foundations laid by Gyrus, had not private malice and jealousse urged every City to envie the height of her neighbours wals, and thereby diverted the swords of the Greekes into their owne bowels, which after the departure of Xerxes began very well, and might better have continued, to hew out the way of consults, on the side of Asia.

CHAP. VII.

Of things that paffed in Greece from the end of the Persian Warre, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

6. I.

How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.



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Frenthat the Medes and Persians had received their last blow, and were utterly beaten at Mycale: Leutychides, who then commanded the Grecian Army, leaving the pursuit of the warre to the Athenians, a slisted by the revolted Iones, returned with the Lacedamonians and other Peloponnessians to Sparta and other places, out of which they had been leavied. The Athenians in the meane while besieged Sessos, a City or the strait of the Hedespons, betweene which and

Abodus, Xerxes had lately fastned his Bridge of Boats: where the inhabitants, desperate of secour, did not long dispute the desenve thereof, but quitted it to the Greekes, who entertained themselves the Winter following on that side the Hellesport. In the Spring they drew homeward, and having less their wives and children, since the invasion of Attica, and the abandoning of Attens, in divers Islands, and at TrueZen, they now found them out, and returned with them to their owne places.

And though the most part of all their houses in athens were burneand brokendown,

and the walls of the City over-turned, yet they resolved first on their common defence. and to fortifie their City, before they cared to cover themselves, their wives and children, with any private buildings. Whereof the Laced amonians being advertised, and milliking the fortifying of Athens, both in respect that their owne City of Sparta was unwalled, as also because the Athenians were grown more powerfull by Sea, than either themselves, or any other State of Greece, they dispatched messengers to the Athenians to diffwade them; not acknowledging any private mislike or jealousie, but pretending that if the Persians should return to invade Greece a third time, the Athenians being in no better state to defend themselves than heretofore, the same would serve to receive their enemies, and to be made a Seate for the Warre, as Thebes had lately bin. To this the Atheto mians promifed to give them fatisfaction by their own Embaffadors very speedily. But being resolved to goe on with their workes by the advice of Themistocles, they held the Lacedamonians in hope of the contrary, till they had raifed their walls to that height, as they cared not for their mislikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gaine ime) they dispatched Themistocles towards Lacedamon, giving him for excuse, that hee could not deliver the Athenians resolutions, till the arrival of his fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the Lacedamonians expectation being converted into jealousie (for by the arrivall of divers persons out of Attica, they were told for certaine, That the walls of Athens were speedily grown up beyond expectation) Themistocles prayed them not to believe reports and vaine rumors, but that they would bee pleased to send some of their owne trusty Citizens to Athens, from whose relation they might resolve themselves, & determine accordingly. Which request being granted, and Commissioners sent, Themistocles dispatched one of his owne, by whom he adviled the Athenians, first to entertaine the Lacedamonians with some such discourse as might retaine them a few daies, and in conclusion to hold them among them, till himself, With other Athenian Embaffadors, then at Sparta, had their liberty alfo to return. Which done, and being also assured by his associates & Aristides, that Athens was already defensible on all parts, Themistocles demanding audience, made the Lacedamonians know, That it was true that the walls of Athens were now raised to that height, as the Atheni-10 ans doubted not the defence of their City; praying the Laced amonians to believe, That whensoever it pleased them to treat with the Athenians, they would know them for such as right well understood what appertained to a Common-weale and their owne fafety, without direction & advice from any other: That they had in the warre of Kernes abandoned their City, and committed themselves to the woodden Walls of their shippes, from the resolution of their owne counsells and courage, and not thereto taught or perfwaded by others : and finally, in all that perillous warre against the Persians they found their owne judgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferiour, or leffe fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Common-weale among the Greekes: And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Masters and Judges of their owne oaffaires, and thought it good reason, that either all the Cities confedered within Greece hould be left open, or elfe that the Walls of Athens should be finished and maintained.

The Lacedamonians finding the time unfit for quarrell, diffembled their mislike, both of the fortifying of Athens, and of the division; and so suffered the Athenians to depart, and received backe from them their owne Embassadors.

The Walls of Athens finished, they also fortified the Port Pyrens, by which they might under covert imbarke themselves upon all occasions.

6. II.

The beginning of the Athenian greatnesse, and prosperous warre made by that State upon the Persian.

He Athenians having settled things in good order at home, prepared thirty Gallies for the pursuit of the warre against the Persians, to which the Lacedemonians added other twenty, and with this Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the Cities of Greece consederated, they set saile for Cyprus, under the conduct of Pausains the Lacedemonian; where, after their landing having possess themselves of many principall places, they imbarked the Army againe, and tooke land in Thrace, recovering from

CHAP. 7. S.3.4.

the Persians by force the City Bizantium, now Constantinople: from whence Pausanias, behaving himselfe morelike a Tyrant than a Captaine, especially towards the Ionians lately revolted from Xerxes, was called backe by the Councell of Lacedamon, and not onely accused of many insolent behaviours, but of Intelligence with the Medes, & Treafon against his Countrey. In his stead they imployed Docres, who either gave the same cause of offence; or else the Athemans, who affected the first commandement in that warre, practifed the fouldiers to complaine; though indeede the wife and vertuous behaviour of Aristides, Generall of the Athenian forces, a man of rare & incomparable fincerity, had beene able to make a good Commander feeme ill in comparison of himselfe: & therefore was much more availeable, in rendring those detested, whose vices afforded to little matter of excuse. Howsoever it were, the Lacedamonians being lo lesse wearied of the war, than the Athenians were eager to pursue it, the one obtained their ease, and the other the execution and honour which they defired : for all the Greeks (those of Peloponnefus excepted) willingly subjected themselves to the commandement of the Athensan, which was both the beginning of their greatnesse in that present age, and of their ruine in the next succeeding. For the charge of the warre being now committed unto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities 5 they appointed Receivers and Treasurers, & began to levie mony, according to their discretion, for the maintenance of the generall defence of Greece, & for the recovering of those places on Europe side, in Afia the lesse, and the Hands, from the Persians. This tribute (the first that was ever payed by the Greeki) 10 amounted to foure hundred and threescore Talents; which was raised easily by the honest care of that just man Aristides, to whose discretion all the confederates referred themselves, & no one man found occasion to complaine of him. But as the vertue of A. ristides, & other worthy Citizens, brought unto the Athenians great commodity; to the defire which they conceived of encreasing their commodity, corrupted their vertue, and robbing them of the generall love, which had made them powerfull, abandoned their City to the defence of her treasure, which with her in the next age perished. For it was not long ere these soure hundred and threescore Talents were raised to fixe hundred, nor long after that, ere their covetous tyranny had converted their followers into flaves, and extorted from them yearely thirteene hundred Talents. The Isle of Delos was at 30 the first appointed for the Treasure-house wherein these summes were laid up, and where, at the generall Affembly, the Captaines of those forces, sent by the confederates, were for forme fake called to confultation. But the Athenians, who were stronger by sea than all Greece besides, had lockt up the common treasure in an Island, undertheir owne protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterward

The generall Commander in this Warre was Cimon, the fon of Militades, who first tooke Eiona, upon the River Strimon; then the Isle of Sciros, inhabited by the Dolopes: they mastered the Carifii, and brought into servitude the Naxii, contrary to the form of the confederacy: So did the other the inhabitants of Greece, if at any time they failed of to their contribution, or disobeyed their commandements; taking upon them & usurping a kinde of loveraigne authority over the rest: which they exercised the more assured, because they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be refisted. Formany of the confederated Cities and Nations, weary of the warre in their owne persons, and given up altogether to their ease, made choice rather to pay their parts in money, than either in men of warre, or in ships ; leaving the provision of both to the Athenians. Hereby the onegrew weake in all their Sea-defences, and in the exercise of the Warres; the other greatly strengthened their Navie and their experiences, being alwayes amed and imployed in honorable Services, at the cost of those, who having lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-mony, lego vied upon these their confederates, employed so well by the Athenians at the first (asill proceedings are often founded upon good beginnings) that no great cause of repining was given. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherewith Cimon the Admirall scouring the Asiaticke Seas, took-in the City of Phaselin; which have wing formerly pretended neutrality, and refused to relieve, or any way affist the Greekes, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a fine, and fo to become followers of the Athenians, paying yearly contribution.

s, paying yearly contribution. From thence hee set saile for the River Eurymedon in Pamphylia, where the Ersian Fleet

Fleet rode, being of fixe hundred fayle, or (according to the most sparing report) three hundred and fifty, and having a great Land-Army, encamped upon the shoare; all which forces having been provided for advancing the Kings affaires in Greece, where utterly defeated in one day, and two hundred ships taken by the Athenians, the rest being broken to pieces, or funk, ere ever they had fwom in the Greekish Seas. Cimon having in one day obtained two great victories, the one by Sea, and the other by Land, was very some presented with a third. For fourescore sayle of Phanicians (who were the best of all Seamen, under the Perfian command) thinking to have joyned themselves with the Fleet before destroyed, arrived upon the same Coast, ignorant of what had passed, and fearing nothing lesse than what ensued. Upon the first notice of their approach, Cimor to weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-Land, called Hydra, did to amaze them. that they onely fought to run themselves on ground; by which meane preserving few of their men, they lost all their ships. These losses did so breake the courage of the Persian. that omitting all hope of prevailing upon Greece, he condescended to what soever Articlesit pleased the Athenians to propound, granting liberry unto all the Greeks inhabiting Asia and further covenanting, That none of his ships of War should sayle to the Westward of the Isles, called Cyanea and Chelidonia.

This was the most honourable peace that ever the Greek's made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any war that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till such time as under Alexander, they overthrew the empire of Persia; in which ware, sew, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great command, but served altogether under the Macedonians.

5. III. The death of Xerxes by the treason of Artabanus.

Besides these losses, which could not easily have bin repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time such; as gave just cause to the Persian of seeking peace upon any termes not altogether intolerable. For Artabanus, the Uncle of Xerxes, perceiving, that the King his Master did easily take small occasions to shed the blood of such, as in kindred or place were neere unto him, began to repose lesse hope of a safetie in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Soveraigntie, by destroying a Prince that was so hated for his cruelty, and despited for his cowardise and missortunes. Having conceived this Treason, he found meanes to execute it by Mitriedates an Eunuch, in such close manner, that (as if he himselfe had been innocent) he accused Darius the sonne of Xerxes, and caused him to suffer death as a Parricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickednesse hee got the Kingdome, and held it seven moneths 50 whether intending the like evill to Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes, he was by him prevented and surprised, were hard to affirme any certainty. But all Writers agree upon this, That taken she was, and with his whole familie put to death by extreme tornients, according to the sentence whereof the truth is more ancient than the Verse.

Rarò antecedentem scelessum Descrit pede pana claudo. Seldome the villaine though, much haste he make, Lame-scoted Vengeance failes to overtake.

The banishment of Themistocles: his flight to Artaxerxes newly reigning in Persia 36 his death.

Reaxerses being established in his Kingdome, and having so compounded with the Ashenians, as the present necessity of his affaires required, began to conceive new hopes of better fortune against the Greeks, than hee or his predecessors had ever hitherto found. For the people of Athens, when the Persians were chasted out of Greece, did so highly value their owne merits in that service, that they not onely thought it suffer themselves to become the Commanders over many Townes and Islands of the Greekes, but even within their owne wals, they would admit none other forme of Government than meerely Democraticals. Herein they were so insolem, that no integritic

nor good defert was able to preferve the eftate of any fuch as had borne great office longer than by flattering the rascall multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

The third Booke of the first part

This their intolerable demeanour much offended Themistocles; who, though informer times he had layed the foundations of his greatnesse upon popularity, yet now prefurning upon his good fervices done to the State, he thought that with great reason they might grant him the liberty to checke their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwile they were so highly offended with his often rehearing the benefits which they had received from him, that they laide upon him the punishment of ofracisme, whereby hee was banished for ten yeers, as a man over-burthensome to the Common-wealth.

Before the time of his returne was halfe expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the Lacedamonians, who charged him of confulting with Paulanias, about berraving the whole Countrey of Greece unto Xerxes. Hereupon Thems stocles, finding no place of fecurity against the malice of two fuch mighty cities, was driven, after many troublefome flights, and dangerous removings, to adventure himself into Persia, where he found Artakerxes newly feeled, & was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which Artaxerxes had conceived of advancing his affaires by the counfell and affiltance of Themistocks, proved altogether fruitlesse. For when the Athenians, in favour of Inarm the Lybian, (who infested Egypt, causing it to rebell against the Persian) had sent a Fleer to Sea, landing an Army in Egypt, and scouring those Easterne Seas, to the great hinde- 20 rance of Artaxerxes, & (for ought that I can understand) to the manifest breach of the peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with Xerxes; then did the Kins fend his Letters to Themistocles, requiring him to make good the hopes which hee had given, of affuring the Persian estate against the Greekes.

But whether Themistocles perceived much unlikelinesse of good successe, inleading a great army of dastardly Persians against the warlike people of Greecesor esse (asin favour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the love of his Country would not permit him to feeke honour by the ruine of it: fure it is, that being appointed by Artaxerxesto undertake the conduct of great forces against the Athenians, he decided the great constit between thankfulnesse to his well deserving Prince, and naturall affection to his ownill-30 deserving people, by finishing his life with a cup of poyson.

How the Athenians, breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the Persian, were shamefully beaten in Egypt.

Hen was Artaxerxes driven to use the service of his owne Captaines in the Egyptian warre, wherein it appeared well, That a just cause is a good desence against a strong enemy. An Athenian Fleet of two hundred faile strong was 40 fent forth under Cimen, to take in the Isle of Cyprus: which conquest feemed easie both to make and to maintaine, the Persian being utterly broken at Sea, and thereby unable to relieve the Island. Now although it were so, that a peace had been concluded, which was likly to have been kept fincerely by the Persian, who had made so good proofe of the Gracian valour, that he was nothing defirous to build any ships of Warre(without which the Greeks could receive no harme from him) whereof if any one should be found fayling towards Greece, the peace was immediatly broken, and if not, his whole estate; yet all the Sea-cost (no finall part of his Dominions) exposed to the wast of an enemy too far overmatching him. Yet whether the Athenians were in doubt, lest the league which in his own worser fortunes he had made with them, hee would break in theirs; and therefore so fought to get fuch affurance into their hands, as might urterly disable him from attempt ting ought against them; or whether the increase of their revenues & power, by adding that rich and great Iland to their Empire, caused them to measure honour by profit; they thought it the wifest way, to take whilest they might, whatsoever they were able to get and hold, and he unable to defend.

The Ile of Cyprus lying in the bottome of the streights betweene Cilicia, Syria and Egypt, is very fitly seated for any Prince of State, that being mighty at Sea, dotheither feeke to enrich himselfe by trade with those Countries, or to infest one or more of them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpose of the Athenians, their Ambition which had already devoured, in conceit, this Iland, was on the fudden well nigh choaked with a greater morfell, to fnatch at which, they let Cyprus alone, which they might eafily have swallowed and digested. For Inarus King of the Lybians, confining Egypt, having found how greatly the Countrey was exhausted by the late warres, and how weakely defended by very flender Persian Garrisons, conceived rightly, that if fuch small forces as the Satrapa or Viceroy could make on the sudden of his owne Guards, or levie out of the ordinary Garrisons, were by him defeated: the naturalls of the Countrey not long fince oppressed by Cambyses, and after a revolt very lately subdued by Xerxes, would soone breake faith with him, who had no other nitle to that Kingdome than a good fword. Further, he perswaded himselfe that the people, unable to defend themselves against the Persian without his assistance, would easiwhedrawne to accept him, the author of their deliverance, for King. Neither did this hopedeceive him. For having taken and cruelly flaine Achamenes the Viceron; divers Cities forthwith declared themselves for him, and proclayming him King, shewed the most of their indeavour for profecution of the Warre. But he confidering his owne weakenesse, and that the meanes of the Egyptians his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceived well, that to resist the power of Artaxerxes, farre greater forcesthanhis and theirs were to be procured, at what price foever he obtained them. Therefore hearing of the great Athenian fleet, and knowing well the vertue of the Souldiers therein embarqued; he invited the Commanders to share with him the Kingdome of Egypt, as a farre greater reward of their adventure, than fuch an addition as that of Coprus could be to their estate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly forted according to their expectation) would have bin contented with an equall share, and not havefallen out in the partition, were perhaps a divination unnecessary. He was posfessed of the peoples love, they were of most power. But the issue of those affaires was fuchas left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhatequally.

Yet had the beginnings of their enterprise very good and hopefull successe: For they entred the Land as far as to Memphis, the principall Citie; and of the Citie it felfe they tooke two parts: to the third part, which was called the White wall, they laid fuch hardfiege, that neither those forces of the Persians, which then were in Egypt, were ftrong enough to remove them; neither could Artaxerxes well devife what means to use for the recovery of that which was loft, or for the preservation of the remainder. The best of his hope was by setting the Lacedamonians upon Athens, to enforce the Athenians to looke homewards to their owne defence. This was the first time that the Persian fought to procure the affiftance of the Greekes one against the other, by stirring them up with gold, to the entertainment of private quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpose he fent MegabaZus to Sparta with much Treasure; who after great wexpence, finding that the Lacedamonians were nothing forward in employing their whole force against the Athenians, whom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithstanding the absence of their Army in Egypt; he thought it his wifest way to imploy the rest of his money and meanes to their reliefe, who had now the space of sixe yeares defended his masters right in Egypt. Therefore hehastily dispatched another of his name, the sonne of Zopyrus, who arriving in Egypt, was first encountred by the revolted people; over whom he obtained victory, which made him master of the Countrey, whilest the Athenians lay busied about Memphis the great Citie.

It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a strange ayre, and want of supply, had much enseebled the Athenians: fure it is, that when Megaba Zus, having reduced the Countrey to obedience, attempted the Citie it selfe, whether his former successe had amended the courage of the Persians, or want of necessaries made the Athenians inferiour to themselves, he chased them out of Memphis, and pursued them so neare, as they were forc't to fortifie themselves in the Isle of Prosopites, where Megabazus, af-Prosopites an I-landbetweene ter eighteene moneths fiege, turning away one part of the River by divers Trenches, the rivers of Tan affaulted the Athenians without impediment of waters, tooke their Gallies, and put ly & Pharmutiaall to the fword, fave a few that faved themselves by flight into Lybia; the same en-outlets of Nilsa grainement had fiftie other Gallies which they fent to the succour of the first two towards Alexhundred andria.

Mendelus is an between the branch of Nilus, fes at once. um runneth intotheseaby the City Panaphysis.

hundred. For those Athenians having heard nothing that their Fleete and Armie was consumed, entred by the branch of Nilus, called Mendesium, and fell una-Islandin the was communited, and the Persian Armie; so as the Persians remouth of Nums, wares among the Phanician Gallies and the Persian Armie; covered all Egypt, but that part held by Amyrteus, and Inarus the King of Lybia, beour-letealled Bustinities, and ing by them taken and hanged. This was the end of the Athenians fixe yeares Warre DiscossButhe in Egypt, and the reward of their vanity and indiscretion to undertake many enterpri-

Of other Warres made by the Athenians for the most part with good successe, about the

TOtwithstanding these overthrowes in Egypt, yet the Athenians in their homewarres waded through many difficulties, and held the reputation of their forces against the Lacedemonians, Corinthians, and others, rather to their advantage than otherwise. For as they were beaten neare unto Halia by the Corinthians and Epidaurians, so they obtained two great victories soone after; the one over the Pelopon. nesians, neere unto Ceeryphalia; the other over the Aginets, neare unto Agina; where they funke and carried away threescore and ten Gallies of their enemies. Furthermore, 10 they landed their forces on the sudden, and besieged Agina, from whence they could not be moved, notwithstanding that the Corinthians, to divert them, invaded Megara; where, after a great fight, with equall loffe, the Corinthians, whenthey returned againe to fet up their Trophie, as Victors in the former battell, were utterly broken and Haughtered by the Athenian Garrisons and Megarians, to their great loffeand dishonour.

Againe, as the Athenians were discomfitted neare to Tanagra, by the Lacedamonians, who returned from the succour of the Dorians against the Phocians (at which time the Theffalian horfe-men turned from their Allies the Athenians, and fought against them) so about threescore daies after, the Athenians entred Beotia under the conduct of Myroni- 30 des, where beating that Nation, they wan Photis on the gulfe of Otteus, and evened the wals of Tanagra to the ground. Finally, they enforced Agina to render upon most base conditions; as to beat down the walls of their Citie, and to give them hostages for Tribute; the fiege whereof they had continued, notwithstanding all their other brabbles and attempts elsewhere Besides these victories, they sackt and spoiled many places upon the Sea-coast of Peloponnesus, belonging to the Lacedamonians; wan upon the Corinthians, and overthrew the Sicyonians that came to their fuccour. These were the undertakings of the Athenians, and their Allies, during the time of those fix years that a part of their forces made war in Egypt. In the end whereof they attempted Thessalie, perswaded thereunto by Orefles, but were refifted by the king Pharfalus, who had chased Orefles out 40 of his Dominions. They also landed in Sicyonia, and had victory over those that refisted, after which they made truce with the Peloponnesians for five years, and sent Cimon into Cyprus with two hundred ships; but they were againe allured by Amyrteus one of the race of their former Kings, who held the Marish and Wooddie parts of Egypt from the Persians, to whom they fent fixty of their ships. The rest of their Armie failing in their enterprise at Cyprus, and their fortunate and victorious Leader Cimon dying there, as they coasted the Iland, incountred a fleet of the Phanicians and Cilicians, over both which Nations they returned victorious into Greece: as also those returned safe which were fent into Egypt.

6. VI.

of Arraxerxes Longimanus, that he was Ahashuerosh the busband of Queene Hefter.

Hefe Egyptian troubles being ended, the reigne of Artaxerxes continued peaceable; whereof the length is by fome restrained into twenty yeares, but the more and better Authors give him forty, fome allow unto him foure and forty

He was a Prince of much humanity, and noted for many examples of gentleneffe. His Favour was exceeding great to the Jewes; as appeareth by the Histories of Eldras and Nebemias, which fell in his time.

To prove that this was the King who gave countenance and avd to that great worke of building the Temple, it were a needleffe travell; confidering that all the late Divines have taken very much paines to shew that those two Prophets were licensed by him. and succoured in that building, in such fort as appeares in their writings.

This was likewise that King Ahalbuerosh who married Hester. Whereof if it be needfillto give proofe, it may suffice, That Abashuerosh lived in Susa, reigning from India to Ribiotia, and therefore must have been a Persian; That he lived in peace as appeares by to the circumstances of the Historie, and used the counsell of the seven Princes, the authority of which Princes began under Darius the son of Hyslaspes; wherefore he could be

neither Cyrus nor Camby fes.

The continual Warres which exercised King Darius the Sonne of Hystalbes, together with the certainty of his marriages with fundry wives, from none of whom hewas divorced, but left his first wife Atoffa, the daughter of Cyrus alive in great honour, the being mother to Xerxes the succeeding King; do manifestly prove that Hefter was not his. Whereunto is added by Philo the Jew, That at the perswassion of Mardoche. us, Jojachim the high Priest the son of Jesua, caused the feast of Purim to be instituted in to memory of that deliverance. Now the time of Jojachim was in the reigne of Artaxerxes at the comming of Efdras and Nehemias : Jesua his father dying about the end of Darius.

The fame continuance of wars, with other his furious and tragicall loves wherewith xerxes did confirme frich little time as he had free from war, are enough to prove, that thestory of Hester pertained not unto the time of Xerxes, who lived but one and twenty weares, whereas the two and thirtieth of Ahafuerus or Artafaftha is expressed by Nehemiss. Againe, it is well knowne that Xerxes in the feventh year of his reigne (wherein this marriage must have bin celebrated) came not neare to Susa. Of the Princes that succeeo ded Artaxerxes Longimanus, to prove that none of them could be Ahalbuerolb, it is enough to fay, that Mardochaus having been carried from Hierafalem captive, with Jecho-

majoy Nabuchadne Zar, was unlikely to have lived untill their times.

But of this Artaxerxes it is true, that he lived in Sufa, reigned from India to Athiopialived in peace, was contemporary with Jojachim the high Priest, and further he had happily by his Lievtenants reclaymed the rebellious Egyptians in that seventh yeare of his reigne; which good fortune might well give occasion to such a Royall Feast, as is described in the beginning of Hester. This is the summe of the arguments, brought to prove the age of Hesters storic by the learned and diligent Krent Themius, who addes the authorities of Josephus, affirming the same, and of Philo giving to Mardochaus eighteene yeares more than Isaac the Patriarch lived, namely, one hundred fourefore and eighteene yeares in all, which expire in the five and thirtieth yeare of this Anaxerxes, if we suppose him to have been carried away captive, being a Boy of ten yeares old.

6. VIII.

9. VIII-Of the troubles in Greece foregoing the Peloponnefian Warre.

D Ut it is fit that we now returne to the affaires of the Greekes, who from this time forward, more vehemently profecuting their civill warres, suffered the Persians for many ages to rest in peace: this Egyptian expedition being come to nought. Some after this, the Lacedamonians undertooke the watre called Sacred, recovered the Temple and Ile of Delphos, and delivered both to the inhabitants; but the Athenians regained the fame, and gave it in charge to the Phocians. In the meane while the banished Rectians re-entred their owne Land, and mastered two of their own Townes posses by the Athenians, which they foone recovered againe from them; but in their returne to-Wards Athens, the Bustians, Eubaans, and Loctions, (Nations oppress by the Athenians) thupon them with such resolution, as the Athenians were in that fight all slaine or

taken, whereby the Bwotians recovered their former liberty, restoring to the Athenians their prisoners. The Ilanders of Eubwa tooke such courage upon this, that they revolted wholly from the Athenians, whom when Pericles intended to reconquer, he was advertised that the Megarians (who first left the Lacedamonians, and submitted themselves to tised that the Megarians (who first left the Lacedamonians, and submitted themselves to Athens) being now weary of their yoke, had slaine the Athenians Garrisons, and joyned themselves with the Corinthians, Sicyonians, and Epidaurians. These newes hastened Pericles homeward with all possible speed; but ere he could recover Attica, the Peloponne. sians, led by Plistoanax the son of Pausanias, had invaded it, pillaged & burnt many parts thereof, after whose returne Pericles went on with his first intent, and recovered Eubea. Finally, the Athenians began to treat of peace with the Peloponnesians, and yeelded to deliver up all the places which they held in the Country of Peloponnesis: and this truce was made for thirty years.

The third Booke of the first part

After fixe of these years were expired, the Athenians (savouring the Mylesians against the Samians) invaded Samos by Pericles, and after many repulses, and some great losses, both by Sea and Land, the Citizens were fore't to yeeld themselves upon most lamentable conditions; Namely, to deliver up all their ships, to break downe their own wals, to pay the charge of the war, and to restore whatsoever had been taken by themselves, or by their practice from the Athenians. In the neck of which followed that long and cruell Peloponnesian War, whereof I have gathered this briefe following: the same contention taking beginning fiftie yeares after the slight of Xerxes out of Greece. But because there was no Citie thereof, which either in the beginning of this war, or in the continuance of it, was not drawne into the quarrell; I hold it convenient now at the first to shew briefly the estate of the Countrey at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities, Athens and Sparta, upon which all the rest had most dependance.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian Warre.

6. I.

Upon what termes the two principall Cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, stood at the beginning of the Peloponne sian Warre.



Recce was never united under the government of any one Prince or Estate, untill Philip of Maccdon, and after him Alexander, so brought them rather to a Union and League against the Persians, whereof they were Captains, than into any absolute subjection. For every estate held their own, and were governed by Lawes, farre different, and by their owne Magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the Maccdonians, to whom they did yeeld obedience no otherwise than as to such, who were (persore) their leaders in the Persian war (deemed the Generall quarrellos Greece)

and tooke the profit and honour of the victory, to their own use and increase of greatnesse. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in Macedonia, did so farre enlarge their
authority, that all Greece was by them brought under such obedience, as differed the
from servitude; very sew excepted, who could hardly, sometimes with armed and
sometimes with gifts, preserve their liberty; of whom the Laced emonians and Athenia
ans were chiefe: which two people deserved best the plague of tyranny, having first wen occasion thereunto by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the
Country by perpetuall Warre. For untill these two Cities of Atheniand Sparts di
stracted all Greece, drawing every State into the quarrell, on the one or other side, and
so gave beginning to the Peloponnessan Warre (the effects whereof in true elimation
ceased not, before the time that Philip had over-mattered all, sorasmuch as every

conclusion of one war afforded henceforth matter of some new distraction of the whole Countrey) the wars, commenced between one Citie of *Greece* and another, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controversies were soon decided, either by the authority of the *Amphiciones*, who were the generall Councell of *Greece*, or by the power of the *Lacedamonians*, whose aid was commonly held as good as the affurance of victory.

These Lacedamonians had lived about foure hundred yeares under one forme of Government, when the Pelaponnesian War began. Their education was only to practise seaso of Armes; wherein they so excelled, that a very sew of them were thought equall to very great numbers of any other people. They were poor, and cared not much for wealth; so every one had an equall portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintaine him insuch manner as they used. For bravery they had none, and curious building or apparell they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their seasts and ordinary meales being in common Hals, where all fared alike. They used money of yron, whereof they could not be coverous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they lived *topian* like, save that they used no other occupation than War, placing all their selicity in the glory of their valour. Hereby it came to passe that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all Greece followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this. For they sought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they used mercenary Souldiers in their wars, and exacted to great tribute of their Subjects, which were for the most part Ilanders, compelled to obey

them, because the Athenian fleet was great.

As informe of policy, and in course of life, so in conditions naturall, the difference betweenthese two people was very much. The Athemans were eager and violent, sodaine intheir conclusions, and as hasty in the execution-The Lacedamonians very slow in their deliberations, full of gravity, but very resolute, and such as would in cold bloud perform what the Athenians did usually in flagrant. Wherby it came to passe, that the Lacedemomians had all the Estates of Greece depending upon them, as on men firm and assured, that fought honor & not riches; wheras the Athenians were followed by fuch as obeyed them perforce, being held in streight subjection. But the Signory of the Athenians was nothing 30 large, untill fuch time as the Perfian Xerxes had invaded Greece, pretending only a quarrell to Athens: Forthen the Citizens perceiving well, that the town of Athens could not bedefended against his great Armie of seventeene hundred thousand men, bestowed all their wealth upon a Navic, & (affifted by the other Grecians) overthrew the fleet of Xerxes, whose Land-forces were soone after discomfitted by them, and the Greeks, who all served under conduct of the Spartans. After these victories, the Athenians being now verymighty in fleet, reduced all the Ilands of the Greekish Seas under their obedience 1 impoling upon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of War against the Pulian; though indeed they imployed their forces chiefly, to the conquest of such Ilands and haven-Townes of their owne Countrimen, as stood out against them. All which was seafily suffered by the Lacedamonians, who were In-landers, and menthat delighted not in expeditions to be made far from home. But afterwards perceiving the power of the Athenians to grow great, they held them in much jealousie, and were very apt to quarrel with them; but much more willing to breed contention between them and other Estates. Wherfore at fuch time as the Thebans would have oppressed the Plateans, when they of Plata repaired to Sparta for fuccour, they found there no other side, than this advice, That they should seek help at Athens. Hereby it was thought, that the Athenians should beintangled in a long and tedious War with their neighbours of Thebes. But it proved otherwise; for their force was now so great, that all such occasions did onely serve to increase their honour and puissance.

§. II.

How Sparta and Athens entredinto Warre.

Evertheless many Estates of Greece were very il-affected to Athers, because that Citie grew very infolent upon sudden prosperity, and maintaining the weaker Townes against the stronger, incroached apace upon their Neighbours, taking their

their dependants from them. Especially the Corinthians were much inraged, because the people of the Hand Coregra, their Colonie which had rebelled against them, and given them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the Athenians (who defired to increase their seet them a great overthrow by Sea, was by the Athenians (who defired to increase their seet by adjoyning that of Coregra unto it) taken into protection, and the Corinthians thereby by adjoyning that revenge which else they would have taken. Now howsoever it were impeached of that revenge which else they would have taken. Now howsoever it were so that these dealings of the Athenians were not directly against the conditions of peace for that these dealings of the Athenians were the complaints made at Sparta so vehement, agreed upon among the Greekes, yet were the complaints made at Sparta so vehement, that (though with much adoe) they concluded to redresse, by warre the injuries done to their Allies.

First therefore, seeking religious pretences, they required the Athenians to expiate certaine offences committed against the gods; whereto having for answer, That they themeselves should expiate other the like offences, committed in Sparta, they began to deale felves should expiate other the like offences, committed in Sparta, they began to deale felves should expiate other that the people of some Townes, oppressed by the State of Athens, should be set at liberty; and that a decree made against those of Megara, whereby they should be set at liberty; and that a decree made against those of Megara, whereby they should be reversed. This last point they so carnestly presse, that if they might obtain it, they promised to absist from their purpose of making War.

This they defired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but only that by feeming to have obtained somewhat, they might preserve their reputation without entring into a war, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparent, than they 10

Were very willing to undergoe.

But the Athenians would yeeld to nothing; for it was their whole defire that all Green should take notice how farre they were from seare of any other Citie. Hereuponthey prepared on both sides very strongly, all that was needfull to the War; whereinthe Lacedamonians were Superiour, both in number and quality, being affisted by most of the Cities in Greece, and having the generall savour, as men that pretended to set aliberty such as were oppressed but the Athenians did as far exceed them in all provisions of money, shipping, engines, and absolute power of command among their Subjects; which they held, and afterward found of greater use in such need, than the willing readinesse of friends, who soone grow weary, and are not easily assemble d.

§. III. The beginning of the Peloponnessan Warre.

Hefirst and second yeares expedition was very grievous to the Citie of Athens. For the Fields were wasted, the Trees cut downe, the Countrey peopledriven to flye, with Wives, Children, and Cattell, into the Towne; whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the Citie, such as before they had never felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the revolt of the Mytilenians, in the Ile of Lesbos, & the fiege of Platheir confederated City, which they durft not adventure to raise; besides some small 40 overthrowes received. The Lacedamonians affembling as great forces as they could raife out of Peloponnesus, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Countrey of Aitica, and therein abide, untill victuals began to faile, wasting and destroying all things round about: The Governours of the Athenians would not suffer the people to iffue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their enemies: but used to send a fleet into Peloponnesus, which wasted as fast all the Sea-coast of their enemies, whilest they were making warre in Attica. So the Peloponnesians being the stronger by Land, wan the Towns of Plates, which wanted rescue; the Athenians likewise being more mighty by Sea, did subdue Mytilene which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from sparta. By these proceedings in that Warre, the Lacedamonians began to perceive how unfit they were to deale with fuch enemies. For after that Attica was throughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to doe any offence equall to fuch harme as they themselves might, and did receive. The Confederates began to fet forward very flowly in their expeditions into Atticas, perceiving well that Athens was plentifully relieved with all necessaries, which came by the Sea from the Ilands that were subject unto that Estate; and thereforethese invaders tooke but small pleasure in beholding the Walls of that mighty Citie, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a patterne of the calamities, with which their owne Territory was the whilest afflicted. Wherefore they

began to set their care to build a strong Navie, wherein they had little good successe, being easily vanquished by the Athenians, who both had more and better ships, and were so skilfull in Sea-sights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst undertake a great number of the peloponness ans.

§. IIII.

Of the great losse which the Spartans received at Pylus.

Mong other losses which the Spartans had felt by Sea; they received at Pylus a very fore blow, that compelled them to fue for peace. A fleet of Athenian ships bound for Corcyra, wasting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of Laconia, and all the halfe Ile of Peloponnesus, was by contrary windes detained at Pylus, which is a ragged Promontory, joyning to the maine, by a strange necke of Land. Before it there lies a fmall barren Iland of leffe than two miles compaffe, and within that a creeke, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being borne off by the head-Land and Isle. this Promontorie the Athenians fortified as well as in hastethey might; and what was wanting in their artificiall fortification, was supplyed by the naturall strength and fire of the place. By holding this piece of ground, and haven, they to in reason expected many advantages against their enemies. For the Countrey adjoyning was inhabited by the Messenians, who in ancient times had held very strong and cruell warre with Sparta; and (though quite subdued) they were held in streight subjection; vetwas not the old hatred fo extinguished, that by the neare neighbourhood and affifance of the Athenians, it might not be revived. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the Lacedamonians, and as many of their bond-flaves as could escape from them, would repair to Pylus, and from thence madedaily excursions into Laconia, which was not far off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this haven, lying almost in the mid-way betweene them and Coreyra, make them able to furround all Pelopenne-Im, and waste it at their pleasure. The newes of these doings at Pylus drew the Peloponnefians thither in all haste out of Attica, which they had entred a few daies before with their whole Armie: but now they brought not only their Land-forces, but all their Navieto recover this piece, which how bad a neighbour it might prove in time, they well fore-faw, little fearing the grievous loffe at hand, which they there in few daies received. For when they in vain made a generall affault on all fides, both by Sea and Land; finding that small Garrison which the Athenians had left, very resolute in the defence: they occupied the haven, placing foure hundred and twenty choyce men, all of them Citizens of Sparta, in the Iland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channell that leades into the Port; but so narrow, that onely two ships in front could enter betweene the Isle and Pylus; likewise but seven or eight ships could enter at once by the further channell, between the Iland and the Maine. Having thus taken order to shut up this new Towne by Sea, they sent part of their fleet to fetch wood, and other stuffe, wherewith to fortifie round about, and blocke up the piece on all sides. But in the meane season the Athenian fleet hearing of their danger that were left at Pylus, returned thither, and with great courage entring the haven, did break and fink many of their enemies veffels; took five, and fo inforced the refidue to run themselves a-ground.

Now was the Towne secure, and the Spartans abiding in the Iland as good as lost. Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from Sparta to the campe (as was their custome in great dangers) to advise what were best for the publike safety; who when they did perceive that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens out of the Isle, than by composition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the Athenians about peace, taking truce in the meane while with the Captaines at Pylus. The conditions of the truce were, That the Lacedamonians should deliver up all the ships which were in the coast, & that they should attempt nothing against the town, nor the Athenians against the campe: That a certaine quantity of Bread, Wine, and Flesh should be daily carried into the Isle, but that no ships should passe into the Island secretly: That the Athenians should carry the Lacedamonian Embassadors to Athens, there to treat of peace, and should bring them backe, at whose returne the truce should end, which is in the meane time it were broken in any one point, should be held utterly voyd in all: That when the truce was expired, the

Athenians

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Athenians should restore the Peloponnesian ships, in as good case as they received them. The Embaffadors comming to Athens, were of opinion, that as they themselves had begun the warre, so might they end it when they pleased. Wherefore they told the Athe. nians how great an honour it was that the Lacedamonians did fue to them for peace, advifing them to make an end of warre, whileft with fuch reputation they might. But they foundall contrary to their expectation: For in stead of concluding upon eventermes, or desiring of meet recompence for losse sustained; the Athenians demanded certain Cities to be restored to them, which had bin taken from them by the Laced emonians long before this warre began, refusing like wise to continue the treaty of peace, unlesse the Sparsans which were in the Isle, were first rendred unto them as prisoners. Thus were 10 the Embassadors returned without effect, at which time the truce being ended, it was defired from the Athenian Captaines, that they should, according to their covenant, restore the ships which had been put into their hands. Whereto answer was made, that the condition of the truce was, That if any one article were broken, all should be held void. now (faid the Athenians) ye have affaulted our Garrisons, and thereby are weacquitted of our promife to restore the ships. This and the like frivolous allegations which they made, were but meere shifts; yet profit so far overweighed honour, that better answer none could be got. Then were the Lacedemonians driven to use many hard meanes, for conveyance of victuals into the Isle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoners to Athens, where it was decreed that when the Peloponness. 20 ans next invaded Attica, these prisoners should all be slaine. Whether fearing the death of these men, or with-held by the troubles, which (according to the Athenians hope) fell upon them; the Lacedamonians were fo far from wasting Attica, that they suffered their owne Country to becontinually over-runne, both by the Athenians, who landed on all parts of their coast, and by those which issued out of Pylus; which became the Rendevous of all that were ill-affected unto them.

6. V.

How the Lacedemonians hardly and to their great disadvantage, obtained a peacethat was 30 not well kept.

Herfore they endeavoured greatly to obtain peace; which the Athenians would not hearken unto. For they were so puffed up with continuance of good successe, that having fent a few bands of men into Sieilie, to hold up a faction there, and make what profit they might of the Sicilians quarrels 3 when afterward they heard that the differences in that Isle were taken away, and their bands returned without either gaine or losse, they banished the Captaines, as if it had been meerely through their default, that the Ile of Sicilie was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it felfe, no whit inferiour unto Peloponnesus. Yet 40 was this their over-weening much abated shortly after, by some disasters received, especially in Thrace, where in a battell which they loft at Amphipolis, Cleon and Brafidas, Generals of the Athenian and Lacedamonian forces, were both flaine; which two had most bin adversaries to the peace. As the Athenians by their losses were taught moderation; fo the Lacedamonians, who not only felt the like wounds, but through the great Navie which they had received at Pylus, were faine to proceed lamely in the war, against such as, through commodity of their good fleet, had all advantage that could be found in expedition, were fervently defirous to conclude the businesse, ere Fortune by any new favour should revive the insolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it only a confideration of their present estate, that urged them to 50 bring the treaty of peace to a good and speedy effect; but other dangers hanging over their heads, and ready to fall on them, which unlesse they compounded with the Athe mians, they knew not how to avoyd. The estate of Argos, which had ancient enmity with them, was now after a truce of thirty yeares well nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their present troubles, by joyning with those who alone found them worke enough. Argos was a rich and strong Citie, which though inferiour to Sparta in valour, yet was not so unwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the Lacedamonians could ever farre prevaile uponit, when they had little elfe to doe.

This was a thing that in the beginning of this Warre had not been regarded. For it was then thought that by wafting the Territory of Athens with fword and fire, the quarrell should early and in short time have been ended, whereby not only the Athenians should have bin brought to good order, but the Corinthians, and others, for whose sike the war was undertaken, have bin so firmly knit to the Lacedamorians, that they should for love of them have abandoned the Argives to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of those hopes appeared, in that the Athenians abounding in ready mony, and means toraise more, were able to secure themselves by a strong fleet, from any great harme that the Peloponness, wanting wherewith to maintaine a Navie-could do unto them; yea, as Masters of the Sea, to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Consederates to of sparta, they could now endure neither war nor peace; their daily travels, and many losses had so wearied and incensed them. Wherefore the Lacedamorians were glad to use the occasion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a finall peace, which with much adoe they procured, as seemed equall and easie; but was indeed impossible to be performed, and therefore all their travell was little effectuall.

The restitution of prisoners and places taken being agreed upon; it fell out by lot, that the Laced amonians should restore first. These had wonne more Townes upon the contipentfrom the Athenians, than the Athenians had from them; but what they had wonne, they had not wonne absolutely. For they had restored some Townes to such of their to Allies, from whom the State of Athens had taken them; some, and those the most, they had fet at liberty (as reason required) which had opened their gates unto them as to their friends and deliverers, and not compelled them to breake in as enemies. Now concerning the Townes which were not in their owne hands, but had bin rendred unto their Confederates, the Spartans found meanes to give fome fatisfaction, by permitting the Athenians to retaine others, which they had gotten in the Warre; as for the rest, they promifed more than afterwards they could performe. The Cities which they had taken intoprotection, could not endure to heare of being abandoned, neither would they by any meanes yeeld themselves into the hands of their old Lords the Athenians, whom they had offended by revolting, notwith franding what foever articles were drawne, and concluded, for their fecurity, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the fide of the Spartans, made the Athenians become as backward in doing those things which on their part were required; so that restoring only the prisoners which they had, they deferred the reft, untill fuchtime as they might receive the full satisfaction, according to the agreement. But before such time as these difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrell, the Lacedamonians entred into a more freight alliance with the Athenians; making a league offensive and defensive with them. Hereunto they were moved by the backwardness of the Argives, who being (as they thought) likely to have fued for peace at their hands, as foone as things were once compounded betweene Athens and Sparta; did shew them selves plainely unwilling to give care to any in such motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from Argos all hope of Athenian succour, they flould make fure worke, the Spartans regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound unto them by well-deferving in the late war, or found for touble forme, that their entirity (if perhaps they durft let it appeare) was litthe worse than friendship. It bred great jealousie in all the Cities of Greece, to perceive hich a conjunction betweene two fo powerfull Signiories: especially one clause threatsing every one, that was any thing apt to feare, with a fecret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of Subduing the whole Countrey, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For befides the other articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutual confert adde new conditions or alter the old at their owne pleasures. This impression wrought so strongly in the Corinthians, Thebanes, and other ancient Confederates of Sparta, that the hate which they had borne to the Athenians their professed enemics, was violently throwne upon the Lacedamonians their unjust friends: whereby it came to passe, that they who had lately borne chiefe sway in Greece, might have been abandoned to the discretion of their enemies; as already in effect they were, had the eneand wifely used the advantage. សាសស្រាស្សាលិចម៉ូនេស

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Of the negotiations and practices held betweene many States of Greece, by occasion of the Peace that was concluded.

He admiration wherein all Greece held the valour of Sparta as unrefiftable, and able to make way through all impediments, had bin so excessive, that when by some sinister accidents, that Citie was compelled to take and seeke peace, upon termes not founding very honourable, this common opinion was not onely abated, but (as happensufually in things extreme) was changed into much contempt. For it was the never thought that any Lacedemonian would have endured to lay down his weapons.& yeeld himselfe prisoner, nor that any misfortune should have bin so great, as should have drawne that Citie to relieve it selfe orherwise than by force of Armes. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were some of especiall marke, being overlayed by enemies, in the Iland before Pylus, had rather chosen to live incaptivity, than to die in fight; and that Pylus it felfe, sticking as a thorne in the foot of Laconia, had bred fuch anguish in that Estate, as utterly wearying the accustomed Spar. tan resolution, had made it sit down and seeke to refresh it selfe by dishonourable ease: then did not only the Corinthians and Thebans begin to conceive basely of those men which were vertuous, though unfortunate; but other leffer Cities joyning with thefe in to the same opinion, did cast their eyes upon the rich and great Citie of Argos, of whoseability to doe much, they conceived a strong beliefe, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the base condition, which through foolish envie is become almost naturall in the greater part of mankind. We curiously fearch into their vices, in whom, had they kept some distance, we should have discerned only the vertues; and comparing injuriously our best parts with their worst, are justly plagued with a false opinion of that good in

ftrangers, which we know to be wanting in our felves.

The first that published their dislike of Sparta were the Corinthians, at whose vehement entreaty (though moved rather by envie at the greatnesse of Athens daily encreasing) the Lacedamonians had entred into the present Warre. But these Corinthians did only mur- 30 mure at the peace, alledging as grievances; that fome townes of theirs were left in the Athenians hands. The Mantineans, who during the time of Warre, had procured some part of the Arcadians to become their followers, and for fake their dependancy upon the State of Sparta, did more freely and readily discover themselves; seare of revenge to come, working more effectually than indignation at things already past. The Argives feeling the gale of prosperous fortune that began to fill their failes, prepared themselves to take as much of it as they could stand under; giving for that purpose unto twelve of their Citizens a ful and absolute commission to make alliance between them and any free Cities of Greece (Athens & Sparta excepted) without any further trouble of propounding every particular bufinesse to the multitude. When the gates of Argos were set thus open 49. to all commers; the Mantineans began to lead the way, and many Cities of Peloponnefus following them, entred into this new confederacy; fome incited by private respects, others thinking it the wifest way to doe as the most did. What inconvenience might arise unto them by these courses, the Lacedamonians easily discerned; & therfore fent Embassadors to stop the matter at Corinth, where they well perceived that the mischiefe had bin hatched. These Embassadors found in the Corinthians a very rough disposition, with a gravity expressing the opinion which they had conceived of their prefent advantage over Sparta. They had caused all Cities which had not entred yet into alliance with Argos, to fend their Agents to them, in whose presence they gave audience to the Lacedamonians; the purport of whose Embassie was this: That the Corinthians; 19 without breach of their oath, could not for sake the alliance, which they had long since made with Sparta; and that reason did as well binde them to hold themselves contented with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their ancient confederacy, forafmuch as it had bin agreed betweene the Spartans and their affociates, that the consent of the greater part (which had yeelded unto peace with Athens) should bind the leffer number to performe what was concluded, if no divine impediment withflood them. Hereuntothe Corinthians made answer, that the Sparsans had first begun to doe them open wrong, in concluding the warre wherein they had loft many places, without

provision of restitution; and that the very clause alledged by the Embassadors, did acquite them from any necessity of subscribing to the late peace, for asmuch as they had sworn unto those people whom they perswaded to rebell against Athens, that they would never abandon them, nor willingly fuffer them to fall againe into the tyrannous hands of the Athenians. Wherefore they held themselves bound both in reason and religionto use all meanes of upholding those, whom by common consent they had taken into protection; for that an oath was no leffe to be accounted a divine impediment, than were pestilence, tempest, or any the like accident, hindring the performance of things undertaken. As for the alliance with Argos, they faid that they would do as they should find cause. Having dismissed the Embassadors with this answer, they made haste to joine othemselves with Argos, and caused other States to do the like; so that Sparta and Athens were in a maner left to themselves, the Thebans and Megarians being also upon the point to have entred into this new confederacy. But as the affections were divers which cauled this hasty confluence of sudden friends to Argos, it so likewise came to passe that the friendship it selfe, such as it was, had much diversity both of sincerity and of continuance. For some there were that hated or feared the Laced amonians as the Mantineans and E-Lant: these did firmly betake themselves to the Argives, in whom they knew the same affection to be inveterate: others did only hate the peace concluded; and these would rather have followed the Spartans than the Argives in war, yet rather the Argives in warthan the Lacedamonians in peace. Of this number were the Corinthians, who knowingthat the Thebans were affected like unto themselves, dealt with them to enter into the lociety of the Argives, as they had done: but the different formes of government.ufedin Thebes and Argos, caused the Thebans to hold rather with Sparta, that was ruled by the principall men, than to incur the danger of innovation, by joyning with fuch as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This businesse having ill succeeded, the Corintbians began to bethinke themselves of their owne danger, who had not fo much as any truce with Athens, and yet were unprepand for War. They fought therefore to come to forme temporary agreement with the Athenians, and hardly obtained it. For the Athenians, who had dealt with all Greece at onetime, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one City that had shewedigainst them more stomack than force; but gave them to understand that they might before enough from them, if they would claime the benefit of that alliance, which then had lately made with Sparta & her dependants; yet finally they granted unto these Commissions (which were loth to acknowledge themselves dependants of Sparta) the truce that they defired; but into private confederacie they would not admit them, it being anarticle of the league between them and the Sparsans, That the one should not make

peace nor war without the other.

Herein, as in many other passages, may clearly be seene the great advantage which abblute Lords have as well in peace as in War, over fuch as are served by voluntaries. We shall hardly finde any Signiorie, that hath beene so constantly followed as Sparta wasby so many States, and some of them little inferiour to it selfe, being all as free: whereas contrariwise, the Athenians had lately, and by compulsive meanes gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themselves as Tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed upon, the Athenians were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacy, and giving up fuch places as were agreed upon; of which the Lecedamonians could do neither the one nor the other. For such Townes as their old Allies had gotten by their means in the late War, could not be restored without their consent, which had them in present possession; and particularly the Towne of Panadle, which the Thebans held, could by no means be obtained from them by the Lasedemonians (who earnestly defired it, that by restitution thereof unto the Athenians, as earnestly demanding it, themselves might recover Pylas) unless that they would agree to make a private alliance with Thebes; which thereupon they were constrained to doe, though knowing it to be contrarie to the last agreement between them and Athens

The Lacedamonians having broken one article of the league made between them and the Athenians, that by fo doing they might enable themselves to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the Thebans, who did not give up the towne of Panatte, till first they had utterly demolished it, and made it of no worth to

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the Atbenians. This was fought to have bin excused by the Lacedamonian Embassia-dors, who comming to Athens (whither they had sent home all prisoners that had bin detained at Thebes) hoping with gentle words to salve the matter; saying, That from hence forth no enemie of Athens should nessle in Panaste, for it was destroyed. But these Embassiadors had not to deale with tame fooles. For the Athenians told them in plaine termes, That of three principall conditions agreed upon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but used such base conclusions as shood not with their honour: having made private alliance with the Thebans; having destroyed a Towne that they should have restored; and not having forced their dependants by Warre, to make good the Covenants of the late concluded peace. Hereupon they dismissed the Embassiadors with rough words, meaning with as rough deeds to anger those that

There were at that time both in Athens and Sparta, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the Ephori, chosen for that yeare, in Sparta, and Alcibiades. a powerfull young Gentleman in Athens. But the Ephori, though defiring to renew the War, yet wished that first they might get from the Athenians as much as was to be rendred to them by Covenant, especially Pylus that had so forely troubled them. Alcibiades. whose Nobility, riches and favour with the people, made him desire War, as the meane whereby himselfe might procure some honourable employment; used all means to set the quarrel on foot, whilest the Athenians had yet both advantage enough, as not having to rendred ought fave their prisoners, and pretence enough to use that advantage of breaking the peace, by reason that the Lacedamonians (though indeed against their wills) had broken all covenants with them. Now the State of Athens had fully determined to retain Pylus, and to performe nothing that the Lased amonians should, and might require, until they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled all articles wherto they were bound. even to the utmost point. This was enough to make them sweat, who having already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the delivery of their Citizens, which were prisoners. But Aleibiades wishing a speedy beginning of open war, fent privily to the Argives, and gave them to understand how fitly the time ferved for them to affociate themselves with Athens, which was enough to give them 30 fecurity against all enemies.

The Argives, upon the first confluence of many Estates unto their society, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they should have had the conduct of all Grene against the Athenians, robbing Sparta of that honour, as having ill used it, and thereby leaving their old enemies in case of much contempt and disabilitie. But these sudden apprehensions of vaine joy, were suddenly changed into as vaine feare; which illagreed with the great opinion that had larely bin conceived of Argos. For when the Thebans had refused their alliance; when the Corinthians had fought security from Athens; and when a false rumour was noy sed abroad, Athens, Thebes and Sparta, were come to a full agreement upon all points of difference; then began the Argives to let fall their crefts, 40 and sue for peace unto the Lacedamonians, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their gravity, and were not over-hasty to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the message of Alcibiades came very welcome to the Argives, which were not now consulting how to become the chiefe of all others, but how to save themselves. Wherefore they sent away presently to Athens, their owne Embassadors, accompanied with the Mantineans and Eleans, to make a league offensive and defensive between their Estates and the Atbenians.

Of this businesse the Laced amonians knew not what to thinke: for well they saw, that such a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to prevent it; but to keep the love of the Athenians, the new Ephori thought that more was already so done, than stood with their honour or profit; others held it the wisest way, having done so much, not to sticke upon a little more, but rather by giving sull satisfaction, to retaine the friendship of that State, which was more to be valued than all the rest of Greece. This resolution prevailing, they sent away such of their Citizens as were best affected to the reace, who comming to Athens, with full commission to make an end of all controverses, did earnestly labour in the Councell-house, to make the truth of things appear, saying; that their Consederacy with the Thebans had tended to none other end than the recovery of Panasse: concerning which Towne, or any other businesse, that it much grieved.

ved the Lacedamonians, to fee things fall out in fuch wife as might give to the Athenians cause of displeasure; but that all should be done which in reason might be required for making matters even between them; to which purpose they shewed that themselves had abfolute commission. Wherefore they defired that Pylus might be restored to them, and especially for the present, that the negotiation with the Argives might be called aside. Favourable audience was given to this proposition, the rather, because they which promifedamends, had power to make their words good. But all this fair likelihood of good agreement was dasht on the sudden, by the practice of Alcibiades, who, secretly dealing with the Lacedamonian Embassadors, perswaded them well of his friendship tomig stards their citie, and advised them to take all care that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of Sparta, might not be knowne to the Commonaltie of Athens, left the infolent multitude should thereupon grow peremptorie and yeeld to nothing, unleffe they could draw them to unreasonable conditions. The Embassadors bekeved him, & fashioned their tale in the assemblie of the people, as he had advised them. Hereupon the same Alcibiades taking presently the advantage, which their double deaing afforded, inveighed openly against them, as men of no sinceritie, that were cometo Athens for no other purpose, than to hinder the people from strengthning themselves with friends, meaning to draw the Argives and their Adherents to their owne alliance, as (contrary to their owne Oath) already they had the Thebans. The people of Athens, whom a pleasing errand would very hardly have satisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the Laced amonians, (whose honest meanings had so ill beene seconded, with good performance) were now so much incensed with the double dealing of the Embassadours, and the strong perswasions of Alcibiades, that little wanted of conduding the league with Argos. Yet for the present so farre did Nicias, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, prevaile with them, that the businesse was put off, untill he himselfe, with other Embassadours, might fetch a better answer from Sparta.

Itmay also feeme a great wonder, how so poore a tricke of Alcibiades was able to tany a matter of so great importance, when the Sparian Embassadours might have cast the loade upon his owne shoulders, by discovering the truth: But the gravitie which was shally found in the Lacedamonians, hindred them (perhaps) from playing their game handsomely against so nimble a wit; and they might well have beene thought untruste men, had they prosessed themselves such as would say and un-say for their most advantage.

Nitin and his Companions had a fowre message to deliver at Sparta, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the rest, that the Lacedemonians should take the paines to re-build Panaele, and should immediately renounce their Alliance made with the Thibans; letting them understand that other wise the A-thenians, without further delay, would enter into consederacie with the Argives, and shirt adherents. The Ephoriat Sparta had no minde to for sake the Thebans, assured stinds to their State; but wrought so hard, that the anger of the Athenians was suffered to breake out what way it could, which to mitigate, they would doe no more, than only (at the request of Nician their honourable friend, who would not seeme to have effected nothing) sware a new to keepe the Articles of the league betweene him and Albans. Immediately therefore upon returne of the Embassadours, a new league was made betweene the Athenians, Argives, Mantineans and Eleans, with very ample provision for holding the same common friends and enemies; wherein, though the Lacedemoscient were passed over with silence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this confederacie did bend it selfechiesly against them, as in short while after was proved by effect.

At this time the Lacedamonians were in ill case, who having restored all that they could unto the Athenians, and procured others to doe the like, had themselves recovered nothing of their owne. (prisoners excepted) for default of restoring all that they should. But that which did most of all disable them, was the loss of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late Warre by missortunes, than in sundrie passes between ethem and the Athenians: to procure and keepe whose Amitie, they had less sundries of their old friends to shift for themselves. Contrariwise, the Athenians by the treatie of peace, had recovered the most part of that which they lost in warre.

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all their gettings they had retained; and were strengthened by the accesse of new Confederates.

6. VII.

How the peace betweene Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.

*T was not long ere the Argives and their fellowes had found businesse wherewith to ferthe Athemans on worke, and make use of this conjunction. For, presuming upon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the Epidaurians, whom it con- 10 cerned the State of Sparta to defend. So, many acts of hostilitie were committed, wherein Athens and Sparea did (as principals) infest each the other, but came in collaterally.

as to the aide of their severall friends.

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By these occasions the Corinthians, Baotians, Phocians, Locrians, and other people of Greece, began a-new to range themselves under the Lacedamonians, and follow their enfignes. One victorie which the Lacedamonians obtained by their meer valour in a fer battell, near to Mantinea, against the Argive-fide, helped well to repaire their decayed reputation, though otherwise it yeelded them no great profit. The civill dissention arifing shortly after within Argos it selfe, between the principall Citizens and the Commons, had almost throwne downe the whole frame of the new combination. For the 20 chiefe Citizens getting the upper hand, made a league with Sparta, wherein they proceeded fo farre as to renounce the amitie of the Athenians in expresse words, and forced the Mantineans to the like. But in short space of time the multitude prevailing, reversed all this, and having chased away their ambitious Nobilitie, applied themselves to the Athenians as closely as before.

Besides these uprores in Peloponnesus, many assaies were made to raise up troubles in all parts of Greece, and likewise in Macedon, to the Athenians; whose forces and readinesse for execution, prevented some things, revenged other, and requited all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the Athenians wanting matter of quarrell, and the Lacedammians growing wearie, they began to be quiet; retaining still that enmitte in their hearts, 30 which they had sufficiently discovered in effects, though not yet breaking out into terms

of open Warre.

6. VIII.

The Athenians fending two Fleets to facke Siracufe, are put to flight, and utterly discomfited.

Uring this intermission of open War, the Athenians re-entertained their hopes of ubduing Sieil, whither they fent a Fleet fo mightie as never was fet forthby

Greece in any Age before or after.

This Fleet was very well manned, and furnished with all necessaries to so great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in Athens, whence Alcibrades, Author of that voyage, and one of the Generalls of their Fleet, was driven to banish himselfe, for feare of such judgement, as else he was like to have undergone among the incensed people; partly by the invasion which the Lacedamonians made upon Airea, whileft the forces of that State were so far from home. Hereunto was added the aide of the King of Persia, who supplied the Peloponnesians with mony.

Neither was the fuccesse of things in Steelia such, as without help from Athens, could give any likelihood of a good end in that war. For although in the beginning, the enterprise had so well succeeded, that they be fieged Siracuse, the chiefe Citie of all the lland, and one of the fairest Towns, which the Greeks inhabited, obtaining the better in sundrie battels by Land and Sea; yet when the Town was relieved with strong aide from Pelo ponnefus, it came to pass that the Athenians were put to the worse on all sides, in such wise that their Fleet was shut up into the haven of Siracuse, and could not issue out.

As the Athenian a ffairs went very il in Sicil, so did they at home stand upon hard terms, for that the Laced amonians, who had beene formerly accustomed to make wearisome yearly journies into Attiea, which having pilled and forraged, they returned home; did now by counfell of Alcibiades (who feeking revenge upon his own Citizens, was fled untothem) fortifie the Towne of Decelea, which was near to Athens, whence they ceafed not with daily excursions to harry all the Country round about, and some times give alarme unto the City it selfe. In these extremities, the perverse obstinacy of the Athenians was very strange; who leaving at their backs, and at their own dores, an enemy little lesse mighty than themselves, did yet send forth another fleet into Sicil, to invade a people no leffe puiffant, which had never offended them.

It often happens, that a prosperous event makes foolish counsel seem wifer than it was: which came to passe many times among the Athenians, whose vaine conceits Pallas was faid to turne unto the best. But where unfound advice, finding bad proofe, is obstinately pursued, neither Pallas nor Fortune can be justly blamed for a miserable issue. This second Fleet of the Athenians, which better might have ferved to convey home the former that was defeated, after some attempts made to small purpose against the Siracufans, was finally (together with the other part of the Navie, which was there before) quite vanguished & bard up into the haven of Siracuse, wherby the camp of the Athenians, utterly deprived of all benefit by Sea, either for fuccour or departure, was driven to break up, and flye away by land, in which flight they were over-taken, routed and quite

overthowne, in such wife that scarce any man escaped.

This mischiefe well deserved fell upon the Athenians, who had wickedly condemned in into exile Sophocles and Pthiodorus Generals, formerly fent into that Ile, pretending that they had taken mony for making peace in Sicil, wheras indeed there was not any means or possibility to have made Warre. Hereby it came to passe, that Nicias, who had the diefe command in this unhappy enterprise, did rather chuse to hazzard the ruine of his Country by the loffe of that Army, wherein confifted little leffe than all the power of Athens; than to adventure his own estate, his life, and his honour upon the tongues of fnameleffe accusers, and the sentence of Judges before his tryall resolved to condemne him, by retiring from Siracufe, when wifedome and necessity required it. For (faid hee) they shall give fentence upon us who know not the reason of our doings, nor would give eare to anythat would speak in our behalfe, but altogether hearken to suspicious and vain rumors that o hall be brought against us; yea these our Souldiers who now are so desirous to returne in safety, will inour danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewd and insolent

This resolution of Nicias, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honeft and valiant man to do what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth; and to meafure honour or dishonour by the affurance of his well-informed conscience, rather than by themalicious report & cenfure of others) yet it may be excused; fince he had before his eyes the injustice of his people, and had well understood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked fact as being held a president and pattern whereby oppresfion beginning upon one, is extended as warrantable upon all. Therefore his feare of wrongfull condemnation was fuch, as a constant man could not easily have over-mastered; but when afterwards the Army, having no other expectation of fafety than the faint hope of a fecret flight; he was so terrefied with an Eclipse of the Moon, happening when they were about to diflodge, that he would not confent to have the camp break up till seven and twenty dayes were past. His timerousnesse was even as foolish and ridiculous, as the iffue of it was lamentable. For he should not have thought that the power of the Heavens, and the course of Nature would be as unjust as his Athenians, or might pretend leffe evill to the flothfull, than to fuch as did their best. Neither doe I think that any Astrologer can alledge this Ecclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armies destruction, otherwise than as the folly of men did, by application, turne it to their Owne confusion. Had C. Cassius the Roman, he who slew Julius Casar, imitated this superstition of Nicias, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, hee retyring, the broken remainder of Crassus his Army defeated by the Parthian Archers, was advised, upon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sunne were past the signe of Scorpio; he made answer that he stood not in such feare of Scorpio, as of Sagittarius. So adventuring ratherto abide the frowning of the Heavens, than the nearer danger of Enemies upon earth, he made such a safe and honourable retrait, as did both shew his noble resolution, and give a faire example to that good rule.

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-Sapiens dominabitur astris.

Thus we fee that God, who ordinarily workes by a concatenation of meanes, deprives the Governous of understanding, when he intends evill to the multitude; and that the wickednesse of unjust men is the readic meane to weaken the vertue of those who might have done them good.

6. IX.

Of the troubles whereinto the State of Athens fell, after the great losse of the Fleet, and Armie in Sicilia.

He losse of this Armie was the ruine of the Athenian Dominion, and may be well accounted a very little leffe calamitie to that Estate, than was the subversion of the walls, when the Citie about feven yeares after was taken by Lyfander. For now began the subjects of the Athenian Estate to rebell, of whom, some they reduced under their obedience, others held out; fome for feare of greater inconvenience were set at libertie, promising only to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their Subjects; others having a kinde of libertie offered by the Athensans, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect libertie by force. Among these troubles it fell outvery unfeasonably, that the principall men of Athens, being wearied 20 with the peoples infolencie, tooke upon them to change the forme of that Effate, and bring the government into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the Captains which were abroad, they caused them to set up the forme of an Aristocratie in the Townes of their Confederates; and in the meanetime, fome that were most likely to with stand this innovation, being slaine at Athens, the Commonaltie were so dismaid, that none durst speake against the Conspirators, whose number they knewnor, butevery man was affraid of his neighbour, left he should be a member of the league. In this generall fear the Maje flie of Athens was usurped by foure hundred men, who observing in shew the ancient form of proceeding, did cause all matters to be propounded unto the people, and concluded upon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were onely fuch as were first allowed in private among themselves; neither had the Commonaltie any other libertie, than onely to approve and give confent: forwholoever prefumed any further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no inquirie made of the murther. By these meanes were many Decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new authoritie, which neverthelesse endured not long. For the Fleet and Armie which then was in the Isle of Samos, did altogether detest these dealings of the foure hundred usurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they revoked Alcibiades out of banishment, and by his affistance procured that the supplies which the Persian King had promised to the Lacedamonians, were by Tissaphernes his Lievtenant, made unprofitable, through the flow and bad performance. Alcibiades had 40 at the first beene very well entertained in Sparta, whilest his service done unto that State was not growne to be the object of envie. But when it appeared that in Counsell and good performance he fo far excelled all the Lacedemonians, that all their good fucceffe was ascribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principall Citizens wearie of his vertue; especially Agis one of their Kings, whose wife had so far yeelded her selfeto the love of this Athenian, that among her inward friends the could not forbeare to call her young child by his name. Hereupon order was taken, that Alcibiades should be killed out of the way. But he discovering the Spartan trecherie, conveyed himselfe unto Tif-Saphernes, whom he so bewitched with his great beautie, sweet conversation, and sound wit, that he soone became the Master of that barbarous Vice-royes affections, who had 50 free power to dispose the great Kings Treasures and Forces in those parts. Then began he toadvise Tissaphernes, not so far forth to affist the Laced amonians, that they should quite overthrow the State of Athens, but rather to helpethe weaker fide, and letthem one confume another, whereby all should fall at length into the hands of the Persan. By this counsell he made way to other practices, wherein by strength of his reputation (as the onely Favourite of so great a Potentate) he played his owne game, procuring his restitution. At length his banishment being repealed by the Armie, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppressed by the source hundred) hee laboured greatly to

reconcile the Souldiers to the Governours; or at least to divert their heat another way, and turne it upon the common Enemie. Some of the foure hundred approved his motion, as being wearie of the tyranny wherof they were partakers, partly because they saw it could not long endure, and partly for that themselves, being lesse regarded by the rest of their companions, than ftood with their good liking, fought to acquit themselves of itas honeftly as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to obtain peace of the Laced amontans, defiring chiefly to maintain both their own authoritie & the greatnesse of their citie, if they might: but if this could not be, they did rather wish to preserve their own power, or faftie at least, than the good Estate of the Common-wealth. Therefore they made fundrie overtures of peace to the Lacedamonians, desiring to compound in as good termes as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be trufted than the wavering multitude; especially considering that the Citie of sparta was governed by an Ariffocratie, to which form they had now reduced Athens. All these passages between the four hundred (or the most and chiefe of them) and the Lacedamonians, were kept as fecreasmight be. For the Citie of Athens, hoping, without any great cause, to repair their loss, was not inclined to make composition, from which upon juster ground the Enemie was much more averse, trusting well that the discord of the Athenians (not unknowne abroad)might yeeld some faire opportunitie to the destruction of it selfe, which in effect (though not then presently) came to passe. And upon this hope king Agis did sometimes bring his forces from Decelea to Athens, where doing no good, he received fome small loss. Likewise the Navie of Peloponnesus made shew of attempting the Citie, but seeing bolikelihood of fuccesse, they bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better fortune of the Athenians might more lightly have binregarded, than in this their decayed estate. Yet it seems, without any disparagement to their wisedom, they should rather have forborn to present unto the Citie, or to the countries near adjoyning, any terror of the war. For the diffention within the wals might foonhave done more good than could be received from the fleet or armie without, which indeed gave occasion to set the Citizens at unity, though it lasted not very long. The four hundred, by means of these troubles, were fainto resign their authority, which they could 30 not now hold, when the people, having taken arms to repell forraign Enemies, would not laythem down, till they had freed themselves, from such as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of government a full restitution of the soveraign command unto the people, or whole bodie of the Citie, but only to five thousand; which company the four hundred (when their authoritie began) had pretended to take unto them as affistants:herein seeming to do little wrong or none to the commonalty, who seldom assembledingreater number. But now when the highest power was come indeed into the hands of fo many, it was foon agreed, that Alcibiades & his companions should be recalled from exile, and that the army at Sames should be requested to undertake the government: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers defire.

6. X.

How Alcibiades won many important victories for the Atheniaus; was recalled from exile; made their Generall, and again deposed.

His establishment of things in the Citie, was accompanied with some good successed in the wars. For the Lacedamonians were about the same time overthrown at Sea, in a great battell, by the Athenian Fleet, which had remained at Samos, to which Altebiades afterwards joyning such forces as he could raise, obtained many victor ites. Before the Towne of Abydms, his arrivall with eighteen ships, gave the honour of a great battell to the Athenians; he overthrew and utterly destroyed the seet of the Lacedamonians, commanded by Mindarus; took the Towns of Cyzions and Perinthus, made the Selymbrians ransome their Citie, and fortisted Chryspolis. Hercupon letters were sent to Sparta, which the Athenians intercepting, found to contain the distressed the Atmie, what to doe.

Shorthy after this, Alcibiades overthrew the Lacedemonians in fight by land at Chalcedon, took Selymbria, befieged & won By Zantium, now called Constantinople, which even

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in

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in those dayes was a goodly, rich & very strong Citie. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made high admirall of all the Navie.

But this his honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and he driven tobanish himselse again, only because his Lievtenant, contrarie to the expresse command of Alcibiades, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the Fleet.

The second banishment of Alcibiades was to the Athenians more harmful than the first. and the loffe which thereupon they received, was (though more heavie to them, yet) leffe to be pittied of others, than that which enfued upon his former exile. For whereas at the first, he had sought revenge upon his own Citie, now, as inured to adversitie, he rather pittied their furie, who in time of fuch danger had cast out him that should have repaired to their weak estate, than sought by procuring or beholding the calamitie of his people, to comfort himselfe after injurie received. Before they, who were instituted in the place of Alcibiades, arrived at the Fleet, he presented battel to Lysander the Lacedamonian Admirall, who was not so confident upon his former victorie, as to undertake Alcibiades himfelfe, bringing ships more in number (not with standing the former losse of fifteen) than his enemies had, and better ordered than they had bin under his Lievtenant. But when thedecree of the people was published in the Navie, then did Alcibiades with-draw himselfe to a Town upon Hellestons, called Bizanthe, where he had built a Castle.

6. X I.

The battell at Arginufa, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captaines by the

Fter this time, the Ashenians receiving many losses and discomfitures, wereditven to flye into the Haven of Mytelene, where they were straitly besieged both by Land and Sea. For the raising of this siege necessitie inforced them to manall their vellels, and to put the uttermost of their forces into the hazzard of one battel. This battell was fought at Arginufa, where Callicraditas, Admirall of the Lacedamonians, lofing the honour of the day, preserved his own reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. 30 It might well have bin expected, that the ten Captains, who joyntly had command in chiefe over the Athenian fleet, should for that good daies service, and so happy a victory, have received great honor of their Citizens. But contrariwife, they were forthwithcalled home, and accused, as if wilfully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken and funk, to be cast away, when by appointing some Vessels to take them up, they might have faved them from being drowned. Hereto the Captains readily made avery just answer, That they pursuing the victorie, had left part of the fleet, under sufficient men, to fave those that were wrackt; which if it were not well accomplished it was, because a tempest arising about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse availed not: For a sew of fellow was brought 40 forth, who faid, That he himselfe escaping in a meal-tub, had bin intreated by those who were in perill of drowning, to defire of the people revenge of their deaths upon the Captains. It was very ftrange, that upon fuch an accusation maintained with so slender evidence, men that had well deserved of their Countrie should be overthrown. But their enemies had so incensed the rascall multitude, that no man durst absolve them, save onely Socrates the wife and vertuous Philosopher, whose voice in this judgement was not regarded. Sixe of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much a-doe relieved by other veffels in the storme : but the Caprains which ere absent escaped; for when the furie of the people was overpast, this judgement was reversed, and the accusers called into question for having deceived and perverted the ci-50 tizens. Thus the Athenians went about to free themselves from the infamie of injustice; but the divine Justice was not a-fleep, nor would be so deluded.

& XII.

The battell at Agos-Potamos, wherein the whole State of Athens was ruined; with the end of

He Peloponnesian fleet under Lysander, the year next following, having scowred the Agean Seas, entred Hellespont, where (landing fouldiers) it befreged and took the town of Lampsacus. Hereupon all the navie of Athens, being an hundred and fourscore faile, made thither in haste, but finding Lampfacus taken before their comming, they put in at seffor, where having refreshed themselves, they sailed to the river called &-10 gos. Potamos, which is (as we might name it) Goat's-Brook, or the river of the Goat; being on the continent opposite to Lampsacus: and there they cast Anchors, not one whole league off from Lysander, who rode at Lampfacus in the harbor. The next day after their arrival they presented fight unto the Peloponnesians, who refused it, whereupon the Athenians returned again to Agos-Potamo; & thus they continued five daies, braving every day the Enemie, and returning to their own harbor when it drew towards evening.

The Castle of Alcibiades was not far from the Navie, and his power in those places was such as might have greatly availed his countrimen, if they could have made use of it. For he had waged mercenaries, & making war in his own name upon some people of the Thraidans, had gathered much wealth, & obtained much reputation among them. He perceiving the disorderly course of the Atheman Commanders, repaired unto them, & shewed whar great inconvenience might grow, if they did not foon fore-fee and prevent it. For they lay in a rode subject to every weather, neither near enough to any town where they might furnish themaselves with necessaries, nor so far off as had bin more expedient. Sellos washenext Market-town, thither both Souldiers and Mariners reforted, flocking away from the Navie every day, as foon as they were returned from braving the Enemie, Therefore Alcibiades willed them either to lie at Seffes, which was not far off, or at least to confider how neare their Enemie was, whose feare proceeded rather from obedience to their Generall, than from any cowardise. This admonition was so far despised, that p fomeof the Commanders willed him to meddle with his own matters, and to remember that his authoritie was out of date. Had it not bin for these opprobrious words, he could (ashe told his familiars) have compelled the Laced emonians, either to fight upon unequal terms, or utterly to quit their fleet. And like enough it was that he might so have done by transporting the light-armed I bracians, his confederates, and others his Followers, over the Streights, who affaulting the Peloponnesians by Land, would either have compelled themto put to Sea, or else to leave their ships to the mercie of the Athenians. But finding their acceptance of his good counsell no better than hath bin rehearled, he left them to their fortune, which how evill it would be he did prognosticate.

Lyfander all this while defending him selfe by the advantage of his Haven, was not wareleffe in looking into the demeanour of the Atherians. When they departed, his manerwas to fend forth some of his swiftest Vessels after them, who observing their dofestilated unto him what they had feene. Therefore understanding in what carelesse fallion they romed up and down the country; he kept all his men a-boord after their departure, and the fift day gave especial charge to his Scouts, that when they perceived the Athenians dif-imbarking, as their custome was, and walking towards Sestos, they should, forthwith returne, and hang up a brazen shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh

The Scouts performed their charge, and Lifunder being in a readinesse, made all speed that strength of Oares could give, to Agos-Potamos, where he found very few of his enesomies aboord their ships, nor many near them, and all ingreat consuston upon the newes of

Infomuch that the greatest industrie which the Athenians then shewed, was in the escape of eight or nine ships, which knowing how much that losse imported, gave over Athens as desperate; and made a long flight into the Ile of Cyprus; all the rest were taken, and such of the Souldiers as came in to the rescue cut in pieces. Thus was the war which had lasted seven and twentie years, with variable successe concluded in one houre, and the glorie of Athens in such wise eclipsed, that she never afterward shone in her persect light, Immediately upon this victorie, Lyfander, having taken such Townes as readily did

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yeeldupon the first fame of his exploit, set faile for Athens, and joyning his forces with those of Azis & Paufanias, Kings of Sparta, summoned the Citie; which finding too stubborne to yeeld, and too strong to be won on the sudden, he put forth again to Sea, & rather by terrour than violence, compelling all the Ilands, and fuch Towns of the Ionians as had formerly held of the Atherians, to submitthemselves to Sparta, he did thereby cut off all provision of victuals, and other necessaries, from the citie, and inforced the people by meere famine to yeeld to these conditions: That the long walls, leading from the Towne to the Port, should be throwne downe; That all Cities subject to their Estate, should be set a libertie; That the Athenians should be Masters only of their own Territories, and the fields adjoyning to their Town, And that they should keep no more than 10 twelve Ships; That they should hold as Friends or Enemies, the same, whom the Lace. damonians did, and follow the Lacedamonians as Leaders in the wars.

These Articles being agreed upon, the wals were throwne down with great rejoycing of those who had borndispleasure to Athens; and not without some consultation of defroying the Citie, and laying waste the Land about it. Which advice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirtie Governors, or rather cruell Tyrants, appointed overthe people, who recompenced their former insolencie and injustice over their Captaines by

oppreffing them with all base and intolerable slaverie. The only finall hope then remaining to the Athenians, was, that Alcibiades might perhaps repaire what their owne follie had ruined. But the thirtie Tyrants perceiving this, 20 advertised the Lacedemonians thereof, who contrived, and (as now domineering inev-

rie quarter) soon effected his sudden death.

Such end had the Pelopownesian war. After which the Laced amonians abusing the reputation, and great power, which therin they had obtained, grew very odious to Great, and by combination of many Cities against them, were dispossed of their high authoritie, even in that very age, in which they had subdued Athens. The greatest foil that they took was of the Thebans led by Epaminondas, under whom Philip of Macedon, father to Alix. ander the Great, had the best of his education. By these Thebans, the Citie of Sparta (befides other great losses received) was fundrie times in danger of being taken. But these haughtie attempts of the Thebans came finally to nothing; for the feverall Estates & Sig- 30 nories of Greece, were grown to jealous one of anothers greatnesse, that the Lacedaminians, Athenians, Argives & Thebans, which were the mightiest, affociating themselves with the weaker partie, did to counterpoize the stronger, that no one Citie could extend thelimits of her jurisdiction so far as might make her terrible to her neighbours. And thus all parts of the countrie remained rather evenly ballanced, than well agreeing, till fuch time as Philip, and after him Alexander, Kings of Macedon, (whose forefathers hadbin dependants, and followers, yea almost meere Vassals to the Estates of Athens and Sparta found means, by making use of their factions, to bring them all into servitude, from which they never could be free, till the Romans presenting them with a shew of libertie, didthemfelves indeed become their Mafters.

CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponnefian Warre, or Thortly following it.

How the affaires of Persia stood in these times.



Uring the times of this Peloponne sian War, and those other lesseexpe ditions foregoing it, Artaxerxes Longimanus, having peaceably enjoyed a long reign over the Persians, left it by his death either to Derius, who was called Darius Nothus, or the Bastard, whom the Greek Historians (lightly passing over Xerxes the second, and Segdiams, 25 usurpers, and for their short reign little to be regarded) place next unto them, or to xerxes the second; who, and his brother Segdianus after him (seeming to

have bin the fons of Heffer)held the Kingdome but one year between them, the younger fucceeding his elder brother. It is not my purpose (as I have said before) to pursue the hiflorie of the Persians from henceforth, by rehearfall of all the particulars, otherwise than as they shall be incident to the affaires of Greece. It may therefore suffice to say, That xerxes the second, being a vicious Prince, did perish after a moneth or two, if not by surfeir, then by the trecherie of his riotous brother Sogdianus. Likewise of Sogdianus it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruell, he flew unjustly Bagera zus a principall Eunuch, and would have done as much to his brother Dartus the Bastard, had not hefore-seen it, and by raising a stronger army than this hated King Sogdianus could leato vie, seized at once upon the King and Kingdome. Darins having flain his brother, held the Empire nineteene yeares. Amyrtaus of Sais an Egyptian rebelled against him, and having partly flain, partly chased out of the Land the Persian Garrisons, allied himselfe fo firmly with the Greeks, that by their aide he maintained the Kingdome, and deliveredit over to his posteritie, who (notwithstanding the furie of their civill Wars) maintained it against the Persian, all the dayes of this Dariss, and of his son Artaxerxes Mnemon. Likewise Amorges, a Subject of his owne and of the Royall bloud, being Lievrenant of Caria, rebelled against him; confederating himselfe with the Athenians. But the great calamitie, before spoken of, which fell upon the Athenians in Sicil, having putnew life into the Spartans, and given courage to the Handers and others, subject to the State of 20 Ashens, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage : It fell out well for Darius, that the Lacedamonians being destitute of mony, wherewith to defray the charge of agreat navie, without which it was impossible to advance the war against the state of Atheus, that remained powerfull by fea, were driven to crave his affiftance, which he grantedunto them, first upon what conditions best pleased himselfe, though afterwards the Anicles of the league betweene him and them were fet downe in more precise termes 5 wherein it was concluded, That he and they should make war joyntly upon the Athenia ans, and upon all that should rebell from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of Afia, which had formerly bin his, or his Predecessiours, should returne to his obedience. By this Treatie, and the war ensuing (of 30 which I have alreadie spoken) he recovered all that his grandfather and father had lost in Afia Likewise by affistance of the Lacedamonians, he got Amorges a-live into his hands who was taken in the citie of Jasus; the Athenians wanting either force or courage to succour him. Nevertheleffe Egypt still held out against himsthe cause whereof cannot be the imploiment of the Persian forces on the parts of Greece: for he abounded in men, of whom heladenough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with gold; which effected for him by Souldiers of other nations, and his naturall enemies, what the valour of his own Subjects was infufficient to perform. Daring had in marriage Parylatis his owne fister, who bare unto him (besides other children) Artaxerxes called Mnemon, that is to fay, the Mindful, or the Rememberer, who succeeded him in the kingdom; and Cyrus the younger, a Prince of fingular vertue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that ever Persia bred after Cyrus the Great. But the old King Darius, intending to leave unto his elder son Artaxerxes the inheritance of that great Empire, did cast a jealous eye upon the doings of young Cyrm, who being Lievtenant of the lower Afia, took more upon him than befitted a Subject: for which cause his father sent for him, with intent to have taken some very sharpe course with him, had not his owne death prevented the comming of his younger son, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the war between these brothren, and summarily of Artaxerxes, we shall have occasion to speake somewhat in more convenient place.

6. II. How thethirtie Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

Hold it in this place very convenient to shew the proceedings of the Greekes, after the subversion of the walls of Athens, which gave end to that warre called the Pelopunne fian warre, but could not free the unhappie Countrey of Greece from civill broiles. The thirtie Governours, commonly called the thirtie Tyrants of Athens, were chosen at the first by the people to compile a body of their law, and make a collection of fuchancient Statutes, as were meet to be put in practice: the condition of the Citiestanding as it did in that so sudden alteration. To this charge was annexed the supreme authoritie, either as a recompence of their labours, or because the necessitie of the times did thoritie, either as a recompence of their labours, or because the necessitie of the times did for require it, wherein the Law being uncertain, it was fit that such men should give judgment in particular causes, to whose judgement the Lawes themselves, by which the Citie was to be ordered, were become subject. But these thirtie, having so great power in their hands, were more carefull to hold it, than to deserve it, by faithfull execution of that

which was committed to them in trust. Therefore apprehending such troublesome fellowes, as were odious to the Cirie, though not punishable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; which pro-10 ceeding was by all men highly approved, who confidered their lewd conditions, but did not withall bethinke themselves, how easie a thing it would be unto these thirtie men, to take away the lives of Innocents, by calling them perturbers of the peace, or what elle they lifted, when condemnation without true trialland proofe had beene once well allowed. Having thus plaufibly entred into a wicked course of government, they thought it best to fortifie themselves with a sure guard, ere they brake out into those disorders, which they must needs commit for the establishing of their authoritie. Wherefore difpatching two of their own companie to Sparta, they informed the Laced amonians, that it was the full intent of the thirtie, to keep the Citic free from all rebellious motions: to which purpose it behaved them to cut off such as were seditious; and therefore desired 20 the Lacedamonians to send them a Garrison, which they promised at their owne cost to maintaine. This motion was well approved, and a Guard fent, the Captaine of which was fo well entertained by the thirtie, that none of their middeeds could want his high commendations at Sparta. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no moreafter base and detested persons, invaded the principall men of the Citie, sending armed men from house to house, who drew out such as were of great reputation, and likely, or able to make any head against this wicked forme of government: whereby there was fuch effusion of bloud, as to Theramenes (one of the thirtie) seemed very horrible, and unable to escape vengeance. His dislike of their proceedings being openly discovered, caused his fellowes to bethink themselves, and provide for their owne securitie, and his 30 destruction, lest he should make himselfe a Captaine of the discontented (which wereal most the whole Citie) and redeem his own peace with their ruine. Wherefore they sele-Eted three thousand of the Citizens, whom they thought meetest, and gave unto them fome part of publike authoritie, the refl they difarmed; and having thus increased their own frength, and weakned their opposites, they began a-fresh to shed the bloud, not only of their private enemies, but of fuch whose mony, or goods, might inrich them, & enable them for the paiment of their guard. And to this purpose they concluded, that every one of them should name one man, upon whose goods he should seize, putting the owner to death. But when T beramenes uttered his detestation of so wicked intent; then did critim, who of all the thirtie was most tyrannicall accuse him to the Councell, as a trecherous so man, & (wheras one main priviledge of the three thousand was, that none of them should fuffer death at the appointment of the thirtie, but have the accustomed triall)he took upon him to ftrike out of that number the name of Theramenes, & fo reduced him under the triall & sentence of that order. It was well alledged by Theramenes, that his name was not more easie to be blotted out of the catalogue, than any other mans; upon which consider ration, he advised them all to conceive no otherwise of his case, than as of their own, who were liable to the same form of proceeding : but every man choosing rather to preserve his own life by filence, than presently to draw upon himselfe the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would never come near him; the Tyrants interpreting filence as confent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drink poylon.

6. III.

The Conspiracie against the thirtie Tyrants, and their deposing.

Free the death of *Theramenes*, the thirtie began to use such outrage, as excelled their former villanies. For, having three thousand (as they thought) firme unto them, they robbed all others without feare or shame, despoiling them of lands and

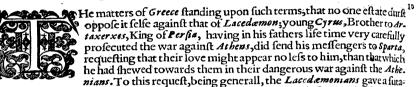
and goods, and caused them to flie into banishment, for safeguard of their lives. This flight of the citizens procured their libertie, and the general good of the citie. For the banished citizens, who were fled to Thebes, entred into confultation, and refolved to hazzard their lives in fetting free the citie of Athens. The very thought of fuch a practice had bin treafon at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seventie men, or thereabout, were the first undertakers, who with their Captain Thrasy hulus took Phyla, a place of strength in the Territorie of Athens. No sooner did the thirtie heare of their exploit, than feek means to prevent further danger; affembling the three thousand, and their Lacedamonian guard, with which force they attempted Phyla, but were with some losse of their men repelled. Finding the place too strong to be taken by affault, they intended to befiege it; which purpose came to nought by means of snow that fell, and other stormie weather, against which they had not made provision. Retiring therefore to the citie, which above all they were to make good, they left the most of their guard, and two companies of Horse, to wearie out them which lay in Phyla, with a flying fiege. But it was not long ere the followers of Thrafybulus were increased from feventie to seven hundred, which adventured to give charge upon those guards, of whom they cut off above an hundred and twentie. These small, but prosperous beginnings, addedmore to the number of those in Phyla, who now with a thousand mengot entrance into Piraus, the suburbe of Athens, lying on the Port. Before their comming the thirtie , a had refolved to fortifie the Towne of Eleusine, to their owneuse, whereinto they might make an easie retrait, and save themselves from any sudden perill. It may well seeme flrange, that whereas their barbarous maner of government had brought them into fuch danger, they were so far from seeking to obtain emens good will, that contrari wise, to affire themselves of Eleusine, they got all of the place who could beare armes into their hands by a traine, and wickedly (though under form of Justice) murthered them all. But, Saleribus tutum per scelera est ster, the mischieses which they had alreadie done were fuch, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparent likelihood of faltic, than by extending their crueltie unto all, feeing few or none were left, whom they could trust. When Thrasybulus and his fellowes, who as yet were termed conspiorators, had taken the Piramothen were the three thou fand armed againe by the Tyrants, and brought to affault it; but in this enterprise Thrafybulus had the better, & repelled his enemies, of whom though there were flain to the number of seventie only, yet the victoriesemed the greater, because Critias, and one other of the thirtie, perished in that fight. The death of Criticas, and the stout defence of Piraus, together with some exhortations used by Thrasybulus to the Citizens, wrought such effect, that the thirtie were deposed. Nevertheleffe there were fo many of the three thousand, who having communicated with the thirtie in their misdeeds, feared to be called to a sharpe account, that no peace, nor quiet form of government could be established. For Embassadors were sent to Sparta, who craving aide against Thrasybulus and his followers, had favourable audience, and a power fent to their affiltance, both by land and fea, under the conduct of Lylander, & his Brother; whom Paulanias the Spartan King did follow, raising an Armie of the Cities confederate with the Laced amonians. And here appeared first the jealousie, wherein some people held the State of Sparta. The Bavtians and Corinthians, who in the late warshad bin the most bitter enemies to Athens, refused to follow Pausanias in this expedition; alledging that it stood not with their oathes, to make war against that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league : but fearing indeed, left the Laced emonians should annexe the Territorie of Athens to their own Demains. It is not to be doubted, that Pausanias took this answer in good part. For it was not his purpose to destroy those against whom he went, but only to crosse the proceedings of Lyfander, whom he envied. Therefore having in fome finallskir mishes against them of Thrasybulus his party, made a shew of war, finally wrought such means, that althings were compounded quietly: the thirtie men, and fuch others, as were like to give cause of tumults, being lent to Sparta. The remainder of that tyrannicall faction, having withdrawn themselves to Eleufine, were shortly after found to attempt some innovation, whereupon the whole Citie rifing against them, took their Captains, as they were comming to Parlie, and slew them: which done, to avoid further inconvenience, alaw was made, that all injuries past should be forgotten, and no man called into question for wrongs committed. By which order, wisely made, and carefully observed, the Citie returned to her former quietnesse. CHAP.

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CHAP. X.

Of the expedition of Cyrus the younger.

5. I. The grounds of Cyrus his attempt against his brother.



nians. To this request, being generall, the Laced amonians gave a surable answer, commanding their Admiral to perform unto Cyrus all service that he should require of him. If Cyrus had plainly discovered himself, and the Laced amonians bent their whole power to his affiftance, very like it is, that either the kingdom of Perfia should have 20 bin the recompence of his deferts; or that he perishing in battell, as after he did, the subversion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew unto the Greeks the waies, which under the Macedonian Enfigns, the victorious foot-steps of their posteritie should measure; and opening unto them the riches, and withall the weaknesse of the Persian, to kindle in them both defire and hope of that conquest, which he reserved to another generation; than to give into their hands that mightie kingdom, whose houre was not yet come. The love which Pary (atis the Queen-mother of Per fia bare unto Cyrus her younger fon, being feconded by the earnest favour of the people, and readie desires of many principall men, had moved this young Prince, in his fathers old age, to afpireafter the fuccession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath before bin shewed) whose mea- 30 ning was to curb this ambitious youth; he found his elder brother Artaxerxes established fo furely by the old kings favour, that it were not fafe to attempt any means of displanting him by whose disfavour himself might easily lose the place of a Vice-roy, which held in Afia the leffe, and hardly be able to maintain his own life. The neerest neighbour to Cyrus of all the kings Deputies in the lower Asia, was Tissaphernes, a man compounded of cowardife, trechery, craft, and all vices which accustomably branch out of these. This man accompanied Cyrus to his Father, using by the way all faire shewes of friendship, 45 to a Prince, for whom it might well be thought, that Queen Pary (at is, had obtained the inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very true, that Pary latis had used the best ofher endeavour to that purpose, alledging that (which informer ages had bin much available to 40 Xerxes, in the like disceptation with his elder brother) Artaxerxes was born whilest his father was a private man, but Cyrus, when he was a crowned king. All which not fufficing; when the most that could be obtained for Cyrus, was the pardon of some presumptions demeanour, and confirmation of his place in Lydia, and the parts adjoyning: then did this Tiffaphernes discover his nature, and accuse his friend Cyrus to the new King Artaxerxes, of a dangerous treason intended against his person. Upon this accusation, whether true or falfe, very eafily beleeved, Cyrus was arrested, and by the most vehement intreatie of his Mother very hardly delivered, and fent backe into his owne Province.

6. II.

The preparations of Cyrus, and his first entrie into the War.

He forme of government which the Persian Lievtenants used in their severall Provinces, was in many points almost Regall. For they made war and peace, as they thought it meet, not only for the Kings behoose, but for their owne reputation; usually indeed with the Kings enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the more easily tolerated, because their owne heads were held onely

at the Kings pleafure, which caused them to frame all their doings to his will, what soever it were, or they could conjecture it to be. Cyrus therefore being fetled in Lydia, began to confider with himselfe, the interest that he had in the Kingdome; the small assurance of his brothers love, held only by his Mothers intercession; the difgrace endured by his late imprisonment; and the meanes which he had by love of his own people, and that good neighbourhood of the Lacedamonians, whom he had bound unto him, to obtaine the Crowne for himselfe. Neither was it expedient that he should long sit idle, as waiting rill occasion should present it selse: but rather enterprise somewhat whilest yet his Mother lived, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worse than onely questionable. Hereupon hee first began to quarrell with Tisaphernes. and feized upon many Townes of his jurisdiction, annexing them to his own Province. which displeased not Areaxerxes at all, who (besides that he was of condition somewhat simple) being truely paid by Cyrus the accustomable Tributes out of those places, was well contented to fee his brothers hot spirit exercised in private quarrels. But Tissapher. nes, whose base conditions were hared, & cowardize despised, although he durst not adventure to take armes against Cyrus, yet perceiving that the Milesians were about to give un themselves into the hands of that young Prince, as many other townes of the Idmans had done, thought by terrour to preferve his reputation, and keepe the towne in hisown hands. Wherefore he flew many, and many he banished, who flying to Cyrus, were gently entertained, as bringing faire occasion to take armes, which was no small part of his defire. In levying Souldiers he used great policie; for he tooke not only the men of his own Province, or of the Countries adjoyning, whose lives were ready at his will; but fecretly he furnished some Gracian Captaines with money, who being very goodmen of warre, entertained Souldiers therewith, some of them warring in Thrace, others in Thessale, others elsewhere in Greece; but all of them ready to crosse the Seas, at the first call of Cyrus, till which time they had secret instructions to prolong their severall warres, that the Souldiers might be held in continuall exercise, and ready in armes upon the sudden. Cyrus having sent a power of men to besiege Miletus, forthwith summoned these bands of the Greekes, who very readily came over to his affiltance, being to thirteene thousand very firme Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of Areaxerxes. With this Army, and that which he had levied before, he could very eafily have forced Miletus, and chased away Tiffaphernes out of Asia the lesse: but his purpose was not so to lose time in small matters, that was to bee imployed in the accomplishment of higher designes. Pretending therefore that the Pilidians, a people of Asia the leffe, not subject to the Persian, had invaded his Territorie, hee raised the fiege of Miletus, and with all speede marched Eastward, leaving Tissaphernes much amazed, who had no leifure to rejoyce that Cyrus had left him to himselfe, when he considered, that so great an Army, and so strong, was never levied against the Rovers of Pisidia, but rather against the great King his Master. For which cause taking a band of five hundred horse, he posted away to carry tidings to the Court of this great preparation.

6. III.

How Cyrus tooke his journey into the higher Asia, and came up close to his Brother.

He tumult which his comming brought was very great, and great the exclamations of the Queen Statira, against Parysatis, the Queen-Mother, whom she called the Author and occasioner of the war. But whilest the King in great feare was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger hasted upon him very fast. For Cyrus made great marches, having his number much increased, by the repaire of his Countrimen, though most strengthned by the accesse of seven hundred Greekes, & of other source hundred of the same Nation, who revolted unto him from the King. How tertible the Greeks were to the Barbarians, he found by triall in a Muster, which to please the Queen of Cilicia, who had brought him aide) he made in Phrygia; where the Greeks by his direction making offer of a charge upon the rest of his Army, which contained a hundred thousand men, the whole Campe (not perceiving that this was but a bravery) sted amaine, the victuallers & baggagers for saking their cabbins, & running all away for very feare. This was to Cyrus a joy sul spectacle, who knew very well, that his brother was followed

by men of the same temper, and the more unlikely to make resistance, because they were prest to the warre against their will and dispositions, whereas his Armie was drawne along by meere affection and good will. Nevertheleffehe found it a very hard matter to perswade the Greekes to passe the River of Euphrates. For the very length of the way which they had troden, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious returne. Therefore he was driven, being yet in Cilicia, to feeke excuses, telling them, that Abrocomas, one of the Kings principall Captaines, & his own great enemy, lay by the River, against whom he requested them to affish him. By such devices, and excessive promise of reward, he brought them to Euphrates; where some of the Greekes considering, That who so passed the River first, should have the most thankes, and might safely returne if the rest should to refuse to follow them; they entred the Foords, whereby were all finally perswaded to do as fome had begun: and being allured by great hopes, they refolved to feeke out dr. taxerxes, wherefoever he was to be found. The King in the meane time having raifed an army of nine hundred thousand men, was not so confident upon this huge multitude. 28 to adventure them in triall of a plaine battaile. Abrocomas, who with three hundred thoufand men had under-taken to make good the Streights of Syria, which were very narrow, and fortified with a strong wall, and other defences of nature and art, which made the place to feeme impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himselfe toward the Kings forces, not daring to looke Cyrus in the face, who despairing to finde any way by Land, had procured the Laced amonian fleet, by the benefit whereof to have transported 20 his Army. I doe not finde that this cowardife of Abrocomas, or his Souldiers, who arrived not at the Campe, till five dayes were past after the battaile, received either DUnishment, or disgrace; for they, toward whom he with-drew himselfe, were all made of the fame metall.

Therefore Artaxerxes was upon the point of retiring to the uttermost bounds of his Kingdom, untill by Teribazus, one of his Captaines, he was perswaded not to abandon so many goodly Provinces to the enemy, who would thereby have gathered addition of strength, and (which in the sharpe disputation of Title to a Kingdome is most available) would have grown superior in reputation. By such advice, the King resolved upon meeting with his brother, who now began to be secure, being fully perswaded that Artax-30 erxes would never dare to abide him in the field. For the King having cast up a Trench of almost fortie miles in length, about thirty foot broad, and eighteene foot deepe, intended there to have encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe, as to be farre distant from his enemies.

§. IIII. The battaile betweene Cyrus and Artaxerxes.

THe Armie of Cyrus having overcome many difficulties of evill waves, and fearcitie of victualls, was much encouraged by perceiving this great feare of Artax- to erxes; and being past this trench, marched carelessy in great disorder, having bestowed their Armes in Carts, and upon Beasts of carriage; when on the suddenone of their Vaunt-currors, brought newes of the Kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselves, & had ranged their battailes in good order upon the side of the river Euphrates, where they waited for the comming of their enemies, whom they faw not till it was after-noone. But when they faw the cloud of dust raised by the seete of that huge multitude, which the King drew after him, & perceived by their neere approach how well they were marshalled, comming on very orderly in silence, whereas it had bin expected, that rushing violently with loud clamours, they should have spentall their force upon the first brunt 3 and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies 5 were so unequal in distent, being all embattailed in one body and square, that Gyrin taking his place (as was the Persian manner) in the middest of his own, did not with the corner, and utmost point thereof, reach to the halfe breadth of Artaxerxes his bat taile, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of Cyrus: then did the Greeks begin to diffrust their owne manhood, which was not accur stomed to make proofe of it selfe, upon such excessive oddes. It was almost incredible, that so great an Armie should be so easily chased. Neverthelesse, it quickly appeared, that these Persians, having learned (contrary to their custome) to give charge upon

their enemies with filence, had not learned (for it was contrary to their nature) to receive a strong charge with courage. Upon the very first offer of on-set, made by the Greekes, all that beaftly rabble of cowards fled amaine, without abiding the stroke, or staying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hookes and fithes (whereof Artaxerxes had two hundred, and Cyrus not twenty) did small hurt that day, because the drivers of them leaping downe, fled away on foot. This base demeanour of his enemies gave so much confidence to Cyrus and his Followers, that such as were about him forth-with adored him as King. And certainely, the Title had bin affured unto him that day, had not he fought how to declare himselfe worthy of it, ere yet he had obtainedit. For, perceiving that Artaxerxes, who found that part of the field which lay before him voide, was about to encompasse the Greekes, and to set upon them in the reare, he advanced with fixe hundred Horse, and gave so valiant a charge upon a squadron of fixe thousand, which lay before the King, that he brake it, slaying the Captaine thereof Arragerses, with his owne hands, and putting all the rest to slight. Hereupon his whole company of fixe hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chase, leaving Cyrus tooillattended, who perceiving where the King flood introupe, uncertaine whether to fight, or leave the field, could not containe himselse, but said; I see the man: and prefently with a small handfull of men about him ran upon his brother, whom he strake through the Curace, & wounded in the breaft. Having given this stroake, which was his alalt, he received immediatly the fatall blow, which gave period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded under the eye with a dart, throwne by a base fellow, wherewith aftonied, he fell dead from his horse, or so hurt, that it was unpossible to have recovered him, though all which were with him, did their best for his safetie; not caring afterwards for their own lives, when once they perceived that Gyrus their Mafter was flane. Artaxerxes caused the head and right hand of his brother to be forthwith stricken off, and shewed to his people, who now pursuing them, fled apace, calling upon the name of Cyrns, and desiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troupes, and utterly difmaied fuch Persian Captaines, as were now, even in their owne eyes, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Campe of Cyrus was taken, being quite abandoned; from whence Artaxerxes makingall speede, arrived quickly at the quarter of the Greeks, which was about three miles from the place where Cyrus fell. There hee met with Tiffaphernes, who having made way through the battaile of the Greeks, was ready now to joyne with his Master in spoilingtheir Tents. Had not the newes, which Artaxerxes brought with him of his brothers death, bin sufficient to countervaile all disasters received, the exploit of Tiffaphernes in breaking through the Greekes would have yeelded little comfort. For Tiffaphernes had not flaine any one man of the Greekes, but contrariwife, when he gave upon them, they opening their battaile, drave him with great flanghter through them, in fuch wife, that he rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the o squadron of the Greekes. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the Greeks, as Masters of the field, gave chase to all that came in their fight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after these Greekes, intending to set upon them in the reare. But these good Souldiers perceiving the Kings approach, turned their faces, and made head against him; who not intending to seeke honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being purfued unto a certaine Village, that lay under a Hill, on the top whereof hee made a ftand, rather in a bravery, than with purpose to attempt upon these bold sellowes any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had fecured his estate, whom hee would seeme to have slaine with his owne hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to give reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that hee might now preferve well enough, fliewing a manly looke halfe a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore hee advanced his Standard, a golden Eagle diplated on the top of a Speare. This enligne might have encouraged his people, had not some of the Greekes espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so neere them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discovering their approach, fled upon the spurre; so that none remained in the place of battaile, save onely the Greekes, who had loft that day not one man, nor taken any other harme, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondred that they heard no newes of Cyrus, but thinking that he was pursuing the Army, they thought it was sittest for thems

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S. V.

The hard estate of the Greekes after the fight; and how Attaxerxes in vaine sought to have made them yield unto him.

T was now about the fetting of the Sunne, and they bringing home darke night with them, found their Campe spoiled, little or nothing being left that might to Flerve for food: fo that wanting victuals to fatisfie their hunger, they refreshed their weary bodies with fleepe. In the mean feafon Artaxerxes returning to his Campe, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enjoy the pleasure of his good fortune entire. because he perceived that the basenesse of his people, and weakenesse of his Empire, was now plainely discovered to the Greekes: which gave him affurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shamefull demeanor of his Army, should live to carry tidings home, it would not belong, ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole Signory. Wherefore he refolved, to try all meanes, whereby he might bring them to defittle ction, and not let one escape to carry tidings of that which he had seene to which purpose he sent them a brave message the next morning; charging them to deliver up their 10 Armes, and come to his Gates, to awaite there upon his Mercie. It feemes that he was in good hope to have found their high courages broken, upon report of his brothers death: but he was greatly deceived in that thought. For the Greekes being advertised that morning from Ariano, a principall Commander under Cyrus, that his Master being slaine, he had retired himselfe to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to returne into Ionia, his meaning was to dislodge the next day, awaiting for them follong if they would joyne with him, but refolving to stay no longer: they fent answer backe to Arious, that having beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durst refist them, they would place Ariaus himselfe in the Kings Throw, if he would joyne with them, and pursue the victory. Before they received any reply to ... this answer, the Messengers of Artaxerxes arrived at the Campe, whose errand seemed? to the Captaines very infolent: One told them, that it was not for the Vanquilhersto yeelde their Weapons; another, that he would dye ere he yeelded to fuch a motion; a third asked, whether the King, as having the victory, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them: or, whether he defired them in way of friendship; for then would they first know, with what courtesie he meant to requite their kindnesse. To this question Phalinus a Gracian, waiting upon Tiffaphernes, answered; That the King having flaine Cyrus, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the middeft whereof hee held them fast enclosed with great Rivers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they wanted ftrength to kill if they would hold up their throats; for an which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These words, to them, who knew themselves to bee free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore, one told Phalinus that having nothing left, but their Armes and Valour, whilest they kept their Armes, their Valour would bee ferviceable; but should they yeelde them, it was to bee doubted, that their bodies would not long remaine their owne. Hereat Phabinus laughed, faying; This young mandid seeme a Philosopher, and made a pretty speech; but that his deepe speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if hee thought with his Armes and Valour to prevaile against the great King. It seemes that Phalinus being a Courtier, and imployed in a bulinesse of importance, thought himselse too profound a States-man, to be chekt in his Embassage by a bookish discourser. But his wisedome herein failed him. 50 For what soever he himselfe was (of whom no more is knowne than that he brought an unhonest message to his own Countrimen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons, and Lives, to the mercilesse Barbarians) this young Scholler by him despiled, was that great Xenophon, who, when all the principall Commanders were surprised by treachery of the Persians, being a private Gentleman, and having never seene the warres before, under-tooke the conduct of the Army, which he brought fafe into Greece, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than Phalinus could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithfull to the King, as they had bin to Cyrus, offering

their service in Egypt, where they thought Artaxeres might have use of them. But the small answer was, That without Weapons they could neither doe the King good as Friends, nor desend themselves from him as Enemies. Hereupon Phalinus delivered the Kings surther pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilest they abode where they then were, denouncing Warre if they stirred thence; Whereunto he required their answer. Clearchus the Generall told him, they liked it. How (saith Phalinus) must I understand you? As choosing peace if we stay, or otherwise war, said Clearchus. But whether warre or peace; quoth this politique Embassadour? To whom Clearchus (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose,) Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him, no wisfer than hee came. All that day the Greekes were saine to seed upon their Horses, Asses, and other Beasts, which they rosted with arrowes, darts, and woodden targets.

§. VI. How the Greekes began to returne home-wards.

throwne away by the Enemies.

T night they took their way towards Arieus, to whom they came at mid-nights being for faken by foure hundred foot, and forty horse, all Thracians, who fled A over to the King, by whom how they were entertained, I doe not finde. Like o enough it is that they were cut in pieces; for had they bin kindly used, it may well bee thought that some of them should have accompanied Tessaphernes, & served as Stales to draw in the rest. Ari aus being of too base a temper, and birth, to thinke upon seeking the Kingdome for himselfe, with such affistance as might have given it unto Cyrus, was very well pleased to make covenant with them for mutuall affistance unto the last: Whereunto both parts having fworn, he advised them to take another way homeward, which should becomewhat longer, yet forer and fitter to relieve them with victualls, than that by which they came. The next day, having made a wearifome march, and tyred the Souldiers, they found the Kings Army which had coasted them, lodged in certain Villages, where they purposed themselves to have encamped: towards which Clearchus made dito reflly because he would not seeme by declining them to shew feare, or weakenesse. That the Kings men were contented to remove, and give place to their betters, it cannot be trange to any that hath confidered their former behaviour; Nor strange, that the Gracians, being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an unknown Country, should beevery fearefull: but it is almost past beliefe, that the noise which was heard of these pooremen, calling one to another tumultuoufly, as the present condition inforced them to doe, should make the Persians flie out of their Campe, and so affright the great King, that instead of demanding their Arms, he should crave peace of them. The next day vey early, came messengers from Artaxerxes, desiring free accesse for Embassadors, to entreat of peace. Were it not that fuch particulars do best open the quality of the persons, o by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter, to run over the generall passages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkeable, That when Clearchus had willed the Messengers to bid the King prepare for battaile, because the Greeks (as he said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to heare of truce till their bellies were full; Artaxerxes diffembling the dignity, was contented fweetly to swallow down this pill, sending them guides, who conducted them to aplace where was plenty of victuals to relieve them.

§. VII. How Tiffaphernes, under colour of peace, betrayed all the Captaint of the Greekes.

Itherto the Greekes, relying upon their own vertue, had rather advanced their affaires, than brought themselves into any straights or termes of disadvantage. But now came unto them the subtile Foxe Tisaphernes, who circumventing the Chiefe Commanders by fine sleights, did mischievously entrappe them, to the extremedanger of the Army. He told them, that his Province, lying neere unto Greece, had caused him greatly to desire, that their deliverance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, & their Countrimen at home, would not bee unthankefull for such a benefit. Herewithall he forgot not to rehearse

the great service that he had done to his Master, being the first that advertised him of C. rus his intent, and having not onely brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of barraile shewed his face to the Greekes, when all others turned their backes: that he together with the King, did enter their Campe, and gave chase to the Barbarians than food on the part of Cyrus. All this (quoth he) did I alledge to the King, entreating that he would give me leave to conduct you fafe into Greece; in which fuite I have good hope to speede, if you will send a milde answer to him, who hath willed me to aske you, for what cause we have borne Armes against him. The Captaines hearing this, were contented to give gentle words, which Tiffaphernes relating to the King, procured (though very hardly, as he faid) that peace should be granted: the conditions whereof were; That they to should passe freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for that they tooke, and committing no spoile: yet that it should be lawfull for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refused to affoord them an open Market. Hereupon both parties having fworne, the League was concluded, and Tiffaphernes returning to the King to take leave. and end all businesse, came unto them againe after twenty dayes, and then they set forward. This interim of twenty dayes, which Tiffaphernes did spend at the Court, mini. fired great occasion of mistrust to his new Confederates. For besides his long absence. which alone sufficed to breede doubt, the Brethren, and Kindred of Ariam, repairing daily to him, and other Persians to his Souldiers, did worke him and them so with affirance of pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more strange to the Greeks 20 than formerly he had bin. This caused many to advise Clearchus, rather to passe forward as well as he might, than to relye upon covenants, and fit still whilest the Kinglav. ed fnares to entrappe them. But he on the contrary perswaded them, to rest contented whileft they were well, and not to cast themselves againe into those difficulties, out of which they were newly freed by the late Treatie; reciting withall their own wants, and the Kings meanes, but especially the Oathes mutually given and taken, wherewith hee faw no reason why the enemie should have clogged himselfe if hee meant mischiefe, having power enough to do them harme by a faire and open Warre.

The third Booke of the first part

Tiffaphernes was a very honourable man (if honour may be valued by greatnesse and place in Court) which caused his Oath to be the more esteemed; for as much as no in- 30 forcement, or base respect, was like to have drawne it from him. But his falshoodwas fuch, both in fubftance and in fucceffe, as may firly expound that faying, which proceed ded from the fountaine of Truth, I hate a rich man a lyer. A lye may finde excuse when it growes out of feare: for that passion hath his originall from weakenesse. But when Power, which is a Character of the Almighty, shall be made the supporter of untruth, the falshood is most abominable; for the offender, like proud Lucifer, advancing his own strength against the divine Justice, doth committhat sinne with an high hand, which commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with fure vengeance. It was not long ereTiffaphernes found means to destroy all the Captaines, whom he subtlely got into his power by a traine; making the Generall Clearchus himself the meane to draw in 40 all the rest. The businesse was contrived thus: Having travailed some dayes together in fuch wife, that the Persians did not encampe with the Greeks, who were very jealous of the great familiarity, appearing betweene Tiffaphernes, & Ariaus; Clearchus thought it convenient to roote out of Tiffaphernes his braines all causes of distrust, whereof many had grown in that short time. To which purpose obtaining private conference withhim, he rehearfed the oath of Confederacie, which had past betwene them, shewing how religiously he would keepe it; and repeating the benefits, which the Greekes did receive by the helpe of Tissaphernes, he promised that their love should appeare to him not unstuitfull, if he would make use of their service against the Mysians or Pisidians, who were accustomed to infest his Province; or against the Egoptians, who were then Rebells 1050 the great King. For which cause hee defired him, that whereas all divine and human respects had linked them together, hee would not give place to any close acculation or fulpirion, whereby might grow fudden inconvenience to either of them, upon no just ground. The faithlesse Persian was very much delighted with this speech, which miniftred faire occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore hee told Clearchus, that all this was by him wifely confidered, wishing him further to call to minde how many wayes hee could have used to bring them to consustion, without perill to himselfe, especially by burning the country, through which they were to passe, whereby they mult

needs have perished by meere famine. For which cause he said that it had bin great folly, to seeke by perjurie, odious to God and Man, the destruction of such as were already in his hands. But the truth was, that his owne love to them had moved him to worke their fafetie, not onely for those ends which Clearches had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himselfe, and the King, by their assistance: but for that hee might by their friendship, hope to obtaine what Cyrus had mist. Finally, he invited the credulous Genrleman to Supper, and fent him away fo well affured of his good will, that he promifed tobring all the Captaines with him to the same place, where, in presence of them all, Tillaphernes likewise promised to tell openly, which of them had by secret information 10 fought to raise diffension betweene them. Clearchus himselfe being thus deceived, with great importunity drew all the chiefe Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders, to repaire with him to the Campe of Tillaphernes, whither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers, as it had bin to some common Faire. But being there arrived, Clearchus with other the five principall Coronels, were called into the Tent, the rest staying without, where they had not waited long ere a signe was given, upon which they within were apprehended, and the residue slaine. Forth-with certainebands of Persian Horsemen scoured the field, killing as many Greeks as they met, and riding up the very Campe of the Gracians, who wondred much at the turnult, whereof they knew not the cause, till one, escaping sorely wounded, informed them 20 of all that had bin done. Hereupon the Greekes tooke Armes in hafte, thinking that the enemy would forthwith have affailed their Campe. Anonthey might perceive the Embaffadours of Tisfaphernes, among whom were his own brother, and Ariaus, followed with three hundred Horse, who called for the principall men in the Army, saying, that they brought a message from the King, which Arians delivered to this effect: That Clearchus having broken his faith, and the league made, was justly rewarded with death; that Menon and Proxenus, two other of the five Coronels, for detecting his treacherie, were highly honoured: & finally, that the King required them to furrender their Arms, which were due to him, as having belonged unto his fervant Cyrus. When fome altercationhad followed upon this meffage, Xenophon told the Embaffadors, that if Clearchus 30 had in such fort offended, it was well that hee was in such fort punished: but he willed them to fend backe Menon and Proxenus, whom they had fo greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the Greekes might be advised how to answerthe Persian. Hereunto the Embassadours knew not how to frame any reply, and therefore departed without speaking one word more. Clearchus, & the other soure were fentto Artaxerxes, by whose commandement their heads were stricken off. I hold it not amisse to prevent the order of time, annexing to this persidiousnesses of Tissaphernes, the reward which he afterward received. He faw his Province wasted by the Greeks, against whom receiving from his Master convenient aid of men and mony, he did so ill manage his affaires, that neither subtiltie, nor perjury (to which he failed not to have recourse) oavailed him; finally, the King was jealous of his cunning head, and fent a new Lievtenantinto those parts, who tooke it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treacherie, which made him so mistrusted at home, that the service which he could not doe, he was thought upon private ends to neglect; & fo hated abroad, that he knew not which way to flie from the stroke, all the world being shut against him. But now let us teturne to the prosperity, wherein he triumphed without great cause, having betrayedbraver menthan himselfe, and intending to bring the like mischiese upon the whole Armie.

6. VIII.

How Xenophon heartened the Greekes, and in despitat of Tissaphernes went off safely.

Reat was the heavinesse of the Souldiers, being now left destitute of Leaders; and no lesse their searce of the evill hanging over their heads, which they knew not well how to avoide. Among the rest, Xenophon, whose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deepe sadnesse of the whole Army to be such as hindred them from taking any course of preventing the danger at hand, began to advise the

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under-officers of *Proxenus* his companies, whose familiar friend he had been to bethinke themselves of some meane, whereby their safety might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: setting before their eyes whatsoever might serve for to give them hope, and above all, perswading them in no wise to yeeld to the mercy of their barbarous enemics.

Hereupon they defired him to take upon him the charge of that Regiment; and so together with him, the same night calling up such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to staceed in the places of those who were slain, or taken. This being done, and order fet downe for disburdening the Armie of all superfluous impediments, they eafily comforted themselves for the losse of Tissaphernes his assistance, 10 hoping to take victualls by force better cheape than he had bin wont to fell them; To which purpose they intended to take up their lodging two or three miles further, among fome plentifull Villages, and fo to proceed, marching towards the heads of those great Rivers, which lay in their way, and to passe them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made upon them by Tissaphernes, whom they, serving all on foot, were not able to requite for the harme which they received by the Persian Archers, who shot at a farther distance than the Greeks could reach. For this cause did Xenophon provide flings. wherewith hee over-reached the enemy; and finding fome Horses fit for service, that were imployed among the carriages, he set men upon them; training likewise his Archers to shoot compasse, who had bin accustomed to the point blanke. By these means 20 did he bear off the Persians who assailed him; and sometimes gave them chase with that band of fiftie Horse, which being well backt with a firm bodie of footmen, and seconded with troups of the light-armed-shot and slingers, compelled the enemie to liea-loof. Tif. saphernes not daring to come to handie-gripes with these resolute men, did possessente tops of mountains, and places of advantage, by which they were to passe. But finally, when their valour made way through all fuch difficulties, he betook himselfe to that course, which was indeed the surest of burning the Countrie. With great forrow didthe Greeks behold the Villages on fire and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some advited to defend the Country, as granted by the enemie himselse to be theirs; others to make more fires, if so perhaps the Persians might be ashamed to doe that which was the defire 20 of fuch as made paffage in hostile maner; But these were faint comforts. The best counsel was, that being neare unto the Carduchi, a people enemie to the Persian, they should enterinto their Country, passing over some high mountains which lay betweenthem. This course they followed, which could not have availed them, if Ti saphernes had begun fooner to cut off their victuals, rather than to feek to force, or to circumvent them by his fine wit.

The difficulties which the Greeke Armie found in passing through the Land of the Care duchi.

Ntringupon the Land of the Carduchi, they were encountred with many difficulties of wayes, but much more afflicted by the fierce inhabitants, who, accurite momental properties against the huge Armics of the Persian, were no way inferiour to the Greekes in daring, but onely in the Art of Warre. They were very light of foot, skilfull Archers, and used the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Countrey were of muchuse against these poore travellers, afflicting them in seven dayes which they spent in that passage, farre more than all the power of the great King had done. Between the Territorie of these Carduchi, and the parts of Armenia consining them, ranne Centrites a great River, upon which the Greeks refres to she themselves one day, rejoycing that they had so well escaped these dangers, and hoping that the remainder would prove casse. But the next morning they saw certaine troupes of Horse, that lay to forbid their passage. These were levied by the Kings deputies in those parts; Tisaphernes and his Companies having taken their way towards some strong they saw towards some testing and deepe, so that it was not possible for such as wouldenter it, to make resistance against those which kept the opposite bankes. To increase these dangers, the Carduchi, following upon them, lay on the side of a Mountaine, within less than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to discover a Foord, by which the

greater number of them passing over, did easily chase away the Subjects of the Persian, and then sending backe themost expedite men, gave succour to the Reare-ward, against which the Carduchi being sleightly armed, could not on plaine ground make resistance hand to hand. These Carduchi seem to have inhabited the Mountaines of Niphates, which upon the River of Cyrus in Media; wherein he differs much from Xenophon, whose relation being grounded upon his own knowledge, doth best in this case deserve credit. Of the River Centries (as of many other Rivers, Townes, and Places, mentioned by Xenophon) will not labour to make a conjecture, which may endure the severity of a Critics only of this last, I thinke it the same which falleth into Tygris, not much above Artasizara, springing out of Niphates, and running by the Towne of Sardeva in Gordené, a Province of Armenia the Great, wherein the Greekes having passed Centrites did arrive.

6. X.

How Teribazus Governour of Armenia, seeking to entrap the Greekes with termes of fained place, was disappointed and shamefully beaten.

He Army finding in Armenia good provision, marched without any disturbance about fifty or threescore miles to the heads of the River Tygrin, and passing over them, travailed as farre further without refiftance, till they were encountred by Turba at the River Teleboa, which Xenophon commends as a goodly water, though fmall, but Psolomy and others omit it. Teriba Zus governed that Country for the Persian, Ewasingreat favour with Artaxerxes, whose Court may feem to have bin a Schoole, wherethe Art of falshood was taught as wisedom. He desired peace of the Greeks, which was made upon this condition, that they should take what they pleased, but not burne downe the Townes and Villages in their way. As foone as he had made this league, he leavied an Army, and befetting the Streights of certaine Mountaines which they were o topasse, hoped well to make such benefit of their security, as might give him the commendation of being no leffe craftily dishonest than Tissaphernes. Yet his cunning failed of fuccesse. For a great snow fell, which caused the Greekes to make many fires, and scatterthemselves abroad in the Villages. Teriba Zus also made many fires, and some of his menwandred about feeking reliefe. By the fires he was discovered, and by a Souldier of his that was taken prisoner, the whole plot was revealed. Hereupon the Greekes, taking this captive with them for a guide, fought him out; & comming upon his Campe, did fo affright him, that before the whole Army could arrive there, the shout which was rasted by the Vaunt-currors, chased him away. They tooke his Pavilion, wherein (besides many flaves, that were Artificers of voluptuousnesses) very rich furniture was left by the ottacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Army went Northward, and passing Euphrates, not far below the springs thereof, travailed with much difficulty through deepe frow, being followed aloofe by the enemy, who durst not approach them, but did cut off fuch as they found straggling behinde. The Inhabitans of the Country, through which they marched, had their wintering houses under ground, wherein was found great plentie of victualls, and of cattaile, which likewife did winter in the same Cellars with the owners. Having refreshed themselves in those parts, & taken sufficient ease after the miserable journey, which had consumed many of them with extreme cold; they departed, leading with them many bond-flaves & taking away (befides other Horses and Cattaile) some Colts that were bred up for the great King.

6. XI.

The passage of the Army to Trabizonde, through the Countries bordering apon the River of Phasis, and other obscure Nations.

So without impediment they came to the River *Phass*, neere whereunto the people called *Phasiani Tacchi*, and *Chalybes* were seated. These Nations joyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountaines, which the *Greeker*

were to passe, made countenance of warre: but some companies being sent by night to feize upon a place of equall height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these people to flye, every one retiring to the defence of his owne. The first upon whose Countrie the Greekes did enter were the Tacchi, who convaying all their provision of victuals into strong holds, brought the Army into much want, untill with hard labour one place was forced, wherein great store of cattaile were taken; the people, to avoide captivity, threw themselves head-long downe the rockes, the very women throwing down first their own children, and then casting themselves upon them. Here was taken a great bootie of Cattaile, which served to feed them, travailing through the land of the Chalybes, of whom they got nothing but stroakes. The Chalybes were a very stout Nation, well armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountred the Greekes hand to hand, killing as many as they tooke prisoners, and cutting off their heads, which they carried away, finging and dancing, to the great griefe of their companions living; who were glad, when after feven dayes journey they escaped from those continuall skirmisses, wherewith they had bin vexed by these Barbarians. Hence travailing through agood corne-Countrie, inhabited by an obscure Nation called the Scythini, they came to a rich Towne, the Lord whereof, and of the Region adjoyning, used them friendly. and promifed to guide them to a Mountaine, whence they might discover the Euxine Sea. From Gymnia (which was the name of his Towne) he led them through the Territorie of his enemies, defiring them to waste it with sword and fire. After five dayes march, they came to a Mountaine called Teches, being (as I thinke) a part of the Mountaines called Moschiei, whence their guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their course : and passing friendly through the Region of the Macrones, (with whom by meanes of an interpreter, found among themselves, who borne in that place hadbin fold into Greece, they made a good peace) they arrived in the Land of Colchos, wherein "Trabisond, a stands the Citic of "Trabisond, called then TrapeZou, a Colonic of the Greekes. The Colony of the Colchi entertaining them with hostility, were required with the like; for the Armicha-Greeter, fituate ving now good leifure to repose themselves among their friends the Trape Zuntians, did in the bottome of the Euxine fpoile the Countrie thirty dayes together, forbearing onely the Borderers upon Trabi- 30 zonde, at the Citizens request.

How the Army began at Trabizond to provide a Fleet, wherewith to returne home by Sea: how it came into the Territorie of Synope, and there prosequated the same purpose.

Aving now found an Haven Towne, the Souldiers were defirous to take shipping, & change their tedious Land-journies into an easie Navigation. To which purpose Cherisophus a Laced amonian, one of the principall Commanders, promised by meanes of Anaxibius the Lacedamonian Admirall, who was his friend, that he la would provide Vessells to embarke them. Having thus concluded, they likewise tooke order for the staying of such ships as should passe that way, meaning to use them for their navigation. Lest all this provision should bee found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Army, Xenophon perswaded the Cities adjoyning to cleare the wayes, and make an eafie paffage for them by Land; whereunto the Souldiers were utterly unwilling to give eare, being defirous to returne by Sea: but the Countrie fearing what inconvenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to Xenophons request. Two ships they borrowed of the Trapezuntians, which they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them failed directly into Greece, for faking their Companions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the Port of Trabiz onde: the other tooke Merchants and se paffengers, whose goods were fafely kept for the owners, but the Veffels were stayed to increase the fleet. After long aboade, when victuals began to faile, by reason that all the Land of the Colchi, neere unto the Campe was already quite wasted, they were faint to embarke their ficke men, with the women, children, and fuch of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few ships which they had already provided. The rest of the Armietooketheir way by Land to Cerasus, a Greeke Towne, where the fleet likewise arrived. Here the Army being mustered, was found to consist of eight thousand & fixehundredmen. From hence they passed through the Country of the * Mosquaei, who were

divided into factions. The stronger partie, despising their friendship, caused them to iovne them with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

The next place of their abode was b Cotyora, a Greeke Towne likewife, & a Colonie of the Synopians, as TrapeZus and Cerafus were; but the entertainment which here they b Cotyona a Port the Synopians. found was very churlish, having neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sicke same Regions men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Towne by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sicke in convenient lodgings, taking into their own hands the custody of the Gates. Provision for the Army they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territory of the Paphlagoni-10 ans, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Towne. These newes were unwelcome to · Sinope, whence Embassadours were sent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings, & threatning to joyne with the Paphlagonians, if redreffe could not otherwise be e single a Porehad, were roundly answered by Xenophon, That meere necessity had enforced the Army Townein Leucototeach those of Coryora good manners in so bad a methode : letting them know, that he of the Mylesians. feared not to deale with them & the Paphlagonian at once; though perhaps the Paphlaronian would be glad to take Sinope it felfe, to which, if cause were given, they would lendaffistance. Upon this answere the Embassadors grew better advised, promising all friendship that the State of Sinope could shew, and commanding the Towne of Coiyera torelieve the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promifed to affift them with 20 hipping, letting them understand how difficult the passage by Land would prove, in regard of the many & great Rivers, as Thermodon, Iris, Halys, and Parthenius, which croffedtheir way. This good counfaile, and the faire promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Army, which well perceived, that the City of Sinope would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therfore decreed that they would passe the rest of the way by Sea; provided that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serve to imbarke every one of them, then would they not put from the

of dissention which arose in the Armie; and how it was embarked.

Therto the danger of enemies, and miseries of weather and wants, had kept the companie in firme unity; which now beganne to dissolve and to thaw, by the neighbouring aire of Greece, warming their heads with private respects to their severall ends and purposes. Whilest they, who were sent as Agents from the Campe, remained at Sinope; Xenophon confidering the strength and valour of his men, & the opportunity of the coast whereon they lay, thought it would be an honourable worke to builda City inthose parts, which were soone like to prove great and wealthie, in regard both of their owne puissance, and of the great repaire of the Greekes into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and Countrie, divining of his successe by the entrailes of beasts. The Sooth-sayer whom he imployed had received a great reward of Cyrus, for conjecturing aright, that Artaxerxes would not give battaile in ten dayes: he therefore, having preserved his money carefully, was desirous to be foone at home, that he might freely enjoy his gettings. By him the purpose of Xenophon was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diversitie of mens opinions; some approving the motion, but the greater part rejecting it. They of Sinope and Heraclea, being informed of this consultation, were fore a fraid, left the povertie of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintaine themselves at home, should give successe to the project. Which to prevent, they promised to supply the Army with a fufficient fleet, and likewise offered mony to some of the Captaines, who thereupon undertooke to give the Souldiers pay, if they would presently set saile for Greece. One of these Captaines being a banished man, desired them to follow him into Trees; another offered to leade them into Cherronefus. Xenophon, who defired only the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions, and professed openly that he would have them to set forward, & hold together in any case, punishing him as a traitor that should for fake the Armie, before such time as they were arrived at their journies end. Silanus the Sooth-fayer, who had uttered Xenophons purpose, was hereby staied from out-running his fellowes, and driven to abide with his wealth among poore men, longer than

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stood with his good liking. Also the other Captaines were much troubled and affraid when they perceived, that ships were prepared sufficient for their Navigation, but that the money promised to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of Sinope, and Heraclea, knowing that the Armie was now refolved for the voyage, and that Xenophon, whom they feared, had perfwaded them to this resolution, thought it the wifest way to furnish them with a Navie whilest they were in good readinesse, to depart, but to keep the mony to themselves. The Captaines therfore, who being disappoint ted by these townes, found themselves in great danger of their men, whom they had deceived with faire hopes, repented much of their faire offers, & fignifying as much to X. nophon, prayed him to make proposition to the Armie, of taking the ships, & sayling to 10 Phalis, where they might feize upon Lands, and plant themselves in such wise as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the businesse, they began to worke the principall of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the reft. These newes becomming publike, bred a suspition of Xenophon, as if he had won the rest of the Captaines to his purpose, and meant now to carry the Army quite another way from their own home. Wherfore affembling the Companies, he gave them fatisfaction. and withall complained of some disorders, which he caused them to redresse. A generall inquifition was likewife made of offences committed fince the death of Cyrus; which be ing punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassadours from Corplas Lord of the Paphlagoneans, who fending presents, defired peace of the Greeks: the Embaf- 20 fadours were friendly entertained, and peace concluded, which needed not to have bin fought, for that the Greeks, having now their fleet in a readines, did foon weigh Anchors. Se fet faile for Harmene the Port of Sinope, whither Cherifophus came, bringing withhim a few Gallies from the Admiral Anaxibins, who promifed to give the Army pay as foon as they came into the parts of Greece.

S. XIV.

Another great dissension and distraction of the Army. How the mutiners were beauth by the Barbarians, and rescued by Xenophon.

THe neceret that they approached to Greece, the greater was their defire to make provision for themselves, that they might not returne home emptie-handed. Wherefore truffing well that if the charge of the Armie were absolutely committed to one fufficient man, he might the more conveniently procure the good of them all, they determined to make Xenophon fole Commander of all; in whose favour as well the Captaines as the common Souldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the Lacedemonians, who were jealous of him already (being incensed by that fugitive who for fooke the army at Trabizond, flying with one of their two ships) or moved by some tokens appearing to him in the entrails that threatned ill successeto his government, procured with vehement contention, that this honour was laid upon 40 Cherifophus a Lacedamonian. It feemes that Xenophon, confidering the vexation incident to the conduct of a voluntary Army, wanting pay, did wifely in yeelding to fuch tokens as forbad him to accept it : especially, knowing so well their defire, which was, by right or by wrong, to get wealth wherfoever it might be found, without all regard of friend or foe. Cherisophus had bin Generall but fixe or sevendayes, when hee was deposed, for having bin unwilling to rob the Towne of Heraclea, which had fent presents to the Campe, and bin very beneficiall unto them in lending ships for their transportation-Two daies they had failed by the coast of Asia, when being past those great rivers, which would have given impediment to their journey by Land, they touched at Heraclea, where confulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea; one seditious man 50 began to put them in minde of feeking to get for what for themselves; telling them that all their provision would bee spent in three dayes, and that being now come out of the enemies Country, victualls and other necessaries could not bee had without money; for which cause he gave advice to send messengers into the Towne of Heraclea, giving the Citizensto understand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of money, called Cyricens, which fumme amounteth to two thousand and five hundred pound sterling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the fum raised to ten thousand Cy licens at least : which to require, they thought Cherisophus,

as being Generall, the fittest man; others had more defire to fend Xenophon: but in vain. for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Lest therefore either of these should faile in managing the businesse which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudency and leffe discretion were sent; who in such wise delivered their infolentmessage, that the Citizenstaking time to deliberate upon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Towne, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith manthe Wals. When the Souldiers perceived themselves to be disappointed of their ravenous purpose, they fell to mutiny, saying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: andbeing for the more part of them Arcadians and Achæans, they for fook immediately cherilophus and Xenophon, chusing new Leaders out of their owne number. Above to fourethousand and five hundred they were, all heavily armed, who electing ten Captains, failed into the Port of Calphas, which is in the mid-way between Heraclea & Byzantium, with purpose to assaile the Bythinians on the sudden. With Cherisophus there abodetwo thousand and one hundred, of whom one thousand and source hundred were amed weightily: Xenophon had two thousand foot, three hundred whereof were lightly amed, and forty horse; which small band had done good service already, and could not have bin spared now. Cherisophus had agreed with Chander Governour of By zantium to meethim at the mouth of the River Calphas, whither Cleander promised to bring some Gallies to convey him over into Greece; for which cause he tooke his way thither by 20 Land leaving to Xenophon fuch shipping as he had, who passing some part of the way by Sealanded upon the confines of Heraclea, & Thracia Affattica, intending to make a cut through the mid-land Country to the Propont. The Mutiners who had landed at Calphas by night, with purpose to take spoiles in Bythinia, divided themselves into ten Companies, every Captaine leading his owne Regiment into some Village, five or fixe miles from the Sea; in the greater Townes were two Regiments quartered : and so was that part of the Country fur prised on the sudden, and sacked all at one time. The place of Rendevous was an high piece of Ground, where fome of them arrived, finding no diffurbance; others, not without much trouble and danger; two Companies were broken and 30 defeated only eight men escaped, the rest were all put to the sword. For the Thracians which had flips at first out of the Souldiers hands, did raise the Country, and finding the Greekes loaden with booty, took the advantage of their diforder, cutting in pieces those two Regiments: which done, they attempted the rest, encompassing the hil wheron they encamped. One great advantage the Thracians had, that being all light armed, they could at pleasure make retrait from these Arcadians & Achæans: who wanting the affishance of horse, & having neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driven to stand meerly upon their defence, bearing off with greater danger, & many wounds received, the Darts & Arrowes of the Barbarians, till finally they were driven from their watering place. & enforced to crave parley. Whatfoever the Articles of composition were, the Thracians yeelded to all; but pledges for affurance they would give none, without which the Greeks to well knew, that all promises of such people, especially so incensed, were nothing worth. In the mean time Xenophon holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of some Travellers, whether they knew ought of any Grecian Army, passing along those parts: & receiving by them true information of the desperate case into which these Gallants had foolishly throwne themselves, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides, them who gave him the intelligence. His horse-men he sent before to discover, & to scowre the waies; the light armed foot-men tookethe hill tops on either hand, all of them fetting fire on whatfoever they found combustible: wherby the whole Country seemed to be on a light stame, to the great terrour of the enemies, who thought that some huge Army had approached. That night he o encamped on a hill, within five mile of the Arcadians, encreasing still the number of his fires, which he caused hastily to be quenched soon after Supper. The enemies perceiving this, thought certainly that he would have fallen upon them in the darke, which caused them in all haste to distodge. Early in the next morning Xenophon comming thither in very good order, to have given battell, found that his device, to affright the Thracians, had taken full effect; but he marvelled that the Greeks were also departed, concerning whom helearned by enquiry, that they removed at break of day, & perceived by fignes that they had taken the way to the Port of Calphas, in which journey he overtooke them. They embraced him and his, with great foy: confessing that they themselves had

CHAP. 11. S.1.

thought the same which the enemies did, looking that he should have come by night. wherein finding themselves deceived, they were affraid lest he had for saken them, and therefore hastened away to overtake him, and joyn with him. So they arrived at the Haven of Calpas, where it was decreed, That who foever from thenceforth made any morion to dif-joyne the Army, should suffer death.

§. XV.

Of divers pieces of service done by Xcnophon; and how the Army returned into Greece. The occasions of the War between the Lacedamonians and the Persians.

"He Haven of Calpas lay under a goodly head-land, that was very firong, and a-lo bounding with all kinde of Graine and Fruits, except Olives. There was also Timber for building and shipping, and a very convenient Sea for a great City. All which commodities that might have allured the Souldiers to flay there, and to plant, caused them to haste away, fearing left Xenophon should finde some device to have fertled himselse and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good meanes to live at home; neither did they so much for hope of gaine follow Cyrus in that War. as in regard of his Honour, and the love which they bare unto him: the poorer fort were fuch as left their Parents, Wives, and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now desirous to returne. But whether it to were fo that Xenophon found advantage by their owne superstition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected; or whether the signes appearing in the entrails, did indeed forbid their departure: so long they were inforced to abide in the place till victuale failed; neither would the Captaines leade them forth to forrage the Country, untill the Sacrifices should promise good successe. Cherisophus was dead of an Ague, and his Thips were gone, being returned to the Heracleans, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were joyned to the rest of the Armie, which the greater it was, the more provision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Coronell into the place of Cherisophus, would needs adventure to gratiste the Souldiers with the spoile of some Villages that stood near at hand; in which enterprise he found ill successe, 30 the whole Country lying in wait to entrap him, and an Army of Horse being sent by Pharnaba Zus the Satrapa, or Vice-roy of Phrygia, to the affiftance of these Bythinian Thracians, which troups falling upon the Greeks that were scattered abroad in seeking booty, flew five hundred of them, ... chased the rest to a certaine Mountainethere by. The newes of this overthrow comming to Xenophon, he led forth a part of the Army to the rescue of those that survived and brought them safe to the Campe; upon which the Bythinians made an offer that night, and breaking a Corps du garde, flew fome, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the present condition of the Army, so disheartened and unfurnished of necessaries, caused the Greeks to remove their Camp to a place of more frength; which having intrenched, and com- 40 mitted to the defence of fuch as were least able to endure travell, Xenophon with the firmest and best able men went forth, both to bury those which were lately slaine, andto abate the pride of the Thracians, and their affiftants. In this journey his demeanour was very honourable. For having given buriall to the dead, the Enemy was discovered, lying on the tops of the hils adjoyning, to whom (notwith standing that the way was very rough and troublesome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leave at their backs a wood scarce passeable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that he had rather follow the enemy with halfe the number, than turn his back to them with twice as many; & letting them further know, that if they did not charge the Barbarians, he would not faile with the greater resolution to pursue them, from whom if they could so fafely retire to the camp, yet what should they do there, wanting victuals to sustain them in the place, and ships to carry them away . Wherefore he willed them rather to fight well that day, having eaten their dinners, than another day fafting; and not to regard the uneafier eturne, which might ferve to stay Cowards from running away, but to wish unto the Enemy a faire and easie way, by which he might slye from them These perswasions were followed with so valiant execution, that both Persians and Bythinians being chased out of the field, abandoned the Countrey forthwith, 100 moving their Families, and leaving all that could not fuddenly be conveighed away,

to the discretion of the Greekes, who at good leasure gathered the Harvest of these bad Neighbours fields. This was the last fight which they had on the side of Asia. For they were not only suffered quietly to enjoy the spoyle of the Country, but when the opiniongrew common in those parts, that it was the intent of Xenophon to planta Colony on the Port of Calpas, Embassadors were sent from the Neighbour people, to desire friendship, and make offer of their best assistance. But the Souldiers had no minde to flay. Wherefore entring further into Bythinia, they tooke a great booty, which they carried away unto Chry lopolis, a city near unto Chalcedon, where they fold it. Pharnaba(w, Lievtenant in Phrygia to Artaxerxes, did greatly feare, left their long stay in that Countrey might breed in them a defire to visite his Province, where they might have o found great wealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he fent to the Lacedemonian Admirall, entreating him with much instance and large promises to wast them over into Europe; to whom Anaxibius the Admirall condescending, promised to give the Souldiers pay, as soon as they arrived at Byzantium. So were they carried out of Asia at the intreaty of the Persian, who in the height of his pride had thought them so surely imprisoned with mighty Rivers, that he not onely denyed to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to furrender their Armes into his hands, and so to yeeld their lives to his discretion. How discourteously they were intreated by Anaxibius, and how to requite his injurious dealings, they seized upon Byzantium, which by Xenophons perto swaffon they forbare to facke; I hold it superfluous to relate. For the residue of their doings appertain little to the generall course of things. But this expedition, as in all ages iwas glorious, so did it both discover the secrets of Asia, and stirre up the Greekes to thinke upon greater enterprises, than ever their forefathers had undertaken. Likewise it was the only remarkeable action which the time afforded. For the Roman Warres did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Townes of Italy; and in Greece all things were quiet, the Lacedæmonians ruling infolently, but without difturbance. True it is, that the seedes of the Warre shortly following, which the Lacedamonians made upon Artaxerxes, were already fowne, before these companies returned out of the high Countryes of Asia. For the Townes of Ionia which had fided with young Cyrus against Tissaphernes, if not against the great King, prepared to rebell; which they thought fafer, than to fall into the hands of Tissaphernes, who was now appointed Lievtenant, both of his old Province, and of all that had belonged to Cyrus. Wherefore the Ionians befought the Lacedæmonians to fend them ayd, whereby to recover their liberty; and obtained their request. For a power was sent over, under conduct of Thimbro a Spartan, who bestowed his men in such Towns as had already revolted, to secure the Cities andtheir Fields, but not to make any offensive War.

CHAP. XI.

Of the affaires of Greece, whilest they were managed by the Lacedamonians.

Howihe Lacedamonians tooke courage by example of Xenophons Army, to make Warre upon Artaxerxes.



taxerxes tooke their favour shewed unto his brother, and yet were timerous in beginning an open war against him, thinking it sufficient to take all care that no advantage might slip, which could serve to strengthen their Estate, by finding the Persian works beyond the T feems that the Lacedæmonians did well perceive in how ill part Arthen their Estate, by finding the Pertian worke beyond the when Xenophons Army had revealed the basenesse of those effemi-

tate Assatiques, and rehearsed the many victories which they themselves had gotten, apontermes of extreme disadvantage; then was all Greece filled with defire of undertiking upon this huge unwieldy Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the joyntforces forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to Sufa, whereof one handfull had opened the paffage to Babylon; and further, finding no power that was able to give them refistance, in all that long journy of foure and thirty thousand two hundred and fifty five furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of English miles about four thousand two hundred fourescore and one, a very painfull march of one yeare and three moneths. Neverthelesse, the civil distraction wherewith Greece was miserably torn, and especially that hot fire of the Theban war, which, kindled with Perfiangold, brake forth fuddenly into a great flame, drew back out of Asia the power of the Lacedæmonians, to thede. fence of their owne Estate; leaving it questionable, whether Azesilaus having both the fame and far greater forces, could have wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that to in the whole space of two yeares, which he spent in Asia, his deeds procured more commendation of magnanimity and faire behaviour, than of four courage, and great, or profitable atchievements. For how highly foever it pleased Xenophon, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other wars, to extoll his vertue; his exploits being only a few incursions into the Countries lying neare the Sea, carrying no proportion to Xenophons owne journy, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the famous retrait of Conon the Briton with fixe thousand men from Aquileia, to his own Countrey, through all the breadth of Italy, and length of France, in despite of the Emperour Thee. dosius, being rather like it than equall. But of Agesilam and his wars in Asia and Greece, we shall speake more in due place.

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§. II. The prosperous beginnings of the warre in Asia.

Himbro receiving Xenophons men, began to take in Townes, and to entertaine all such as were willing to revolt from the Persian, who were many, and some of them such, as had beene highly beholding to the King; who seeme to have had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to live under the government of Tissaphernes, whom all others did as vehemently hate, as the King his Master didlove him. The managing of the warre begun by Thimbro, was for his oppressions taken out 30 of his hands, and committed to Dercyllidus a Spartan, who behaved himselfe as agood man of War, and a wise Commander. For whereas the rule of the low-Countries of Asia was divided between Pharnaba vas and Tissaphernes, who did ill agree, Pharnaba vas divided between Pharnaba vas and Tissaphernes, who did ill agree, Pharnaba vas being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes savour the greater, and having the chiese command in those Wars against the Greekes; Dercyllidus, who did beare a private hatred to Pharnaba vas (knowing well that Tissaphernes was of a mischievous nature, and would not be forry to see his Corrivall throughly beaten, though to the Kings losse an appointment with Tissaphernes, and forthwith entred Æolis, which was under the jurisdiction of Pharnaba vas, which Province in few dayes, he brought into his owner power.

That Countrey of Æolis had about the same time suffered a violent alteration, which gave easie successe to the attempts of Dercyllidas. Zenis a Dardanian had bin Deputy to Pharnaba Zus in those parts; after whose death his wife Mania procured his Office, wherin she behaved herselfe so well, that she not only was beloved of the people under her government: but enlarged her Territory, by the conquest of certaine Townesadjoyning; and fundry times gave affiftance to Pharnaba Jus in his Wars against the Mysians, and Persians. For shee had in pay some Companies of Greeks, whose valour by her good usage, did her great service. But somewhat before the arrivall of Dercyllidas inthose parts, a Sonne-in-law of hers, called Midias, whom she trusted and loved much, being blinded with ambition, found meanes to stifle her, and kill her sonne of seventeene yeares old; which done, he seized upon two of her principall Townes, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to have beene admitted into possession of her whole estate. Being denyedentrance by her Souldiers that layin Garrison, he sent Messengers with presents to Pharnaba Zus, defiring him to make him Governour in the place of Mania. His prefents were not onely rejected by Pharnabazus, but revenge of his foule treason threatned, whereby the wicked villaine was driven into termes of almost utter desperation. Inthe meane time came Dercy lidas, to whom the Townes of Mania, that held against Midias, did quickly open their Gates. One onely Towne flood out foure dayes (against the

will of the Citizens, who were covetous of liberty) the Governour striving in vaine to have kept it to the use of *PharnabaZus*. Now remained only two Cities, Gergethe and Scepsis, which the Traytor held, who fearing all men, as being loved of none, sent Embassadours to Dercyllidas, desiring leave to speake with him, and pledges for his security: upon the delivery of which, he issued out of Scepsis, and comming into the Camp, made offer to joyne with the Greekes upon such conditions as might feeme reasonable. But he was plainly told by Dereillidas, that other condition there was none, than to fee the Cirizens freely at liberty. And prefently upon these words they marched toward Sceplis. When Midias perceived that it was in vaine to strive against the Army, and the Towns-men, who were all of one minde; he quietly went along with Dercyllidus, who to remaining but a few houres in the City, did a facrifice to Minerva, & then leading away the Garrison of Midias, he left the City free, and departed toward Gergethe. Midias didnot for fake his Company, but followed him, earneftly intreating that he might be fuffered to retaine Gergethe: but comming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they should be opened; for (quoth Dercyllidas) I must here likewise doe a facrifice to Minerva. The Traytor not daring to make deniall, caused his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby Dercyllidas, taking possession of the place, tendred pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serve under his Ensignes. This done, all the goods of Mania were seized upon, as belonging to one that had been subject to Phar-20 nabal us, who was enemy to the Greekes: and so the murderous wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might finde any place to hide his detefted head. Dercylledas having in eight dayes taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease ofhis Confederates to winter in Bythinia, to which end he tooke Truce with Pharmaba-(815, who had not any defire of Warre. That Winter, and the Summer enfuing, the truce being recontinued, held; in which time, befides the wasting of Bythinia, the neck of Land joining Cherronea to the Main, was fortified, being foure or five miles in breadth; by which meanes eleven Towns, with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wilde Thracians, and made fit and able to victuall the Camp. Likewise the Citie of Atarne was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with provision. After this, Dercyllidas had command from Sparta, to divert the Warreinto Caria, where was the feate of Tiffaphernes; for that hereby it was thought not uneafie to recover all the Towns of Ionia; Pharax the Admirall of the fleet (which was a yearely office) being appointed to joyne with him. Though it was manifest that Tissapharnes had neglected Pharnaba Zus in time of necessity, yet was he not in his owne danger requited with the like. For PharnabaZus having respect to the Kings service, cametoassist his private enemy Tissaphernes, and so passing into Caria, they thrust Garrifons into all places of strength; which done, they marched towards Ionia, hoping to finde the Townes ill manned for relistance. As these Persians were desirous to keeper the Warre from their owne dores, fo was Dercyllidas willing to free his Confederates the lonians from the spoile and danger of the War, by transferring it into Caria. For which cause he passed the River of Meander, and not looking to have been so soon encountred, marched carelesly through the Country: when on the very sudden the whole Army of Tisspharnes and Pharnaba Zus was discovered, confishing of Persians, Carians, and some Mercenary Greekes, who were all marshalled in very good order to present battell. The oddes was too apparent, both in numbers of men, and in readinesse, as also in advantage of ground : for the Persian had a great multitude of Horse, the Greeke very sew and feeble, being to fight in an open plaine. Therefore all the Ionians, together with the llanders and others, of fuch places as bordered upon the Kings Dominions, did eitherbetake themselves to present slight; or abiding a while for shame, did plainly discover by their lookes, that they meant not to be more bold than wife. Onely Der-'yllidas with his Peloponnesians regarding their honour, prepared to endure the fight: which must needs have brought them to destruction, if the counsell of Pharnaba Zus had been followed, who per ceiving the opportunity of so great a victory, was not willing to let it slip. But Tissaphernes, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of refiliance was made, began to confider what strange defence the Souldiers of Xeno-Mon had shewed, and thinking that all the Greekes were of the like resolution, held it the wisest way to crave parley; the conclusion of which was, That a Truce should be made, to last until Tiffaphernes might receive answer from the King, & Dercyllidas from Rrra Sparta₂

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Sparta, concerning the demands propounded in the Treaty; which were on the one part, That all the Greeks in Asia might enjoy their owne liberty and lawes; but contrarivise on the other side, That the Lacedæmonians should depart Asia, and leave the Townsto the Kings pleasure. This Treaty was of none effect; only it served to free the Greekes from the present danger, and to gaine time unto Tisaphernes, who defired to avoide the War by procrassination, which he durst not adventure to finish by tryall of a battell.

6. III.

How the Lacedamonians took revenge upon the Eleans for old displeasure. The discontents of the Corinthians and Thebans, conceived against the State of Sparta.

TN the meane feason the Lacedæmonians, who found none able to withstand them in Greece, began to call the Eleans to accompt for fome difgraces recei-Leved by them during the late Warres, when leafure was wanting to the requitall of fuch petty injuries. These Eleans being Presidents of the Olympiaque games. had set a fine upon the City of Sparta, for Non-payment of which, they forbad them to come to the folemnity; and publiquely whipt one of them that was of note, for prefuming to contend against their decree. Likewise they hindred Agis King of Spar- 10 ta, from doing facrifice to Jupiter; and in all points used great contempt toward the Spartans, who now had no bufineffe that could hinder them from taking revenge and therefore sent a peremptory message to the Eleans, commanding them to set at liberty the Cities which they held in subjection. This was the usuall pretence which they made the ground of all their Wars: though little they cared for the liberty of such Townes. which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than meere Vasials of the Lacedæmonians. In their late Wars with Athens, the strong op position which they found, caused this goodly Title of liberty to work very slowly but having now to doe with a State of great spirit and small force, it gave present successe to their desires. Two years together they fent an Amy into the Countrey of the Eleans: the first yeare 30 an Earth-quake (held in those times a prodigious figne, and which did alwayes forbid the profecution of any enterprise in hand) caused them to retire: the second yeare, all the Townes of the Eleans did hastily revolt, and the City it selfe was driven to submisfion; consenting both to suffer their old subjects freely to enjoy their liberty, and to have her owne Walls throwne downe. Only the Prefidentship of the Olympian games was left unto them, which it was not to be doubted that they would in time comming use modestly, finding themselves to stand at the mercy of Sparta. In this expedition all the Greeks were affiftant to the Lacedæmonians, excepting the Corinthians and Bosotians, whose and having bin of as much importance in the late Peloponnesian War, as the force of Sparta it felfe, they could not fmother their diflike of their unequal divisi-4 on following the victory; which gave to Sparta the command of all Greece; to Thebes and Corinth, onely fecurity against Athens, but such a security as was worse than the danger. For when the equal greatnesse of two mighty Estates did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these Neutrall Common-weals to adhere to either, as the condition of their affaires required; but when to revenge injuries, they had by mortall hatred profecuted the Warre to extremity, leaving the one City naked of power and friends, the other mightily increased in both; it was then (if not necessary to obey the greatnesse which themselves had made, yet) foolish and dangerous to provoke it. Neverthelesse, it was not the purpose of the Spartans to take occasion of any quarrell, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victory or compofition made some good end with the Persian, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

§. IIII.

The passage of Agesilaus into Asia. His Warre with Tissapherness. How Tissapherness was put to death; and the Warre diverted into another Province, through persivasion and gifts of Tithraustes his successour. How carelesse the Persian Lieutenants were of the Kings good.

Gesilaus newly made King of Sparta, was desirous to have the honour of the victory, which not without cause, he expected upon those of Asia; and therefore Drocuring a great Army to join with that of Dyrollidas, he took his way in great nompe to Aulis in Bocotia, a Haven lying opposite to the Iland of Euboca; in which place Agamemnon (leading the power of all Greece to the war against Troy, many Ages hefore) had imbarked his men. In imitation of Agamemnon, he meant also to doe facrifice in Aulis, which the Thebans, Lords of that Country, would not permit, but faying, that the performance of fuch ceremonies in that place, belonged unto their Officers: they were fo unable to conceale their malice, that fending fome Companies of horse, they threw downe his facrifice from the Altar. It was not then convenient time for A. gesslaus to entangle himselfe and his Country in a new Warre; therefore waiting better opportunity of revenge, he quietly swallowed the contumely, and followed his maine intendment. Having landed his men at Epheius, he was entertained by Tissaphernes with a Treaty of peace, wherein Agefilaus peremptorily requiring that the Persian should reflore to liberty all the Greek Townes in Asia, was promised that the King, being first informed of his demand, should fend answer to his good liking, if he would in the meane while make Truce. Truce was therefore made, which Tiffaphernes had fought, only to wintime of making provision for the War, and getting supply of men and money from Artaxerxes; whilest Agefilaus was busie in settling the estates of his confederate cities on that fide of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from war was at the comming downer of these forces which Artaxerxes had sent: at what time Agefilaus received a plain mesfage from Tiffaphernes, that either he must forthwith depart out of Asia, or make good hisabode by strong hand. Agesilaus returning word, that hee was glad to heare that his enemies had by perjury deserved vengeance from heaven, prepared to invade them; and fending word to all the Towns which lay betweene him and Caria, that they should provide victuals & other necessaries for his Army, did easily make Tissaphernes beleeve, that his intent was to invade that Province wherein Tistaphernes dwelt, and which was unfit for Horse, in which part of his forces the Persian had most considence. Therefore Tissaphernes bestowing all his Companies of soot in Caria, entred with his horse into the plains of Meander, hoping thereby to stop the passage of a heavie soot-army, not suffering them to passe into that Country which was fittest for their service. But the Greeks left him waiting there in vaine, and marched directly into Phrygia, where they tooke figreat spoile without resistance, till such time as the Horse-men of Pharnaba qus met him, who in a small skirmish having the better of the Greeks, were the occasion that Agesilaus returned to Ephesus. Although in this last fight only twelve men were lost, yet Agesilans perceiving by that tryall how hard it would be to prevaile, and hold the mastery of the field, without a greater strength of Horse, tooke all possible care to increase that part of his forces. By which meanes having enabled himselfe, whilest winter lasted, he entred upon the Country of Tiffaphernes, as soone as the season of the yeare would permit, and not only took a great booty, but finding the Horse-men of Tisaphernes in the plaine of Meander, without affiftance of their infantery, he gave them battell, and had a great victory, taking their campe, in which he found great riches. The blame of this losse fell so heavie upon Tissaphernes, who either upon cowardise had absented himselfe from the battell, or following some other businesse, was then at Sardis. For which cause his Mafter having him in distrust, and thinking that peace might bethe sooner had, which he much defired, if the man, so odious to the whole Nation of the Greekes, were taken out of the way; he sent into those parts Tithraustes a Persian, to cut off the head of Tissapherand succeed him in the government. Such was the end of this base and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heaven, when by perjury he could advance his Purpoles on Earth, failed at the last through too much over-weening of his owne wifedome, even in that part of cunning wherein he thought himselfe most perfect; for supCHAP.II.S.5.

pofing, that by his great skill in fubtile nogotiation he should one way or other circum. vent the Greeks, and make them wearie of Asia; he did not seeke to finish the war, and according to his Masters wish, bring all things speedily to quiet, but rather to tempo. rize, till he might finde some opportunitie of making such end as best might stand with the Kings honour and his owne. Wherein it feemes that he much mistooke his Princes disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aide which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly have taken it, if he could have found fuch meanes whereby the danger it felfe might have beene avoided: as not loving to have warre, whileft by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtain peace. And this appeared well by the course which Tithraustes took at his first possession of the low-Countries. For he fent Embassadors to Agestland, in very friendly fort, letting him know. that the man who had been Author of the warre, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleasure to let the Greekes enjoy their owne lawes and libertie.upon condition, that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the Armie beforthwith dismissed. The answer to this proposition, was by Agestlaw referred to the Councell of Sparta; in the meane season he was content to transferre the war into the Province of Pharmaba ?us, at the request of Tithraustes, who bought his departure with thirtie Talents.

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This was a strange maner of Warre, both on the offensive and on the defensive part. For Agefilans having entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great King, was content to ted to forbear his severall Provinces, at the entreatie of the Lievtenants: and those Lievtenans being employed by the King to maintaine his Estates against all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might eafily be taken from their shoulders) were little offended at any losse that fell on their next Neighbour-Princes, which were subject like wise to the same Crowne of Persia, so long as their owne government could be preserved free from waste and danger. The cause of this disorder on the Persian side, I can ascribe to nothing so deservedly, as to the corrupted estate of the Court, wherein Eunuches, Concubines, and ministers of pleasure, were able by partiall construction to countenance, or difgrace, the actions of fuch as had the managing of things abroad; and to that foolish manner of the Kings (which was so usuall that it might be called arule) to 19 reward or punish the Provinciall Governour, according to the benefit or losse, which the Countrie, given in charge unto each of them, received, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to passe, that as every one was desirous to make his owne Territorie yeeld a large increase to the Kings treasure; so no man was carefull to assist his borderers, if losse or danger might thereby grow to himself & his; but fate still as an idle beholder, when perhaps by joyning their forces, it had not bin uneafie to recompence the spoile of one Countrie, by conquering another, or defending a third from far greater miseries.

The War and Treatie betweene Agesilaus and Pharnabazus.

Gestlaus having thus compounded with Tithraustes, entred Phrygia, burning and wasting the Country without resistance. He tooke the Palace of Pharnaba Jus, and by his Lievtenant drave him out of his Campe. These actions, together with his honourable behaviour, which added much to their luftre, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not win Cities and Places of strength, which might have encreafed his power, and given affurance to the rest of his proceedings: but purchased fame and high reputation, by which he drew unto him some that were discontented and flood upon bad termes with the great King; whom he loft againe as eafily, by meanes 19 of some sleight injury done to them by his under-Captaines. Pharnaba Zus did notenclose himselfe in any Towne, for feare of being besieged, but kept the field, lying as neare as he could fafely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make fome good end by composition, which he found not uneasse to doe. For the pleasures, by him formerly done to the State of Sparta, in the times of their most necessity, had been fo great, that when he (obtaining parley) did fet before their eyes his bounty towards them, and his love which had been fuch, that befides many other hazzards of his person, he had for the rescue of their fleet when it was driven to run a-shore at Abydus,

adventured to ride into the Seas as far as he could finde any ground, and fight on horsebacke against the Athenians) together with his faith which had never beene violated in word or deed: they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwise than by telling him. That having War with his Master, they were inforced against their will, to offend him. Agestlaus did make a faire offer to him, that if he would revolt from the King to them, they would maintaine him against the Persian, and establish him free Prince of the Country wherein he was at that time onely Deputy to Artaxerxes. But Pharnaba. Zustoldhim plainly, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make war against them, he would not faile to doe the best that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then shift side, and hetake himselfe to their alliance. The issue of this parley was, That the Armie should no longer abide in Phrygia, nor againe returne into it, whilest employment could be found elewhere. The excuse made by Agesilaus, and the withdrawing of hisforces out of those narts, were not sufficient to appeale Pharnaba Zus, whom he had not invaded for want of more necessary businesse elsewhere; but because his Country would yeeld great booty. and for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means the Lacedæmonians changed an honourable Friend into a hor Enemy, who afterwards requited their unthankefulnesse with full revenge.

6. VI.

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hiredwith gold from the Persian.

The meane while Tithraustes, perceiving that Agesilaus meant nothing lesse thantoreturne into Greece, and let Artaxerxes rest quietly in Asia, tooke a wise Lourse, whereby the Citie of Sparta was not onely driven to looke to her owne, and give over her great hopes of subverting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late victories, and faw her Dominion restrained unto the narrow bounds of her owne Territory. He fent into Greece fifty talents of filver to be imoploied in raifing war against the Lacædeinonians; which treafure was by the subtle pradice of him that was put in trust with it, in such wise dispersed among the principall men ofthe Thebans, Argives and Corinthians, that all those Estates having formerly born secret hate to that of Sparta, were now defirous of nothing so much, as of open war. And lest this great heate of the incensed multitude should, for want of present exercise, begin to faint and vanish away in idle words, occasion was found out to thrust the Lacedæmonians into Armes, that they themselves might seem Authors of the quarrell. Some land there was in the tenure of the Locrians, to which the Thebans had in former time layd claim; but the Phocians either having the better title, or finding the greater favour, had it adjudged unto them, and received yearly mony for it. This mony the Locrians were eiother hired or perswaded to pay now to the Thebans, who readily accepted it. The Phocians not meaning so to lose their Rent, made a distresse by strong hand, recovering a great deale more than their own, which the Thebans (as in protection of their new Te-Mants) requited with an invasion made upon Phocis, wasting that Country in the maner of open war. Such were the beginnings of professed hostility betwen Thebes & Sparta, & the first breaking out of their close enmity, that had long time, though hardly, bin concealed. For when the Phocian Embassadors came to Sparta, complaining of the violence done by the Thebans, & requesting succour, they had very favourable audience, & ready consent to their suit; it being the manner of the Lacedæmonians to deferre the acknowledgment of injuries received, until occasion of revenge were offered, & then to discover to their indignation in cold bloud. At this time they had very good opportunity to worke their owne wils, having no other war to disturbe them in Greece, and hearing out of Asia nonews that could offend or trouble them. Wherefore they fent Lysander to raise all the Countries about Phocis, and with such forces as he could levie, to attend the comming of Paulanias King of Sparta (for Sparta, as hath bin shewed before, had two Kings) who should follow him with the strength of Peloponnesus. Lysander did as he was appointed, & being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the Orchomenians to revolt from Thebes. Pausanias likewise raised all Peloponnesus, except the Corinthians (who refufed to affift him in that enterprise) meaning to joyn with Lyfander, & make a speedy end

of the war. The confideration of fo great a danger, approaching fo fwiftly, caused the Thebans to seeke what helpe they could abroad, for as much as their own strength was far too little to make refistance against such mightie preparations. It was not unknown to them, that many followers of the Lacedamonians were otherwise affected in heart than they durst utter in countenance; but the good wishes of such people were little 2. vaileable, confidering that the most which could be expected from them, was, that they should doe as little hurt as they could by which maner of tergiversation, the Corinthiant did at that present cast themselves into the displeasure of the Spartans, to the no great benefit of Thebes. Wherefore it was thought the fafest course, to procure the affistance of some Estate that might presently declare it selfe on their side, which would cause to many others to follow the example, and make their partie strong. To this end they sent Embassadours to Athens, excusing old offences, as either not committed by publike allowance, or done in time of the generall warre, and recompenced with friendshiplately showne in their refusall of affishing Pausanias, when he came in behalfe of the thirtie Tyrants against the good Citizens of Athens. In regard of which, and for their owne Honour fake, they requested them of aide in the present warre, offering to doe the best that they could for the restoring of Athens to her former estate and dignitie. Thrasybulm and his Friends, who persecuted by the thirtie, had been well entertained at Thebes, procured now the Citie to make a large requitall of the courtefie which they had received. For it was decreed, that the State of Athens should not only refuse to aide the Lacede. to monians in this Warre; but that it should affist the Thebans, and engage it selfe in their cause. Whilest Paulanias lay still, waiting the arrivall of his Confederates; Lysander being defirous to doe somewhat that might advance the businesse in hand, came to Haliantwo, where though Pausanias did not meet him, as had been apppointed, yet heattempted the Towne, and was flaine in fight by the Thebans, who came hastily to the refer. As this victorie did incourage the Thebans, so the comming of Paulaniae with his great Armie did againe amaze them, with presentation of extreme danger; but their spirits were foon revived by the strong succour which was brought from Athens, in consideration of which, and of the late battell, Paufanias durft not hazzard a new fight with them, but receiving the bodies of those that were flaine, by composition, departed out of their Territorie; for which, either cowardise or indiscretion, he was at his return to Sparte condemned as a Traitor, and driven to flie into Tegea, where he ended his daies in banihment.

6. VII.

How Agefilaus was called out of Asiato help his Country. A victory of the Spartans. Conon the Athenian, assisted by Pharmabazus, overcomes the Lacedamonian Fleet; recoversthe mastery of the Seas, and rebuilds the walls of Athens.

His good fucceffe, and the confederacy made with Athens, gave fuch reputation to the Thebans, that the Argives, Corinthians, Eubœans, Locrians, and Acamanes, did forthwith fide with them, and raifing a strong Army, determined to give battell to the Laced monians as neare as they might, to their own dores; Confe dering that the force of Sparta it selfe was not great, but grew more and more by the adjunction of their Confederates. The Magistrates of Sparta perceiving the danger, sent for Agefilaus, who readily obeyed them, and promifing his friends in Afia to return speedily to their affistance, passed the Streights of Hellespont into Europe. In the mean time the Cities of the new league had given battell to the Lacedamonians, & the remainder of their Affociates; but with ill successe. For when the right wing of each part had got ten the better hand, the Argives & Thebans returning from the chase in some disorder, were broken & defeated by the Lacedæmonians, who meeting them ingood order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten by forcing the left wing of the Lacedz monians, and made the victory of that day entirely their own. The reporters of this battell meeting Agefilaus at Amphipolis, were by him fent over into Afia, wherein it is not likely that they brought much comfort unto his friend, who had fince his departure feen the Sparran Fleet beaten, and Lyfander the Admirall flaine. The fame man, whole endeavour had brought the Athenians into order by advancing the Sea-forces of the Lacedamonians with money, and all manner of supplies, was now the occasion that the power of Athens grew strong at Sea, when the Citie was dispoyled of her old reputation, & searcely able to maintain an Army by Land for her defence. PharnabaZus considering how much it imported the king his Master, to have the Greeks divided into such satisfies as might utterly disable them from undertaking abroad, thought it the safest way to seeke peace by intreaty and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands, who unprovoked, had fold his love for thirty Talents. To which purpose he furnished Conon the Lysander at Agos-Potamos; giving him the command of a great Navie, wherewith he required the losse received at Agos-Potamos, by repaying the Lacedamonians with the ging with him, partly as the liberality of PharnabaZus, partly as the fruit of his victory Conon sailed to Athens, bring with him, partly as the liberality of PharnabaZus, partly as the fruit of his victory of the Signiory which they had lost.

6. VIII.

of fundry small wittories gotten on each part. The Lacedamonians lose all in Asia; the Athenians recover some part of their old Dominion.

TEvertheleffe, the Lacedæmonians, by many victories at Land, maintained for

fome years the honour of their Estate, endangered very greatly by this losse at Sea. For Agesilaus obtained the better with his horse-men from the Thessalians, who were accounted the best riders in Greece. He wasted Boeotia, and fought a great battellat Coronea against the Thebans and their Allies, whom he overthrew; and by his Marshall Gylis forraged the Country of Locris: which done, he returned home. The gain of these victories was not great, & the reputation of them was, by many losles, much defaced. For the Thebans did in the battell of Coronea vanquish the Orchoomenians, who stood opposite unto them, and retired unbroken to Mount Helicon, opening way perforce when Agefilans charged them in the returne from the purfuite. Likewile Gylis was flaine with a great part of his Army by the Locrians; and some other exploits by the Lacedemonians performed against the Corinthians, were repayed with equall daminage received in the parts adjoyning; many Towns being eafily taken, and as ealily recovered. The variety of which enterfeats was fuch, that the Thebans them selves were drawne by the loffe of the haven of Corinth, to fue for peace, but could not get audience, till fuch time as the newes came of agreat victory obtained by Iphicrates, Generall of the Athenian forces at Lechæum; whereupon the Theban Embaffadors being fent for, and willed to doe their meffage, required only in scorne, to have a safe conduct given them, that they might enter into Corinth. From this time forward the War was amade for a while only by incursions, wherein the Acharans, Confederates of Sparta, selt most losse, their whole State being endangered by the Acarnanians, who held with the contrary fide, untill Agefilaus repayed these invaders with equall, or greater calamities, brought upon their owne Lands, which did so afflict the Acarnanes, that they were drivento sue for peace. But the affaires at Sea were of most consequence, upon which the successed for when the Townes of Asia perceived that the Lacedæmohans were not only intangled in an hard War at home, but almost disabled to passe the Seas, having lost their Fleet at Cnidus; they soon gave eare to Pharnaba Zus, who promifolio allow that they should use their own lawes, if they would expell the Spartan Go-Venours. Only the City of Abydus did stand firm, wherein Dercyllidas lay, who did his best to contain all the Townes about Hellespont, in the Alliance of the Lacedæmonians 3 which he could not do, because the Athenian Fleet under Thrasphulus, took in Byzantium, Chalcedon, and other places thereabout, reducing the Ile of Lesbos to their ancitotacknowledgement of Athens.

6. IX'.

The base conditions offered unto the Persian by the Laced emonian. Of fundry fights and other paffages in the Warre. The peace of Antalcidas.

Bout this time the Spartans began to perceive how uneaffea thing it would be to maintaine the War against men as good as themselves, assisted with the treafures of Persia: wherefore they craved peace of Artaxerxes, most basely offering not only to renounce the Greeks inhabiting Afia, and to leave them to the Kingsdis fposition, but withall to set the Ilanders and every Town in Greece, as well the littleas the great, at full and absolute liberty, whereby they said that all the principall Estates of their Country would be so weakened, that no one, nor all of them should be able to slir against the great King. And sure it was, that the power of the Country being sobroken and rent into many finall pieces, could neither have disquieted the Persian, by an offensive War, nor have made any good defence against him, but would have left it casie for him in continuance of time to have taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himselfe Master of all. The Spartans were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with envie, that perceiving how the dominion of the Seas was like to return to Athens, they chose rather to give all from themselves and others, and make all a-like weak, than to permit that any of their owne Nation should grow stronger than themselves, whose 10 lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted, both inregard that the other Estates of Greece, who had in the Kings behalfe joyned togetheragainst the Lacedemonians, did by their severall Embassadors oppose themselves unto its and for that it was thought fafeft for Artaxerxes rather to weaken the Lacedamonians yet more, than by interpoling himselfe to bring friends and foes on the sudden to anequality. Especially Struthas, whom Artaxerxes had fent as his Lievtenant into the low-Countries, did feek to repay the harme done by Agestlaus in those parts: which his intent appearing plaine, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off, Thimbro was fent into Asia to make Warre upon Struthas; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the War being scattered about, all the Iles and Townes on the firme Land, 10 grew almost to the manner of Pyracy and Robbery, affording many skirmishes, but few great actions worthy of remembrance. Thimbro was flain by Struthas, & in his place Diphridas was fent, who demeaned himselfe more warily. Dercylidas was removed from his charge at Abydus, because he had not impeached Thraspbulus in his enterprises about Hellespont; Anaxibius, who succeeded him, was surprised & flain in a skirmish by lphicrates the Athenian. Thrafybulus departing from Lesbos toward Rhodes, was flane by the way at Aspendus. The City of Rhodes had long before joyned with the Lacedamonians, who erected there (as was their manner) an Aristocratic, or the Government of a few the principall Citizens; wheras contrariwise the Athenians were accustomed to put the Soveraignty into the hands of the people, each of them seeking to affure themselves, by erecting in the town of their Confederates a government like unto their own: which doing (where more especiall cause did not hinder) caused the Nobility to favour Sparta, and the Commons to encline to Athens. The people of Ægina roved upon the coaft of Attica, which caused the Athenians to land an Army in Ægina, and befiege their Towne: but this siege being raised by the assistance of the Lacedæmonian sleet, the Ilanders began a-new to molest Attica, which caused the Athenians to man their ships again, that returned beaten, having loft foure of thirteen. The loffe of these ships was soon recompenfed by a victory which Chabrias the Athenian Generall had in Ægina, whereupon the I landers were faine to keep home, and leave to the Athenians the Seas free. It may well feeme strange that the Citie of Athens, having but newly raised her wals; having notby any fortunate and important battell secured her estate from dangers by land, but only depending upon the affiftance of fuch Confederates, as carried unto different ends, had of ten discovered themselves irresolute in the common cause; would send a sleet and an army to Cyprus, in defence of Evagoras, when the mastry of the Seas was so ill assured, that an Iland lying in the cie of Pyracus, had ability to vexe the coast of Attica. But as the over-weening of that City did cause it usually to embrace more than it could compasse; forhe infolency and shamelesse injustice of the people, had now bred in the chief Commanders, a desire to keepe themselves far out of sight, and to seek employments at such

distance as might secure them from the eies of the envious, and from publike judgments out of which few or none escaped. For which cause Timotheus did passe away much part of his time in the Ile of Lesbos; Iphicrates in I brace; and Chabrias now did carry away into Cyprus a greater force than his Countrie could well have spared with which he returned not when the businesse in Cyprus came to an end, but sought new adventures in Expt; whereby arose neither thankes to himselfe, nor profit to his Cirie, though honour both to him and it. The Athenians being thus carelesse of things at hand, had a noable blow given unto them, shortly after that Chabrias was gone to Cyprus, even within their owne Haven. For Teleutras, a Laced emonian, being made Governour of Azina, conceived a strong hope of surprizing the Navie of Athens, as it lay in Piraus; thinking a-right that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten ships prepared for the fight. than with twentie lying in harbour, whose Mariners were asleep in their Cabbins, or drinking in Tavernes. Wherefore he failed by night into the mouth of the Port, which entring at the breake of day, he found (according to his expectation) most of the men onshore, and few or none left aboord to make resistance: by which meanes he rooke many ships laden with merchandizes, many sisher-men, passengers, and other Vessels, allo three or foure Gallies; having funke or broken, and made unferviceable, as many of therest as the time would suffer. About this time Pharnaba Zus, the Lievtenant of Phrygia, had one of the Kings daughters given to him in marriage, with whom he lived a-10 bout the Court; and many officers that favoured the Lacedamonians were placed in the lower Asia; by whose assistance the Fleet of Sparta grew victorious about Hedesport; in fuch wife, that perhaps they should not have needed the peace, which they themselves procured by Antalvidas, from the great King, the conditions whereof were fuch as are mentioned before, giving freedome to all the Cities of Greece, and dividing the Countrie into as many severall States as were pettie Boroughes in it. Thus Artaxerxes having bought his owne peace with money, did likewise by his money become Arbitrator and decider of Controversies between the Greeks, disposing of their businesse in such wifeas stood best with his own good. The Tenor of Artaxerxes his decree was, That all Asia and Cyprus should be his own; the Iles of Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scirus be subject to 30 Albens; all other Greeke Towns, as well the little as the great, be fet at libertie; and that wholoever should refuse this peace, upon them the approvers of it should make war, the King assisting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ships, and treasure. The Athenians were so discouraged by their losses at Sea; the Lacedamonians by revolt of their confederates, and the necessitie of maintaining many Garrisons, for which they wanted mony; and other States by the miferies of the war, whereof they faw no end; that all(excepting the Thebans) did consent unto these Articles. This was called the peace of Antalcidas: whereof the Laced amonians taking upon themselves the execution, did not only compell the Argives to depart out of Corinth (which under pretence of defending they held by Garrisons, lately thrust into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the Thebans to leave Ba-40 mia free, of which Province Thebes had alwaies held the government the Thebans themselves being also comprehended under the name of the Baotians; but caused the Mantineans to throw down their own Citie, and to dwell in villages: alledging that they had formerly bin accustomed so to doe, though purposing indeed to chastise them, as having binill affected to Sparta in the late War. By these courses the Laced amonians did hope that all the smaltowns in Greece would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their wars, as Authors of their libertie; and that the great Cities having lost all their dependants, would be unable to make opposition.

6. X.

The war which the Lacedamonians made upon Olynthus. They take Thebesby treason; and Olynthus by famine.

THilest these wars, which ended without either victorie or profit, consumed the riches and power of Greese, the Citie of Olynthus in Thrace was grown so mightie, that she did not only command her neighbour Towns, but was allobecome terrible to places farre removed, and to Sparta it selfe. Great part of Macidenia, together with Pella, the principall Citie of that Kingdome, was taken by the Olynthians; 118

Olanthians, who following the usuall pretence of the Lacedamomans, to fet at libertythe places over which King Amyntas did tyrannize, had almost now driven him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselves. The Citizens of Acanthus and of Apollonia he. ing nearest unto the danger of those incroaching neighbours, acquainted the Lacede. monians with their feare, affirming that this Dominion of the Olynthians would be too strong for all Greece, if continuance of time should give it reputation, which onely in wanted: wherefore they requested affistance, but in such termes as did found of compul. fion, protesting that either they must warre upon Object unto her. and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a hastie levie of men, two thousand he. ing prefently fent away, with promife to be seconded by a greater Army. Whilest these two thousand gave such beginning to the warre, as agreed with their small number, the body of the Army following them, surprized the Cittadell of Thebes, which was betrain ed into the hand of Phabidas the Laced amonian, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the flavery of their Country. The Thebans were ill affe. cted to Sparta, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made between them. which caused the Lacedamonians to doubt whether this act of Phabidas were more wor. thy of reward or of punishment. In conclusion, profit so farre over-weighed honestic. that the deed was approved, many principall Citizens of Thebes condemned to death many driven into banishment, and the Traitors rewarded with the government of thecitiel by whose authoritie, and the force of the Garrison, the Thebans were compelled to 10 ferve the Lacedamonians, in all, and more than all that they could require. This accesse of power having strengthened the Lacedamonians, caused them to entertain the greater forces about Olynthus, which (not with standing the losse of one great battell, and some other difasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it selfe unto their obedience.

6. X I.

How the Thebans recovered their libertie, driving out the Lacedamonian Garrison.

Fter this Olynihian Warre, which endured almost three yeares, it seemed that no Estate in Greece was able to make head against that of Sparta: but it was not long ere the Thebans found a meanes to shake off their yoake, and gave both example and meanes to others to doe the like. One of the banisht men found by conference with a Scribe of the Theban Magistrates, comming to Athens, that the tyrannie wherewith his Countrie was oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those who for seareofit were fled from home. Whereupon a plot was laid betweene thefe two, that some found very good fuccesse, being managed thus. Seven of the banished men for soke Athens privily, and entred by night into the fields of Thebes; where spending the next day fecretly, they came late in the evening to the Gates like husband-men returned from worke, and fo passed undiscovered unto the house of Charon, whom Phyllidas the Scribe 40 had drawne into the conspiracie. The day following, a solemne feast being then held in the Citie, Phyllidas promifed the Governours, who were infolent and luftful men, that he would conveigh unto them that night the most beautifull Dames of the Towne, with whom they should take their pleasure. Having cheared them with such hope, and pleasie of good wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they urged) came, that hee could not make good his promise, unlesse they would dismisse their followers, because the Gentlewomen, who attended without the Chamber, would not endure that any of the servants should see their faces. Upon this occasion the attendants were dilmissed, and the Conspirators, attired like Ladies and their Maides, brought into the place; who taking advantage of the Governours loofe behaviour, flew them all up-50 on the fudden with Daggers, which they brought hidden under their garments. Then presently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where seigning themfelves to come to the Governours upon businesse, they got admittance, and likewise flew those which were of the Lacedamonian faction. By the like device they brake into the prison, slew the Goaler, & set at liberty such as they thought meet; and being followed by these desperatemen, proclaimed libertie, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captaine of the Castle hearing the sudden Proclamation, thought the Rebels to be stronger than indeed they were: the Citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was

a practice to discover such as would be forward upon occasion of revolting. But as soon as day-light revealed the plaine truth, all the people took armes and befreged the Castle, fending halfily to Athens for succour. The Garrison also sent for aide unto the Towns adjoyning, whence a few broken troupes comming to the rescue, were deseated on the way by the horse-men of Thebes. On the other side the banished Thebans did not only make speed to assist their Countrimen, but procured some Athenians to joyn with them. and thereby came fo strong into the Citie, that the Castle was yeelded, more through fearethan any necessitie, upon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Armes; for which composition the Captaineat his returne to Sparta was put to death. When the newes of the doings at Thebes, and the successe arrived at Sparta, an Armie was raised forth-with, and allthings prepared as earnestly for the recovering of that Citie, as if some part of their ancient inheritance had bin taken from the Laced amonians. and not a town perfidiously usurped by them, restored to her own libertie. Cleombrotus, one of the Kings, was fent on this expedition, who having wearied his followers with a rollfome Winters journie, returned home without any good or harm done; leaving Sphodrias, with part of his Armie, at Thefpies, to infest the Thebans : who doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt upon the Haven of Asbens, which filling to take, he wasted the countrie adjoyning, and drave away Cattell, causing by this outrage the Ashenians to enter with all their power into the war, out of which they were he hefore very carefully feeking how they might possibly with-draw themselves.

CHAP-12. S.I. of the History of the World.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing estate of Thebes, from the battell of Leuctra, to the battell of Mantinæa.

How Thebes and Athens joyned together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themselves, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The battell of Leuctra, and beginning of the I heban greatneffe.

He Lacedamonians were men of great resolution, and of much gravitie in all their proceedings; but one dishonourable rule they held, That all respects withstanding the commodity of Sparta were to be neglected; the practice of which doctrine, even by the best and wisest of them, did greatly blemish that Estate: but when it was put in execution by infufficient over-weening men, it feldom failed to bring upon them in stead of profit unjustly expected, both shame and losse. And so it be-

fell them in these enterprises of Phabidas, upon the Castle of Thebes, and Sphodrias upon the Pireus. For, how foever Agefilaus did spoyle the Countrie about Thebes, in which he ipent two Summers, yet the diligence of the Thebans repaired all, who by the good fuc-

ceffe of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the first.

The Athenians likewise began to looke abroad, sayling to the Isle of Coreyra, where they ordered things at their pleasure, and having in some fights at Sea prevailed, began, Winthe Peloponnesian Warre, to surround Peloponnesia with a Navie; afflicting so the Lacedamonians, that had not the Thebans by their insolencie wearied their friends, and caused them to seeke for peace, it had bin very likely that the end of this warre, should have soone come to a good end, which neverthelesse, being prosequuted by the Thebans (who opposed at once both these two great Estates) lest the Citic of Sparta as much dejected, as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the Askenians perceiving how Thebes encroached every day upon her weake Neighbours, not sparing fuch as had bin dependants upon Athens, and finding themselves, whilest engaged in fuch a war, unable to relieve their complaining friends, resolved to settle the affaires of Greece, Greece, by renewing that form of peace which Antalcidas had brought from the Persian. Wherefore they fent Messengers to Thebes, peremptorily signifying, That it was their intent to finish the War, to which purpose they willed the Thebans to send Embassdors along with them to Sparta; who readily condescended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the Treatie of peace: which came to passe, being so wrought by the courageous wisdome of Epaminondas, who understood far better than his Countrimen what was to be feared or hoped. In this Treatie the Lacedamonians and Athenians die foon agree; but when the Thebans offered to sweare to the Articles in the name of the Bastians; Azefilans required them to swear in their own name, and to leave the Bastians free, whom they had lately reduced under their obedience. Whereunto Epaminondas, made answer, That the Citie of Sparta should give example to Thebes by setting the Laconians free; for that the Signorie of Baotia did by as good right appertain to the Thebans as that of Laconia to the Spartans. This was well and truely spoken; but was heard with no parience: For Agefilaus bearing a vehement harred unto those of Thebes, by whom he was drawn back out of Afia into Greece, and disappointed of all the glory which he had hoped to atchieve by the Persian war, did now passionately urge that point of setting the Baotians at libertie; & finding it as obstinately refused, he dasht the name of the Thebans out of the league. At the fame time Cleombrotus the other King of Sparta, lay in Phocis. who received command from the Governours of Sparta forthwith to enter upon the Land of the Thebans with all his power; which he did, and was there flain at Leudra, and 20 with him the flower of his Armie. This battell of Leuttra, being one of the most famous that ever were fought between the Greeks, was not so notable for any circumstance foregoing it, or for the managing of the fight it felf, as for the death of the King, and many citizens of Sparta, but especially, for that after this battell (between which and the conclufion of the general peace there passed but twenty daies) the Lacedamonians were neverable to recover the ftrength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted far and near; whereas contrariwise the Thebans, whose greatest ambition had informer times confined it selfe unto the little Region of Baotia, did now begin to undertake the leading & command of many people & estates, in such wise, that soon after they brought an Armie of threescore and ten thousand strong unto the Gates of Sparta. So muchdoe 30 the afflictions of an hard war, valiantly endured, advance the affairs of the diffressed, and guide them into the way of conquest, by stiffening that resolution with a manly temper, which wealth and ease had through luxurie, retchlesnesse, and many other vices or vanities, made rustie and effeminate.

6. II.

How the Athenians took upon them to maintain the peace of Greece. New troubleshence arifing. Epiminondas invadeth and wasteth the Territorie of Lacedamon.

He Athenians refusing to take advantage of this overthrow fallen upon their 40 old Enemies, and new Confederates the Lacedamonians; did nevertheleffe finely give them to understand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking upon themselves the maintenance of the peace lately concluded, which Agesilans (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarrels that might arise) had left unperfect, they assembled the Deputies of all the Estates confederated at Athens; where the generall libertie of all Towns, as well small as great, was ratified under the stile of the Athenians, and their Associates. Hereupon began fresh garboiles. The Mantineans, claiming power by this decree to order their affairs at their own pleasure, did(as it were) in despight of the Spartans, who had enforced them to raze their Town, re-edifie it, and allie themselves with such of the Arcadians as stood worst 50 affected to Sparta. The Arcadians, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, were diftracted with factions; some defiring to hold good correspondency with the Laced emonians; some to weaken and keep them low; yet all pretending other ends. The Lacedamonians durst not give impeachment to the Mantinaans, nor take upon them to correct their ill-willers among the Arcadians, till fuch time as the factions brake out into violence, and each part called-in forraine help. Then was an Armie sent from Sparta, as it were indefence of the people of Tegea, against the Mantineans, but indeed against them both. Agefilam had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The Thebans had by this time subdued

the Phocians, and were become head of the Locrians, Acarnanians, Eubaans, and many others; with the power of which Countries they entred Peloponness in favour of the Arcadians, who had, upon expectation of their comming, abstained from giving battell to Agesilans. The Armie of the Spartans being dismissed, and Epaminondas joy ned with the Arcadians; the Region of Laconia was invaded and spoiled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could have found beliefe if any had foretold it. Almost 600. yeares were spent, fince the Dorians, under the posteritie of Hercules, had seized upon Laconia, in all which time the found of an enemies trumpet was not heard in that Countrie. Ten yeares were not fully past, fince all Greece was at the devotion of the Spartans: but now the Region 10 which neither Xerxes with his huge Armie could once looke upon, nor the mightie forces of Athens, and other enemie-States had dared to fet foot on, faving by stealth, was all onalight fire, the very smoake whereof the women of Sparta were ashamed to behold. All which indignitie notwithstanding, the Laced amonians did not issue out of Sparta to fight, but fought how to preserve the Town, setting at libertie as many of their Heilotes or Slaves as were willing to beare Arms in defence of the State, and somewhat pitifully entreated the Athenians to give them succour. From Corinth and some towns of Peloponnelluthey received speedie affistance; the Athenians came forward more flowly, so that Enaminondas returned without battell, having re-builded the Citie of Messene, and peopledit a-new by calling home the ancient inhabitants, whom the Laced amonians many ages before had chased away to other Countries, possessing their Territories themselves.

§. III.

The Composition betweene Athens and Sparta for command in warre against the Thebans 3 who agains invade and spoyle Peloponness. The unfortunate presumption of the Arcadians.

His journey therefore utterly defaced the reputation of the Spartans, in such wise, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Armie, which was to be raised, nor any manner of precedence: but sending Embassadours from Spar-, ta, and from all the Cities which held league with it, unto Athens, they offered to yeeld the Admiraltie to the Athenians, requesting that they themselves might be Generals by Land. This had beeene a composition well agreeing with the situation and qualitie of thosetwo Cities; but it was rejected, because the Mariners and others that were to be imployed at Sea, were men of no marke or estimation, in regard of those companies of horseand foot, whereof the Land-Armie was compounded, who being all Gentlemen or Citizens of Athens, were to have served under the Lacedamonians. Wherefore it was agreed that the Authoritie should be divided by time, the Athenians ruling five daies, the Lacid emonians other five, and so successively that each of them should have command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vaine ambition was none regarded than the common profit; which must of necessitie be very slowly advanced, where confultation, refolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second invasion of Peloponnesw, wherein the Thebans found their enemies founable to impeach them, that having fortified Islbmus from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against Xerxes, they were driven out of their strength by Epaminondas, who forraged the Countrie without refistance. But as the Articles of this league betweene Athens and Sparta did, by dividing the conduct in fuch manner, disable the focitie, and make it insufficient to those ends for which it was concluded; so the example ofit wrought their good, by filling the enemies heads with the like vanitie. For the Arcadians confidering their owne numbers which they brought into the field, and having o found by many trials that their people were not inferiour to others in strength of bodie, in courage, or in good Souldiership, thought it good reason that they should in like manner thare the government, with their friends the Thebans; and not alwaies continue followers of others, by increasing whose greatnesse they should strengthen their owne yoke. Hereupon they began to demeane themselves very insolently, whereby they grew hatefull to their Neighbours, and suspected of the Thebans in an ill time. For, a motion of generall peace having bin made (which tooke not effect, because the Citie of Messene was not abandoned to the Lacedamonians) the next enterprise of the Spartans and their friends was upon these Areadians, who relying too much upon their own worth,

were overthrown in a great battell, their calamitie being as pleafing to their Confederates, as to their Enemics.

§. IV.

The great growth of the ThebanEstate. Embassages of the Greeks to the Persian, with the reasons why he most favoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian Empire. The fruitlesse is such that Embassages.

He Thebans especially rejoyced at the Arcadians misfortune, considering, that without their aide, the successe of all enterprises proved soill; whereas they themselves had by their owne power accomplished very well whatsoever they tooke in hand, and were become not onely victorious over the Lacedamonians, but patrons over the The Salonians, and moderators of the great quarrels that had rifen in Macedonia; where compounding the differences about that Kingdome, as pleased them best-they carried Philip the son of Amyntas, and father of Alexander the Great, as an Hostage unto Thebes. Having therefore obtained such reputation, that little seemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of all Greece, they sought meanes of alliance with the Persian King, to whom they sent Embassadour the great and famous Captain Pelopidas, whose reputation drew Artaxerxes to grant unto the Thebans all that they defired; whereof two especiall points were, That Messene should remaine free from the Lacedamonians, and that the Athenians should forbeare to send their ships of warre to Sea; only the latter of these two was somwhat qualified with reference to further advice. The other States of Greece did also send their Embassadours at the same time, of whom sew or none received much contentment. For the king having found by long experience, how farre it concerned him to mantaine a fure partie in Greece, did upon many weightie confiderations refolve to binde the Thebans firmely unto him; justly expecting, that their greatnesse should be onthat side his owne securitie. The Athenians had beene ancient enemics to his Crowne; and having turned the profit of their victories upon the Persian to the purchase of a great Estate in Greece, maintained their Signorie in such puissant manner, that (fundrie grievous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured aterrible 30 warre, wherein the Lacedamonians being followed by most of the Greeks, and supplied with treasure, and all forts of aide by Darius Nothus; were not able to vanquish them, till their owne indifcretion brought them on their knees. The Laced amonians being victorious over Athens, had no fooner established their Dominion at home, than they undertooke the conquest of Asia, from which though by the commotion raised in Greece with Persian gold, they were called backe, yet having renewed their power, and settled things in Greece, it was not unlikely, that they should upon the next advantage have pursued the same enterprise, had not they beene empeached by this Theban Warre. But the Thebans contrariwise had alwayes discovered a good affection to the Crown of Perfia. They had fided with Xerxes in his invafion of Greece; with Darius and the La- 40 cedamonians against Athens: And finally, having offered much contumelieto Agesidans when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making warre on the Confederates of Sparta. Besides all these their good deservings, they were no Sea-men, and therefore unlikely to looke abroad; whereupon if perchance they should have any defire, yet were they disabled by the want of good haven townes; which they could not seize upon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giving libertie to all Cities that had at any time been free. Wherefore Artaxerxes did wholly condescend unto the requests of Pelopidas, as farre forth as he might, without giving open defiance to the rest of Greece; and by that meane he purchased his owne quiet, being never afterward molested by that Nation in the lower Asa. The ills meanes which the Greekes had to disturbe Artaxerxes, was very beneficiall to the Estate of Persa shortly after these times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritimate Provinces. For had then the affaires of Greece beene lo composed, that any one Citie might without empeachment of the rest have transported an Armie to affist the revolting Satrapa, or Vice-royes of Caria, Phrygia, Lydia, Mysia, Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphilia, Cilicia, Syria, & Phamicia; humane reason can hardly find the means, by which the Empire could have been preserved from that ruine, which the divine Counsell had deferred unto the dayes of Alexander. But this great conspiracie of so many large and wealthie Provinces, wan-

ting a firme body of good and hardy Souldiers, was in short space discussed, and vanished like a mist, without effect: these effeminate Assatiques wearied quickly with the travels and dangers incident to War, for faking the common cause, and each man striving to be the first, that by treason to his company should both redeeme the former treason to his Prince, and purchase withall his own promotion with encrease of riches. Of this commotion, which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related, I have rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; but for that it was like a fudden ftorme, rashly commenced, idlely followed, and foolishly layd downe, having made a great noy se without effect, and having small reference to any other action regardable; as also because in the whole reigne 10 of Artaxerxes, from the Warre of Cyrus to the invasion of Egypt, I find nothing (this infurrection, and a fruitlesse journey against the Cadusians excepted) worthy of any mention much leffe of digression from the course of the businesse in Greece. All, or the most of his time passed away so quietly, that he enjoyed the pleasures which an Empire so great and wealthy could affoord unto fo absolute a Lord, with little disturbance. The troubles which he found were only or chiefly Domesticall; growing out of the hatred which Parilatis the Queen-Mother bare unto his wife Statira, and to fuch as had been the greatest enemies to her fonne Cyrus, or gloried in his death: upon whom, when by poyfon and mischievous practices she had fatisfied her feminine appetite of revenge, thenceforth she wholly applyed her felfe to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the lewd defire of marrying his own Daughter, and filling him with the perswasion, which Princes not endued with an especiall grace, doe readily entertain: That his owne will was the supreme law of his fubjects, & the rule by which all things were to be measured and adjudged to begood or evill. In this imaginary happineffe Pelopidas, and the other Embaffadors of greet, both found & left him but left him by fo much more affured than they found him. by how much the conclusion of his Treaty with them, being altogether to his owneadvantage, did seeme to promise, if not the perpetuity, a long endurance of the same felicityto him & his or (at the leaft) a full fecurity of danger from Greece, whence only could any danger be feared. But such foundations of eternity layd by mortall men in this tran-30 fitory world, like the Tower of Babel, are either shaken from heaven, or made vaine and emprofitable, ere the frame can be raifed to full height, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the Thebans, & other Estates of Greece that had fent Embaffadors to the Persian. For whereas it had been concluded, that all Townes, as well the little as the great, should be fet at liberty, and the Thebans made Proteffors of this common peace, who thereby should become the Judges of all controverfles that might arife, and Leaders in War of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the Kings letters being folemnly published at Thebes, in the presence of Embassadors, drawne thither from all parts of Greece; when an oath was required for observation of the forme of peace therein set downe, a dilatory answer was made by the Embassadors, 40 who faid, that they were fent to heare the articles, notto fweare unto them. Hereby the Thebans were driven to fend unto each of the Cities to require the Oath; But in vaine. For when the Corinthians had boldly refused it, saying, that they did not need it; others took courage by their example to doe the like, disappointing the Thebans of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with Artaxerxes gave neither addition nor confirmation of greatnesse, but left them as it found them to relye upon their own swords.

§. V.

10 How all Greece was divided between the Athenians and Lacedemonians on the one side, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults rising in Arcadia.

He condition of things in Greece at that time did stand thus. Athens and Sparta, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each upon envie of the others greatnessed drawne all their followers into a cruell intestine Warre, by which the whole Countrie, and especially the Estate of these two Cities, was brought very low, did now conjoin their forces against the Thebans, who sought to make themselves Lords of all. The Eleans, Corinthians, & Achaians, followed the party of these ancient governing Cities; either for the old reputation of them, & benefits received, or in the little of the

diflike of those, who by strong hand were readie to become Rulers, to which authoritie they could not fuddenly afpire without fome injurie and much envie. The Citie of Thebes abounding with men, whom necessitie had made warlike, and many victories in few years had filled with great spirits; and being so mightie in dependants, that she had reduced all the continent of Greece without Peloponnessus (the Region of Attica, and very little part befide excepted) under fuch acknowledgement, as wanted not much of meere Vaffallage, did hope to bring all Peloponness to the like obedience, wherein alreadie the had fet good footing by her conjunction with the States of Argos, and of Arcadia. The Argives had beene alwayes bad Neighbours to the Spartans, to whom they thought themselves in ancient Nobilitie Superiours, but were farre under them in valour, having beene often beaten out of the field by them, and put indanger of lofingall: which caused them to suspect and envie nothing more than the greatnesse and honour of Sparta, taking truce with her when she was at rest, and had leasure to bend her whole force against them; but firmely joyning with her enemies whensoever they found her entangled in a difficult warre. As the Argives were, in hatred of Sparta, fure friends of Thebes, fo the Arcadians, transported with a great opinion of their owne worthingse had formerly renounced and provoked against them their old Confederates & Leaders. the Laced amonians, and were now become very doubtfull adherents to the Thebans. In which regard it was thought convenient by Epaminondas, and the State of Thebes, to fend an Armie into Peloponue fus, before such time as these wavering friends should fall fur-20 ther off and become either Neutrall, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And furely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the Thebans, they had made peace with Athens; which was very strange, and seemed no leffe to the Athenians themselves, who holding a firme league with Sparta at the same time when the Arcadian's treated with them, did nevertheleffe accept this new Confede. racie, not relinquishing the old because they found that how soever these Arcadians were enemies to the Laced amonians, they should hereby be drawn som what further from their alliance with Thebes, which without them was unlikely to invade Peloponness with a ftrong Armie. But this did rather haften, than by any meanes ftay the comming of Epsminondas; who finding the way fomewhat more cleare for him (because the Citie of Co. 20 rinth, which lay upon the Isthmus, and had been adverse to Thebes, was now, by miseries of this grievous warre, driven to become Neutrall) tooke occasion hereby, and by fome diforders among the Arcadians, to vifit Peleponnesus with an Armie, confishing of all the power of Thebes. A great turnult had rifen in Arcadia about confecrated money, which many principall men among them had laid hands on, under pretence of imploying it to publike uses. In compounding the differences growne upon this occasion, such as had least will to render account of the mony which had come into their hands, procured the Captaine of some Theban Souldiers, lying in Tegea, to take prisoners many of their Countrimen, as people defirous of innovation. This was done: but the up-roare thereby caused was so great, that the prisoners were forth-with enlarged, and the Area-40 dians, who had in great numbers taken Armes, with much a-doe scarce pacified. When complaint of the Captaines proceedings came to Thebes, Epaminondas turned all the blame upon them, who had made the peace with Athens, letting them know, that he would be shortly among them, to judge of their fidelitie, by the assistance which they should give him, in that war which he intended to make in Peloponnefus. These Lordly words did greatly amaze the Arcadians; who needing not the aide of so mighty a power as he drew along with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to be made against themselves. Hereupon such of them as had before sought means to settle the affairs of their Countrie, by drawing things to some good conclusion of peace, did now forthwith fend to Athens for help, and withall dispatched some of the principall among them 50 as Embassadours to Sparta, by whom they offered themselves to the common defence of Peloponnesus, now readie to be invaded. This Embassage brought much comfort to the Lacedamonians, who feared nothing more than the comming of Epaminondas, against whom they well knew, that all their forces, and best provisions, would be no more than very hardly fufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about prerogatives, they (who had beene accustomed unto such a supremacie, as they would in no wife communicate with the powerfull Citie of Athens, till other hope of fecuring their owne estate could not be thought upon) did now very gently yeeld to the Arcadians, that

the command of the Armie in chiefe, should be given, for the time, to that Citiein whose Territorie it lay.

CHAP.12. S.6. of the History of the World.

§. VI.

A terrible invasion of Peloponnesus by Epaminondas.

Ertaine it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firm confent, and uniform care of the common fafetie. For, befide the great forces raised out of the other parts of Greece, the Argives and Messenians prepared with all their frength to joyn with Epaminondas; who having lien a while at Nemes, to intercept the Athenians, received their intelligence, that the Armie comming from Athens would passe by Sea, whereupon he dislodged, and came to Tegea, which Citie, and the most of all Ar. cadia besides, forthwith declared themselves his. The common opinion was, that the first attempt of the Thebans, would be upon fuch of the Arcadians as had revolted; which caufed the Lacedamonian Captaines to fortifie Mantinea with all diligence, and to fend for Agesslam to Sparta, that he bringing with him all that small force of able men which remained in the Towne, they might be strong enough to abide Epaminondas there. But Epaminondas held so good espiall upon his Enemies, that had not an unknowne fellow no brought hasty advertisement of his purpose to Azesilans, who was then well onward in theway to Mantinaa, the Citie of Sparta had fuddenly bin taken. For thither with all speed and secrecie did the Thebans march, who had surely carried the Citie, notwith standing any defence that could have bin made by that handfull of men remaining within it; but that Age filam in all flying haste got into it with his companies, whom the Armie of his Confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast as it was able. The arrival of the Lacedamonians and their friends, as it cut off all hope from Epaminondas of taking Sparta, foit presented him with a faire advantage upon Mantinea. It was the time of Harvest, which made it very likely, that the Mantineans, finding the war to be carried from their wals into another quarter, would use the commodity of that vacation, by fetching in their o corn, and turning out their cattell into the fields, whilest no enemie was neere that might empeach them. Wherefore he turned away from Spartato Mantinaa, sending his horsemen before him, to seize upon all that might be found without the Citie. The Mantineans (according to the expectation of Epaminondas) were scattered abroad in the country, far more intent upon their harvest businesse, than upon the war, whereof they were secure, as thinking themselves out of distance. By which presumption it sell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattell, being unable to recover the Town, were in a desperate case; and the town it selse in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemie should have taken all their provision of victuals, with somany of the people as had not over-deerly bin redeemed, by that Cities returning to focietie with Thebes. But at the o fametime, the Athenians comming to the succour of their Confederates, whom they thought to have found at Mantinea, were very earnestly entreated by the Citizens to refine their goods, & people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were posfible by any courageous adventure to deliver those who otherwise were given as lost. The Thebans were knowne at that time to be the best Souldiers of all the Greeks, and the commendation of good horsemanship had alwaies bin given to the Thessalians, as exceling in that qualitie all other Nations, yet the regard of honour fo wrought upon the Athenians, that for the reputation of their Citie, which had entred into this war upon no necessitie of her own, but only in defire of relieving her distressed friends, they issued forth of Mantin &a, not abiding fo long as to refresh themselves, or their horses with meats and giving a lustie charge upon the enemie, who as bravely received them, after a long & hot fight, they remained mafters of the field, giving by this victorie a fafe and eafie retrait to all that were without the walls. The whole power of the Baotians arrived in the place soon after this battell, whom the Laced emonians and their assistants were not far

6. VII.

The great battell of Mantinea. The honourable death of Epaminondas, with his commendation.

Paminondas confidering that his Commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprizing Sparts and Mantinea having failed, the impression of rerrour which his name had wrought in the Peloponnesians, would soon vanish, unless by some notable act he should abate their courage in their first growth, & leave some memorable character of his expedition; refolved to give them battell, whereby he reafonably hoped both to settle the doubtfull affections of his own Associats, and to leave the Spartans as weak in spirit and abilitie, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into subjection. Having therefore warned his men to prepare for that battell, wherein vi-Crorie should be rewarded with Lordship of all Greece; and finding the alacritic of his Souldiers to be such as promised the accomplishment of his own defire; he made shew of declining the enemie, and intrenching himselfe in a place of more advantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heat of their valour, and afterward strike their senses with amazement, when he should come upon them unexpected. This opinion deceived him not. For with very much tumult, as in fo great and fudden a danger, the enemie ran to Arms, necessitie enforcing their resolution, and the 20 consequence of that dayes service urging them to doe as well as they might. The Theban Armie confisted of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the Lacedamenians and their friends were short of this number, both in horse and in foot, by a third part. The Mantin aans (because the war was in their Countrie) stood in the right wing, and with them the Lacedemonians: the Athenians had the left wing; the Acheans, Eleans, and others of leffe account, filled the bodie of the Armie. The Thebans stood in the left wing of their own battell, opposite to the Lacedamonians, having by them the Arcadians, the Eubwans, Locrians, Sicyonians, Messenians, and Thessalians with others, compounding the main battell; the Argives held the right wing; the horse-men on each part were placed in the flanks, only a troupe of the Eleans were in reare. Before the footmen 20 could joyn, the encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, wherein finally the Thebans prevailed, notwithstanding the valiant refistance of the Athenians: who not yeelding to the enemie either in courage or skill, were overlayd with numbers, and so beaten upon by Thessalian slings, that they were driven to forsake the place, and leave their infanterie naked. But this retrait was the leffe difgracefull, because they kept themfelves together, and did not fall back upon their owne foot-men; but finding the Thebas horse to have given them over, and withall discovering some Companies of soot, which had bin sent about by Epaminondas, to charge their battell in the reare, they brake upon them, routed them, and hewed them all in pieces. In the mean season the battell of the Athenians had not only to doe with the Argives, but was hardly pressed by the Theban 40 Horsemen, in such wise that it began to open, and was ready to turn back, when the Elean squadron of Horse came up to the reliefe of it, and restored all on that part. With farre greater violence did the Laced amonians and Thebans meet, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour; fo that equal courage and equall losse on both sides made the hope and appearance of victorie to either equally doubtfull: unlesse perhaps the Lacedamonians being very firmeabiders, might seeme the more likely to prevaile, as having borne the first brunt and furie of the on-set, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by discipline, as it wereby Nature, to excell in patience, whereof the Thebans, by practice of a few yeares, cannot be thought to have gotten a habite fo fure and general I. But Epaminondas perceiving the 5 obstinate stiffenesse of the Enemies to be such, as neither the bad successe of their owne horse, nor all the force of the Bæotian Armie, could abate so farre, as to make them give one foot of ground: taking a choice companie of the most able men, whom he cast into the forme of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the advantage of that figure against a square dron, and by his owne exceeding vertue, accompanied with the great strength and refolution of them which followed him, did open their ranckes, and cleave the whole battell in despight of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the Thebans, who may justly be faid to have carried the victorie, seeing that they remained Malters of

the ground whereon the battell was fought, having driven the Enemie to lodge farther off. For that which was alledged by the Athenians, as a token that the victorie was partto theirs, the flaughter of those Mercenaries upon whom they lighted by chance in their own flight, finding them behind their Armie, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was accremonie regardable only among the Greeks, and ferved meerly for oftentation, shewinothat by the fight they had obtained somewhat, which the enemie could not get from them otherwise than by request. But the Thebans arrived at the generall immediate end of battell; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifest confession is expresfedfrom them, who forfake the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent fortriall of their abilitie and prowesse. This was the last worke of the incomparable yerthe of Epaminondas, who being in the head of that Warlike troupe of men, which broke the Lacedamonian efquadron, and forced it to give back in difaray, was furioufly charged on the sudden, by a desperate Companie of the Spartans, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiving many wounds, henevertheleffe with a fingular courage maintained the fight, using against the enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his owne bodie; till at length by a Spartan, called Anticrates, he received fo violenta Broke with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the yron and a peece of the trunchion in his breast. Hereupon he sunk down, and was soon conveyed out of the fight by his friends; having by his fall somewhat animated the Spartans (who fain would have got his bodie, but much more inflamed with revengefull indignation, the Thebans who raging at this heavie mischance, did with great slaughter compell their disordered enemies to leave the field; though long they followed northe chase, being wearied more with the sadnesse of this disaster, than with all the travell of the day. Epaminondas being brought into his Tent, was told by the Physicians, that when the head of the Dart should bedrawn out of his bodie, he must needs dye. Hearing this he called for his shield, which to have lost, was held a great dishonour: It was brought unto him. He bad them tell him which part had the victorie; answer was made, that the Baotians had won the field. Then faidhe, It is faire time for me to dye; and withall fent for Iolidas and Diophantes, two principall men of War, that were both flain; which being told him, He advised the Thebans to make peace, whileft with advantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a General. Herewithall he willed, that the head of the weapon should be drawn out of his body, comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of iffue, by telling them, that the victories of Leudra and Mantinaa were two faire daughters, in whom his memorie should live.

CHAP.12. S.7. of the History of the World.

Sodied Epaminondas, the worthiest man that ever was bred in that Nation of Greece, andhardly to be matched in any Age or Countrie: for he equalled all others in the feverall vertues, which in each of them were fingular. His Justice and Sinceritie, his Temperance, Wisedome, and high Magnanimitie, were no way inferior to his Militarie vertue; in every part whereof he so excelled, that he could not properly be called a Ware,a Valiant, a Politique, a Bountifull, or an industrious, and a Provident Captaine. Neither was his private Conversation unanswerable to those high parts, which gave him praiseabroad. For he was Grave, and yet very Affable and Courteous; resolute in publque businesse, but in his owne particular easie, and of much mildenesse: a lover of his People, bearing with mens infirmities, wittie and pleasant in speech, far from insolence, Master of his own affections, and furnished with all qualities that might win and keepe love. To these graces were added great abilitie of bodie, much Eloquence, and very deep mowledge in all parts of Philosophie and Learning, wherewith his minde being enlightened, rested not in the sweetnesse of Contemplation, but brake forth into such effects as gave unto Thebes, which had ever-more bin an underling, a dreadfull reputation among

all people adjoyning, and the highest command in Greece.

6. VIII.

Of the peace concluded in Greece after the battell of Mantinea. The voyage of Agesilaus into Egypt. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made betweene him and Pompey the Roman.

His battell of Mantinea was the greatest that had ever beene fought in that Countrie between the Naturals; and the last. For at Marathon, and Plataa, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gave rather a great fame, than hard triall to the Grecian valour; neither were the practice of Armes and Art Militarie, fo perfect in the beginnings of the Peloponnesian Warre, as long continuance and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those excepted which were undertaken against forraine enemies, proving for the most part unfortunate. But in this last fight all Greece was interessed, which never had more able Souldiers, and brave Commanders, nor ever contended for victorie with great ter care of the successe, or more obstinate resolution. All which not with standing the if. fue being such as hath bin related, it was found best for every particular Estate, that generall peace should be established, every one retaining what he presently had, and none being forced to depend upon another. The Messerians were by name comprised in this new league; which caused the Lacedamonians not to enter into it. Their standing out, hindred not the rest from proceeding to conclusion, considering that Sparta was nowton weake to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to shew thatanger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it felfe in execution. This peace, as it gave fome breath and refreshing to all the Countrey, so to the Cities of Albus and Sparta it afforded leafure to feeke after wealth by forraine employment in Egypt, whis ther Agesilans was sent with some small forces to assist, or indeed, as a Mercenarie to ferve under Tachos King of Egypt in his warre upon Syria. Chabrias the Athenian, who had before commanded under Acoris King of Egypt, went now as a voluntarie, with fuch forces as he could raife, by entreatie, and offer of good pay, to the fame fervice. These Egyptian Kings descended from Amyrtaus of Sais, who rebelled against Darius to Nothus, having retained the Countrey, notwithstanding all intestine differtions, and forraine invalions, during three Generations of their owne race, were fo well acquainted with the valour of the Greekes, that by their helpe (eafily procured with gold) they conceived great hope, not onely to affure themselves, but to become Lords of the Provinces adjoyning, which were held by the Persian. What the issue of this great enterprise might have been, had it not fallen by Domesticall rebellion, it is uncertaine. But yery likely it is, that the rebellion it felfe had foon come to nothing if Agefilass had not proved a false Traitor, joyning with Nettanebus, who rose against his Prince, and helping the Rebell with that Armie which the mony of Tachos had waged. This falshood Agefilans excused, astending to the good of his own Country, though it seeme rather, that 40 he grudged because the King tooke upon himselfe the conduct of the Armie, using his fervice onely as Lievtenant, who had made full account of being appointed the Generall. How foever it came to passe, Tachos being shamefully betrayed by them, in whom he had reposed his chiefe confidence, fled unto the Persian, who upon his submission gave him gentle entertainment; and Nettanebus (who feemes to have beene the Nephew of Tachos) reigned in his stead. At the same time the Citizens of Mendes had set up another King; to whom all, or most of the Egyptians yeelded their obedience. But Agefilaus fighting with him in places of advantage, prevailed fo far, that he left Netlanebus in quiet possession of the Kingdome; who in recompence of his treason to the former King Tachos, and good service done to himselfe, rewarded him with two hun-5 dred and thirtie Talents of filver, with which bootie failing homewards, hedied by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant, and a good Leader in Warre, free from covetousnesse, and not reproached with any blemish of lust; which praises are the leffe admirable in him, for that the discipline of Sparts was such as did endue every one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent streame of an ill nature) with all, or the chiefe of these good qualities. He was neverthelesse very arrogant, perverse, unjust and vaine-glorious, measuring all things by his owne will, and obstinately profecuting those courses, whose ends were beyond hope. The expedition of Xenophon had filled him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of Persia should be overthrown; with which conceit being transported, and finding his proceedings interrupted by the Thebans and their Allies, he did ever after bear such hatred unto Thebes, as compelled that Estate by meere necessitie to grow war-like, and able, to the utter dishonour of Sparta and the irrepairable losse of all her former greatness. The commendations given to him by Xenothe his good friend, have caused Plutarch to lay his name in the ballance against Pompey the Great; whose actions (the solemne gravitie of carriage excepted) are very disproporrionable. Yet we may truely fay, That as Pompey made great warres under fundry Climates and in all the Provinces of the Roman Empire, exceeding in the multitude of implayments all that were before him; fo Agefiland had at one time or other some quarrell with every Towne in Greece, had made a Warre in Asia, and meddled in the businesse of the Egyptians, in which varietie he went beyond all his Predecessours: yet not winning and Countries, as Pompey did many, but obtaining large wages, which Pompey never moke. Hereinalso they were very like; Each of them was the last great Captain which his Nation brought forth in time of libertie, and each of them ruined the libertie of his Countrie by his owne Lordly wilfulnesse. We may therefore well say, Similia magis omnia quam paria; The refemblance was neerer than the equalitie. Indeed the freedome of Rome was lost with Pompey, falling into the hands of Cafar, whom he had inforced to take Armes; yet the Roman Empire stood, the form of Government onely being changed: But the libertie of Greece, or of Sparsa it felfe,

was not forfeited unto the *Thebans*, whom *Agefilans* had compelled to enter into a victorious Warre; yet the Signiorie, and ancient renowne of

Sparta was prefently loft; and the freedome of all Greece

being wounded in this Theban warre, and after much bloud loft, ill healed by the peace ensuing, did very soon, upon the death of Agesilam, give up the ghost, and the Lordship of the whole Countrie was seized by Philip King of Macedon, whose actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the Contemporarie passages of things, in any other Nation.

Finis Libri Tertii:

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THE



FIRST PART **OF THE HISTORIE** OFTHE VVORLD:

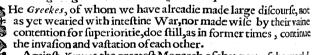
Intreating of the times from the reign " of Philip of Macedon, to the establishing of that Kingdome, in the race of ANTIGONUS.

THE FOURTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip the father of Alexander the Great, King of Macedon.

%. I.
What Kings reigned in Macedon before Philip.



Against Xerxes, the greatest Monarch of that part of the world, they defended their libertie, with as happy successe as ever Nation had, and with no lesse honour, than hath ever bin acquiredby deeds of Arms. And having had a triall and experience, more than

fortunate, against those nations, they so little regarded what might come from them, who had so often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as what soever could be spared from their own distraction at home, they transported over the Hellespont, as sufficient, to entertaine and busie them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with every man of mark in the world, that they underfall, and perish by the hands and harmes which they least feare; so fared it at this time with the Greeks. For of Philip of Macedon (of whom we are now to speake) they had so little regard, as they grew even then more violent in devouring each other, when the fastgrowing greatnesse of such a Neighbour-King, should, in regard of their owne safeties, have ferved them for a strong argument of union and accord. But the glorie of their Perfian victories, wherewith they were pampred and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themselves, and the rather to value at little the power and purposes of the Macedonians, because those Kings and States, which fate nearer them than they did, had in the time of Amyntas, the father of Philip, so much weakned them, and won upon them, that they were not (as the Grecians persivaded themselves) in any one age, likely to

recover their owne, much leffe to worke any wonders against their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Philosophie to consider, That all great alterations are stormelike, fudden, and violent; and that it is then over-late to repaire the decayed and broken banks, when great rivers are once fwollen, fast-running, and inraged. No, the Greeker did rather imploy themselves, in breaking downe those defences which stood betweene them and this inundation, than feek to rampire and re-enforce their owne fields, which by the Levell of reason they might have found to have lien under it. It was therefore well concluded by Orofius: Gracia Civitates imperare singula cupiunt, imperium omnes Orofilacia. verdiderunt; The Cities of Greece loft their command by striving each of them to command

The Kingdome of Macedon, so called of Macedon, the sonne of Ofiris, or, as other Authorsaffirme, of Jupiter and Athra, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth Greece; It hath to the East, the Agean Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-west, by the Thracians and Illyrians; and on the South and South-west, by Thes-

Their Kings were of the familie of Temenus of the race of Hercules, and by nation Argives; who are listed as followerh. About some fixe yeares after the translation of the Affirian Empire, Arbaces then governing Media, Caranus of Argos, commanded by an Oracle, to lead a Colonie into Macedon, departed thence with many people, and as he was marching through that Countrie, the weather being raynie and tempessuous, heespieda great herd of Goats, which fled the storme as fast as they could, hasting them to their knowne place of covert. Whereupon Caranus, calling to minde, that he had also Paul Dion. by another Oraclebin directed, to follow the first troupe of beasts, that should either chast theop. lead him, or flie before him; He purfued these Goats to the Gates of Edessa, and being undiscovered by the Inhabitants, by reason of the darknesse of the aire, he entred their Citie without refultance, and possess it. Soone after this, by the overthrow of ciffew, Ca-Emploin Chro. ranus became Lord of the rest of Macedon, and held it eight and twentie years. Comme succeeded Caranus, and reigned twelve years. Tyrimas followed Canus, and ruled eight and twentie yeares.

Perdiceas the first, the fon of Tyrimas, governed one and fiftie yeares: a Prince, for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned. Solinus, Plinie, Justine, Eusebius, Solera. Thophilus Antiochenus, and others, affirm, that he appointed a place of burial for himself, Plin. 146.10. and for all the Kings of Macedon his Successors, at Aga: assuring them, that the Kingdome should fo long continue in his Line and Race, as they continued to lay up their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherein it is faid, that because Alexander the Great failed, therefor the posteritie of the Temenida failed in him: a thing rather devised after the effect,

as Iconceive, than foretold by Perdiccas.

Argam succeeded unto Perdiccas, and ruled eight and twentie years.

Philip the first, his successor, reigned eight and twentie years.

Europus followed Philip, and governed fixe and twentie yeares: in whose infancie the fullyrians invaded Macedon, and having obtained a great victorie, they purfued the fame, to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the Macedonians, gathering new forces, and resolving either to recover their former losse, or to lose at once both their Kingdom and their King, they carryed him with them in his cradle into the field, and returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not be beaten (their King being present) or rather they perswaded themselves that there was no man so void Eight. Fusion. Ofhonour and compassion, as to abandon their natural Lord, being an infant, and no American The. way (but by the hands of his fervants) able to defend himselfe from destruction. The monda of his like is reported by Aimonius of Clotarius the son of Fredegunda.

Alcetas succeeded Æropus, and ruled nine and twentie years. Amyntas the first succeeded Alcetas, and reigned fiftie yeares; He lived at such time 45 Darius Histaspes, after his unprosperous returne out of Scythia, sent Megabazus with an Armie into Europe, who in Xerxes name required Amyntas to acknowledge him for his Supreme Lord, by yeelding unto him Earth and Water. But his Embassadours, as

You have heard before, were, for their insolent behaviour towards the Macedonian La-Her Eug-Fight to dies, flaine by the direction of Alexander, who was the fonne of Amyntas, and his Suc-

Alexander furnamed the Rich, the fonne of Amyntus, governed Macedon three and Ttt 2

Euleban Chrn

Daughter

Her.lib.8.

Tult.oc.

fortie years. He did not only appeale the wrath of Merabazm, for the flaughter of the Persian Embassadours, by giving Gyg au his Sister, to Bubares of the bloud of Persia bur by that match he grew fo great in Xerxes grace, as he obtained all that Region between the Mountains of Olympus and Hemus, to be united to the Kingdome of Macedon. Yer could not these benefits buy his affection from the Greeks. For Xerxes being returned into Afia, and Mardonius made Generall of the Perfian Armie; Alexander acquainted the creeks with all his intenes and purposes against them. He had three sons, Perdicas Alcetas and Philip.

Perdicess the second, the sonne of Alexander, lived in the time of the Poloponnesian war, and reigned in all eight and twentie years. The wars which he made were not much to remarkeable: the Storie of them is found here and there by pieces in Thucydides his first fixe Books. He left behind him two fons; Perdiccas, who was very young; and Arche lass, who was base borne.

Perdice as the third, being delivered to the custodie and care of Archelam, was at feven years of age cast into a Well and drowned by his false Guardian: who excusing this false to Cleopatra the mother of the young King, faid, That the childein following a Goofe hastily, fell thereinto by misadventure. But Archelam stayed not here : for having thus dispatched his brother, he slew both his Unle Alcetas the son of Alexander the Rich. and Alexander the fon of this Alcetas, his Coulin Germain, and enjoyed the Kingdome of Macedon himselfe foure and twentie yeares.

This Archelaus, of whom both Plate and Ariftotle makemention, though he made himselfe King by wicked murder, yet he performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is faid, That he fought by all means to draw Socrates unto him, and that he greatly loved and honoured Eurypides the Tragedian. He had two fons, Archelau and Orestes.

Archelaw the second succeeded his father, and having reigned seven years, he was slain

in hunting, either by chance, or of purpose by Crataus.

Orester his younger sonne was committed to the education of Aropus, of the royall bloud of Macedon, & had the same measure which Archelaus had measured to his Puvil: for Alrepse murthered him and usurped the Kingdome, which he held some fixe years: 20 the fame who denied passage to Agefilam King of Sparta, who defired after his returne from the Alian expedition, to palle by the way of Macedon into Greece.

Diod Polyen. Plut.in Demet.

This U furper left three fons, Paufanias, Argans, and Alexander. Paufanias succeeded his father Aropus, and having reigned one years, he was driven out by Amuntas the fon of Philip, the lon of the first Perdicear, the fon of Alexander the Rich; which Philip was then preserved, when Archelaus the Bastard slew his brother Perdiccas, his uncle Alcetas, and his fon Alexander. This Amyntas reigned (though very unquietly) four and twentie years: for he was not only infelted by Paulanias, asifted by the Thracian; and by his brother Argam; incouraged by the Illyrians; and by the faid Argam, for two years dispossest of Macedon: but on the other side, the Olynthians, his Neighbours near 40 the Agean Sea, made themselves for a while Masters of Pella, the chiefe Citie of Ma-

Amyntas the second had by his wife Eurydise the Illyrian, three sonnes; Alexander the second, Perdiceas the third, and Philip the second, Father of Alexander the Great: and one Daughter called Euryone or Exione. He had also by his fecond Wife Gygan, three Sons; Archelam, Argam, and Menelam, afterward flaine by their brother Philip-He had more by a Concubine, Ptolomie furnamed Alorites, of the Citie Alorm, wherein he was borne.

Alexander the second reigned not much above one yeare, in which time he was invaded by Paufanias, the sonne of Aropus, but defended by Iphicrates the Athenian, while 50 he was at that time about Amphipolis. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great fum of mony) to leave his youngest brother Philip in Hostage with the Illyrians, who had subjected his father Amyntas to the payment of tribute. After this, Alexander being invited by the Alevada against Alexander the tyrant of Pheres in Thessalie, having redeemed his brother Philips to draw the Thebans to his assistance, entred into Confederacie with Pelopidas, being at that time in the same Countrie, with whom hee also left Philp with divers other principall persons, for the gage of his promises to Felopidas. But Eurydice his mother falling in love with her Son-in-law, who had married her

Daughter Euryone or Exione, practifed the death of Alexander her fon, with a purpose to conferre the Kingdome on her Paramour, which Ptolomy Alorites did put in execution: by means whereof he held Macedon for three years, but was foon after flain by Perdicess the brother of Alexander. Diodore hath it otherwise of Philip being made pledg; DiodL15. 6 16. and faith, That Amontas his father delivered him for hostage to the Illyrians, by whom he was conveyed to Thebes, there to be kept: others report that Philip (while his father was yet living) was first ingaged to the Thebans, and delivered for hostage a second time by Alexander his brother.

perdiccas the third, after he had flain Alorites his base brother, governed Macedon 10 five years, and was then flain in a battel against the Illyrians, according to Diodorus; but Justine affirmeth that he perished by the practice of Eurydice his mother, as Alexander Just 7.

CHAP. I.S. 2.3.

6. II.

The beginning of Philips reigne: and how he delivered Macedon from the troubles wherein hee found it intangled.

Hilip the second, the youngest son of Amyntas by Eurydice, having bin instructed in all knowledge requifite unto the government of a Kingdom, in that excellent education which he had under Epaminondas, making an escape from Thebes, retur-Diodlise. ned into Macedon, in the first year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, which was after the building of Rome three hundred fourfcore and thirteen years: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdome was invironed, he took on him, not as a King (for Perdiceas left a fon, though but an infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the menof war. Yet his fruitfull ambition foon over-grew his modestie, and he was eafily perswaded by the people to accept both the title of King, and withall, the absolute rule of the Kingdome. And to say the truth, the necessitie of the State of Macedon at that time required a King both prudent and active. For befides the incurfions to of the Illyrians and Pannonians, the King of Thrace did fet up in opposition Pausanias; the Athenians, Arg aui; sons of the late Usurper Æropus: each of these labouring to place in Macedon a King of their own election. These heavie burdens when Philip could not wellbear, he bought off the weightieft by mony, and by faire promifes unloaded himfelf offomany of the rest, as he ran under the remainder happily enough. For not with standingthat his brother Perdiccas had his death accompanied with four thousand Macedonians, befide those that were wounded and taken prisoners; & that the Pannonians were destroying all before them in Macedon; and that the Athenians with a Fleet by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land under Mantias, did beat upon him on all fides & quarters of his Countrie: yet after he had practifed the men of war of Pannonia, and corrupted them with gifts; and had also bought the King of Thrace from Pausanias, he forthwith made head against the Athenians his stiffest enemies; and, for the first, he prevented their recoverie of Amphipolis, a Citie on the frontier of Macedon: and did then purfue Argam the fon of Eropus, set against him by the Athenians, and followed him so hard at the heeles, in his retrait from Ages, that he forced him to abide the battell: which Arg and loft, having the greatest part of his Armie slaine in the place. Those of the Athemans, and others which remained unbroken, tooke the advantage of a strong peece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet avoiding thereby the present surie of the Souldiers, they obtained of the vanquishers life and libertie to returne into Attica. Whereupon a peace was concluded between him and the Athenians ofor that prefent, and for this clemencie he was greatly renowned and honoured by all the Greekes.

\$. III.

The good successe which Philip had in many enterprises.

Now had *Philip* leafure to looke Northward, and to attend the *Illyrians* and $P \times n$ -nians, his irreconcileable enemies and borderers: both which he invaded with

Ttt 3

fo prosperous successe, as he slew Bardillis, King of the Illyrians, with seventhousand of his Nation, and thereby recovered all those places which the Illyrians held in Macedon. and withall upon the death of the King of Pannonia, he pierc't that Country, and after? maine victory obtained, he enforc't them to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done than(without staying to take longer breath) he hasted speedily towards Lariffa, upon the river Peneus in Thesaly, of which Town he soone made himselfe master; and thereby he got good footing in that Country, whereof he made use in time following. Now although he resolved either to subdue the Thessalians, or to make them his owne against all others, because the horse-men of that Country were the best, and most feared in that part of Europe; yet hethought it most for his safety to close up the entrances out of Thrace, lest while he invaded Thessaly and Greece towards the South, those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either withdraw him, or over-run Macedon, as in former times. He therefore attempted Amphipolis, seated on the famous river of Stri. mon, which parteth Thrace from Macedon, and won it. He also recovered Pydna; and (to the North of Amphipolis) the City of Crenides (sometime Datus) and called it after his name Philippi: to the people whereof Saint Paulafterward directed one of his Epifiles. This place, wherein Philippi stood, is very rich in mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the advancement of Philips affaires, he drew yearly a thousand talents, which make fixe hundred thousand French Crownes.

And that he might with the more ease disburden the Thracian shores of the Athenian Garrifons, to which he had given a great blow by the taking in of Amphipolis, he entred 20 into league with his fathers malicious enemies, the Olynthians; whom the better to faften unto him, he gave them the City of Pydna with the territory, meaning nothing leffe

than that they should enjoy it, or their own Estate, many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground upon the Greekes, he tooke the faire occasion to deliver the City of Pheres in The saly, from the tyrants Lycophron and Tiliohanus: who, after they had conspired with Thebe the wife of Alexander, who usurped upon the liberty of that State, they themselves (Alexander being murdered) held it also by the fame strong hand and oppression that Alexander did, till by the affistance of Philipthey were beaten out, and Pheres restored to her former liberty. Which act of Philip did for 20 ever after falten the Theffalians unto him, and, to his exceeding great advantage, binde them to his fervice.

6. IV.

Of the Phocian War which first drew Philip into Greece.

Bout this time, to wit, in the fecond yeare of the hundred and fixth Olympiad, eight yeares after the battell of Mantinea, and about the eighth yeare of Artaxberxes Ochus, began that War, called Sacred. Now, as all occasions concurre to- 40 wards the execution of eternall providence, and of every great alteration in the World, there is some preceding preparation, though not at the first easily discerned; so did this revengefull harred by the Thebans, The falians, and Locreans, conceived against the Phocians, not only teach Philip how he might with halfe a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the Greekes themselves, beating downe their owne defences, to give himan easie passage; and beating themselves, to give him victory without perill, left nothing unperformed towards their owne flavery, faving the title and imposition. Of this War the Thebans (made over-proud by their victory at Leuteres) were the inflamers. For at the Councell of the Amphyttiones, or of the generall Estates of Greece, in which at that time, they swayed most, they caused both the Lacedemonians and Phocians to be con- so demned in greater fummes of money than they could well beare; the one for furprizing the Castle of Cadmea in the time of peace, the other for ploughing up a piece of ground belonging to the Temple of Delphos. The Phocians being refolved not to obey this Ediet, were fecretly fet on and encouraged by the Lacedemonians; and for refufall were exposed as Sacrilegers, and accursed to all their neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawfull to invade, and destroy them at their pleasures.

The Phocians perswaded thereunto by Philomelus, a Captaine of their owne, cast the fame dice of hazzard that Cafar after many Ages following did; but had not the fame

chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their owne Nation. And the better to beare out an ungracious quarrell, of which there was left no hope of comnosition, they resolved to sacke the Temple it selfe. For seeing that for the ploughing of ancece of Apollo's ground, they had so much offended their Neighbour-God, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worse could not befall them than alreadie was intended; they resolved to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to prevaile against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they tooke out of the Temple in the beginning of the Warre, was ten thousand talents, which in those dayes served them to wage a great many men; and such was their successe in the beoinning of the war, as they won three great battels against the Thebans, Thessalians and Locrians; but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader Philomelus cast himself headlong over the Rocks.

In the meane while the Cities of Chersonesus, both to defend themselves against their badneighbour Philip, who encroached upon them, and to draw others into their quarrell, rendred themselves to the Athenians. Philip prepareth to get them into his hands, andatthe siege of Mechane lost one of his eyes. It is faid, That he that shot him, did purposely direct his arrow towards him, and that it was written on the shaft thereof: After Philippo; After to Philip: for fo he was called that gave him the wound. This Ci- Plut in Office.

tie he evened with the foile.

The Tyrant Lycophron before mentioned, while Philip was bufied on the border of Thrace, and the Theffalians ingaged in the holy war, entred Theffalie with new forces, being affisted by Onomarchus, Commander of the Phocian Armie, in place of Philomelm. For hereby the Phocians hoped so to entertaine the Thessalians at home, asthey hould not find leafure to invade them. Hereupon was Philip the second time called into Thessalie; but both the Thessalians and Macedonians (Philip being present) were utterly overthrowne by Onomarchus, and great numbers of both Nations lost. From The falle, O nomarchus drew speedily towards Bæotia, and with the same victorious Armic brake the forces of the Bootians, and took from them their Citie of Coronea. But Philip, impatient of his late misadventure, after he had re-enforced his Armie, returned with all speed into Thessalie, there to find agains the honour which he lately lost: and was the second time encountred by Onomarchus, who brought into the field twentie thousand foot, and five hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not; for Onomarchus was by Philip surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Armie overturned, fixe thousand slaine, and three thousand taken: of which number himselse beingone, was among others hanged by Philip. Those that fled, were in part received by the Athenian Gallies, which failed along ft the coast, commanded by Chares; but the greatest number of those that tooke the Sea, were therein devoured ere they recovered them. Lycophron was now againe driven out of Theffalie, and Pheres made free as be-

6. V.

Of the Olynthian war. The ambitions practices of Philip.

Rom hence Philip resolved to invade Phocis it selfe, but the Athenians did not favour his entrance into those parts; and therefore with the helpe of the Lacedemonians, they retrencht his passage at the Streits of Thermopylis. Wheremonhe returned into Macedon, and after the taking of Micyberne, Torone, and other Towns, he quarrelled with the Olynthians, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the Olynthians were very strong, and had evermore both braved and beaten the Macedonians. It is faid, that Philip having put to death Archelam his halfe brother (for Amyntus had three fons by Eurydice the Mother of Philip, and three other fons by Grg ea: but Philips elder brothers by the same Motherbeing dead, he determined to rid himself also of the rest) the two yonger held themselves within Olynthus; and that the receiving of them by the Olynthians was the cause of the war, Justine affirmeth. But just quarrels are ballanced by just Princes, for to this Justine. King all things were lawfull that might ferve his turnsall his affections, and passions, how divers foever in other men, were in his ambition swallowed up, and thereinto converted.

CHAP. I.S. 7.8.

For he neither forbare the murder of his owne brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelitie: he efteemed no place ftrong where his Affe loaden with gold might enter; nor any Citie or State unconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could lose the sense of other mens forrow and subjection. And because he thought it vain to practife the winning of Olynthus, till he had inclosed all the power they had within their owne Walls, he entred their Territorie, and by the advantage of a well-compounded and trained Armie, he gave them two overthrowes ere he fate down before the Citie it selfe: which done, he bought Euthicrates and Lasthenes from their people, and from the service of their Countrie and common-weale, by whose treason he entred the Towne, flew his brothers therein, fackt it, and fold the inhabitants for 10 flaves by the drumme. By the spoile of this place he greatly enriched himselfe, and had treasure sufficient to buy-in other Cities withall, which he daily did. For so was he advifed by the Oracle in the beginning of his undertaking, That he should make his affaults with filver speares: Whereupon Horace well and truely faid,

Har carm.Od.16.

—Diffidit Urbium Portas vir Macedo & Subruit amulos Reges muneribus .-

By gifts the Macedon clave Gates afunder, And Kings envying his estate brought under.

And it is true that he won more by corruption and fraud, than he did by force. For as he had in all the principall Cities of Greece his fecret workers (which way of Conquest was well followed by Philip the second of Spain:) So when in the contention between the Competitors, for the Kingdome of Thrace, he was chosen the Arbitrator, he came not to the Councell accompanied with Pietic and Justice, but with a powerfull Armie, and having beaten and flain both Kings, gave fentence for himselfe, and made the Kingdome his owne.

6. VI.

How Philip ended the Phocian warre.

He war still continued between the *Phocians* and the Associates of the holy war: the Barotians, finding themselves unable to subfift without some present aid, sent unto Philip for fuccour, who willingly yeelded to their necessities, & sent them fuch a proportion of men, as were neither fufficient to mafter their enemies, nor to affure themselves; but yet to enable them to continue the war, and to waste the strength of Greece. They also sent to Artaxerxes Ochus for supply of treasure, who lent them thirty talents, which makes a hundred and fourescore thousand crownes: but when with these supplies they had still the worst against the Phocians, who held from them three of the strongest Cities within Baotia it selfe, they then besought Philip of Macedon that hee would affift them in person, to whom they would give an entrance into their Territoric, and in all things obey his Commandements in war.

Now had \bar{P} hilip what he longed for; for he knew himselfe in state to give the law to both, & fo quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he marched with a speedy pace towards Baotia, where being arrived, Phallechus who commanded the Phocian Armie, fearing to shocke with this victorious King, made his owne peace, and withdrew himselfe with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into Peloponnesus, leaving the Phocians to the mercie of the Conqueror; and for conclusion he had the glorie of that war called Sacred, which the Grecians with fo many mutuall flaughters had continued for ten years; and, besides the glorie, he possess himselse of Orchomene, Coronea, and Corfia, in the Countrie of the Bastians, who invited him to be victorious over themselves. He brought the Phocians into fervitude, and wasted their Cities, and gave them but their Villages to inhabite, referving unto himselfe the yearely tribute of threescore talents, which make fixe and thirtie thousand French Crowns. He also hereby (besides the same of pietie for service of the gods) obtained the same double voice in the Councell of the Amphyttiones

Amphytiones which the Phocians had, with the superintendencie of the Pythian games, forfeited by the Corinthians, by being partakers in the Phocian facriledge.

6. VII.

How Philip with ill successe attempted upon Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Scythians.

Parmenio, slaughtered many thousands of the Illyrians and Dardarians, and brought the Thracians to pay him the tenth part of all their revenues. But his next enterprise against the Perinthians stayed his furie. Perinthus was a Citie of Thrace, seated inon Propontis, in the mid-way between Seftos and Byzantium, a place of great strength, and a people resolved to desend their libertie against Philip, where the Athenians incouaged and affifted them. Philip fate downe before it with a puissant Armie, made many fire breaches, gave many furious affaults, built many over-topping and commanding Towers about it. But he was repelled with equall violence. For whereas Philip thought by his continuall affaults to wearie them, and waste both their men and munition, they were supplied, not only from the Persian with menand mony, and succoursed from Bya zantium, which stood upon the same sea-coast, but they were relieved from Athens, Chio, and Rhodes, by the conduction of Phocion, with whatfoever was wanting to their necessisie. But because those of Byzantium, by reason of their neighbourhood, and easie passage by water, gave them often and readie helpe; Philip removed the one halfe of his Armie, and befreged it, leaving fifteene thousand foot before Perinthus, to force it if they could: Butto be short, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly doe that undertake diversenterprises at one time) and returned into Macedon with no lesse dishonour than loge: whereupon he made an overture of peace with the Athenians, and greatly defired intowhich though Fhocian perswaded them in all he could, and that by the occasion offeredthey might greatly advantage their conditions; yet Demosthenes with his eloquence to prevailed in the refusal. In the mean while, Philip having digested his late affront, and supplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred three score and ten Merchants ships, he gatherednew forces, and being accompanied with his fon Alexander, led them into Seythia; but he was also unprosperous in that enterprise: For the Triballi, a people of Ma-Ja, fet on him in his return, wounded him, and tooke from him the greatest part of the spoiles which he had gathered.

6. VIII.

How Philip overthrowing the Greekes in the battell of Charonaa, was chosen Captaine-Generall of Greece. The death of Philip.

Mong these Northern Nations (part of which he supprest, and part quieted) he spent some eight yeares; and in the ninth yeare, after the end of the holy Warre, he was by his great advantage invited againe by the Grecians to their affiftance. For the Citizens of Amphissa having disobeyed the decree of the Amphystiones, in which Philip had a double voice, and who by reason that the Thebans and Locrians gave commenance and aide to the Amphissionians, the rest were not of themselves able to constraine them, they befought Philip to come in person to their assistance. Now you must thinke that Philip was not long in resolving upon this enterprise; hee needed no odrawing on, whom nothing could keepe backe; nor other diffwafion than a mastring power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Armie forthwith to march; the fame being compounded of thirtie thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entred Phocis, won Platea, and brought into Subjectionall that Region.

Therest, and especially the Athenians, although they had good cause to sear that a great Part of this florme would fall on themselves, yet were they disswaded by Demosthenes from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as Philip offered, and rather made hoice (having drawnethe Thebans to joyne with them) to leave the enjoying of their

CHAP.I. \$.9.

Full Libes.

estates and their freedome to the chance of one battell, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of Philip. But this their Oratours eloquence cost them deare. It is true, that he could far more eafily minde them of the vertue of their Ancestors, than make them fuchas they were. He might repeat unto them (with words moving paffion) the wonders they wrought at Marathon, but he could not transforme the Macedonians into Persians, nor draw from the dead, a Militades, an Aristides, a Themistoles, ora Cimen, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great vertues they had payed with the greatest ingratitude that ever Nation did. A Phocion they had, but by the strength of a contrary faction he was at this time in difgrace, and not imployed in fo much as when the Armies of Philip and the Confederates incountred, although some thousand of the to Athenians did abide the killing, and the like number well-near of the Thebans died with them; yet the want of the worthy men on that fide to hold up the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choice Captains of the Macedonians, incouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gave to Philip fo thining a victory, that Alexander by the light thereof found his way (in despight of all the Nations interjacent) into Persia, India, and Egypt; fo it cut to the ground, and gave end and date to all the Grecian glory: Yea their liberty (faith Curtius) with their large Dominion won with fo many difficulties, continued for fo many Ages, and so often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in amoment, and for ever loft.

Now this advited King (never paffionate to his disadvantage) to the end he might ob- 20 taine the Soveraignty over all Greece, and be acknowledged for their Captain-General against the Persians, without any further hazzardor trouble, was content to let gothose Athenians that were taken at this battell of Cheronaa, as he also forbare to attemptany thing against their Citie: but in Thebes (which lately by the vertue of Epaminondas triumphed over the rest) he lodged a Garrison of Macedonians. And being soon after (according unto the long defire which he had nourished of this Soveraignty) by the generall States at Corinth, stiled the first Commander of all the Grecians, and contribution of men and mony granted himshe compounded an Army of great strength, and under the Commandement of Attalus and Parmenie, transported the same over the Hellespont into Asia, to begin the War. Of his enterprise against Persia, he sought the successes to the Oracle at Delphos, from whence he received fuch another convertible riddle, as Crafus did when he attempted Cyrus, and was in like fort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discerne and withstand the flatteries of our owne appetites, sodid Philips ambitious desire to invade Persia, abuse his judgement, so farre, that the death, wherewith himselse was threatned, he understood to be delivered of his enemy, whom he intended presently to invade. Before his purposed departure into Asia, he prepared for the marriage of his Daughter Cleopatra, with Alexander King of Epirus; to which feast and pastimes thereat appointed, he invited all his Friends and Allies, with the principall persons of the Grecian Cities, from whom he received much honour and many rich presents: but this was indeed the feast of his Funerall. For having refused to doe 40 justice to one Pausanias, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom Attalus (greatly favouredby Philip) had first made drunk, and then left to be carnally abused by divers base persons, this Paufanias grew into so great a detestation of the Kings partiality in so souleafact, as when Philip was passing towards the Theater, he drew a sword from under his long garment and wounded him to death, when he had lived fixe and forty years, and reigned five and twenty. Justine reports it, that Olympias incouraged Pausanias to murder the King her husband, which after his death she boldly avowed, by the honour she did unto Paulanias, in crowning his dead body, in confecrating his fword unto Apollo, by building for him a monument, and other like Graces.

6. I X.

What good foundations of Alexanders greatnesse were laid by Philip. Of his laudable qualities and issue.

Ow although he were then taken from the World, when he had mastredall opposition on that side of the Sea, and had scene the fruits of his hopes, and labours, changing colour towards ripenesse and perfection; yet hee was herein happy that he lived to fee his fon Alexander at mans estate, and had him selfe bin ancie-witnesse of his resolution and singular valour in this last battell.

The foundation of whose future greatnesse he had laid so soundly for him, with so plaine a patterne of the buildings which himselfe meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was farre more easie to Alexander, though more glorious than the beginning's unto Philip, though lesse famous. For, besides the recovery of Macedon it selfe, in competition between him and the fonnes of Aropus, the one affifted by the Thracians, the other by the Athenians, and befides the regaining of many places poffest by the Illyrians, the crushing of all those Northern Kings his Neighbours, the over-throw of Olynthus, a State that despised the power of his Father, the many Maritimate Cities taken, ofgreat strength and ancient freedome, and the subjection of that famous Nation of Greece, which for so many ages had defended it selfe against the greatest Kings of the World, and won upon them; He left unto his sonne, and had bred up for him so many choice Commanders, as the most of them, both for their valour and judgement in the Warre, were no leffe worthy of Crownes, than himfelfe was that ware a Crowne: For it was faid of Parmenio (whom Alexander, ungratefull to fogreat vertue, impioufly murthered) That Parmenio had performed many things challenging eternal fame, without the King; but the King without Parmenio never did any thing worthy of renowne: as for the rest of his Captaines, though content to obey the Sonne of such a Father, yet and did they not after Alexanders death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to them-

Of this Prince it is hard to judge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vices, than Nature and his excellent education had enriched him with vertues. For besides that he was Valiant, Wise, Learned, and Master of his Affections, he had this savourof Piety, that he rather laboured to fatifie those that were grieved, than to suppresse them. Whereof (among many other) we finde a good example in his dealing with Areadion and Nicanor; whom, when for their evill speech of Philip, his familiars perswaded him to put to death; he answered them, That first it ought to be considered, whether the fault were in them that gave him ill language, or in himselfe: Secondly, that it was in every mans own power to be well spoken of : and this was shortly proved, for after Philiprelieved their necessities, there were none within his Kingdome that did him more honour than they did. Wherupon he told those that had perswaded him to use violence; that he was a better Physitian for evill speech than they were.

His Epistles to Alexander his son are remembred by Cicero and Gellius; and by Dion and Cicosts. Chysoftome exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by Polyanus and Dimade Regel Eintinus, his wife fayings by Plutarch. And albeit he held Macedon as in his owne right, all the time of his reign, yet was he not the true and next Heirethereof; for Amyntas the fonof his brother Perdiceas (of whom he had the Protection during his infancy) had the ight. This Amyntas he married to his daughter Cyna, who had by him a daughter calpled Eurydice, who was married to Philips base son Aridaus, her Uncle by the Mothers fide: both which Olympias, Philips first Wife, and Mother to Alexander the Great, pur to death; Arideus by extreme torments: Eurydice she strangled.

Philip had by this Olympias, the daughter of Neoptolemus, King of the Molosfians (of the race of Achilles) Alexander the Great, and Cleopatra. Cleopatra was married to her Uncle Alexander, King of Epirus, and was after her brother Alexanders death flaine at Sardis, by the commandement of Antigonus.

By Audata, an Illyrian, his fecond Wife, he had Cyna, married as is shewed before. By Nicasipolis, the Sister of Jason, Tyrant of Pheres, he had The salonica, whom Cassando, after he had taken Pidna, married ; but she was afterward by her father-in-law Antijopater put to death.

By Cleopatra the Neece of Attalus, he had Caranus, whom others call Philip: him 0 - Athentises. Impias, the Mother of Alexander the Great, caused to be rosted to death in a copper Instal. Pan Others lay this murder to Alexander himself. By the same Cleopatra he had likewise adaughter called Europa, whom Olympias also murdered arthe Mothers breast,

By Phila and Meda he had no iffue.

He had also two Concubines, Arsinoe, whom after he had gotten with childe, he marriedto an obscure man, called Lagus, who bare Ptolomie King of Egypt, called the Some of Lagus, but effected the Son of Philip: by Philinna, his fecond Concubines

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a publike Dancer, he had Aridaus, of whom we shall have much occasion to speake hereafter.

CHAP.II.

Of ALEXANDER the Great.

6. I.

A briefe rehearfall of Alexanders doings, before he invaded Asia.



Lexander, afterward called the Great, succeeded unto Philip his Father; being a Prince no lesse valiant by Nature, than by Education, well instructed, and inriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his reigne over the Macedonians soure hundred and seventeen years after Rome was built, and after his own birth twenty years. The strange dreams of Philip his father, and that one of the gods in 20 the shape of a Snake, begat him on Olympias his Mother, I omitas

foolish tales; but that the Temple of Diana (a work the most magnificent of the world) was burnt upon the day of his birth, and that fo strange an accident was accompanied with the newes of three feverall victories, obtained by the Macedonians, it was very remarkable, and might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and foreshewing the great things by Alexander afterward performed. Upon the change of the King, the Neighbour-Nations, whom Philip had opprest, beganto consult about therecoverie of their former libertie, and to adventure it by force of arms. Alexanders young years gave them hope of prevailing, and his suspected severitie increased couragein those, who could better resolve to die, than to live savishly. But Alexander gave no time , to those swelling humours, which might speedily have endangered the health of his Estate. For after revenge taken upon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew upon his Tombe, and the celebration of his Funerals, he first fastened unto him his own nation, by freeing them from all exactions & bodily flavery, other than their fervice in his Wars; and used such Kingly austeritie towards those that contemned his young years, and fuch clemencie to the rest that perswaded themselves of the crueltie of his disposition, as all affections being paffed at home, he made a prefent journie into Peloponnesus, and fo well exercised his spirits among them, as by the Councell of the States of Greece, he was according to the great defire of his heart, elected Captain-Generall against the Par-Gans, upon which war Philip had not only resolved, (who had obtained the same title of Generall Commander) but had transported under the leading of Parmenie and Attalm, a part of his Armie, to recover some places on Asia-side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the Persian occupied all Alexanders affections; those fair marks of Riches, Honour, and large Dominion, he now shot at both sleeping and waking: all other thoughts & imaginations were either grievous or hateful. But a contrary wind atfeth; for he receiveth advertisement that the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedamonians, had united themselves against him, and, by affistance from the Persian, hoped for the recoverie of their former freedome. Hereto they were perswaded by Demost henes, himselfe being thereto perswaded by the gold of Persia: the devise he used was more subtile than profitable; for hee caused it to bee bruited that Alexander was flaine in a battailea-s gainst the Triballes, and brought into the affembly a companion whom hee had corrupted to affirme, that himselse was present, and wounded in the battaile. There is indeeda certaine Doctrine of Policy (as Policie is now a-daies defined by falshood and knaverie) that devised rumors and lies, if they serve the turn but for a day or two, are greatly available. It is true that common people are fometimes mockt by them, as Souldiers are by false alarums in the Wars; but in all that I have observed, I have found the successe as ridiculous as the invention. For as those that finde themselves at one time abused by such like bruits, doe at other times neglect their duties; when they are upon true reports, and in occasions perillous, simmoned to affemble; so doe all men in generall condemne the Venters of such trumpery, and for them, seare upon necessary occasions to entertaine the truth it selfe. This labour unlooked for, and losse of time, was not onely very grievous to Alexander, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate Persians, against which he had directed it, towards the manly & famous Gracians, of whose affistance he not endure to strive against the winde, shall hardly attaine the Port which he purposeth doth the weakest children to betwaile them.

Hetherefore made such expedition towards these Revolters, as that himselfe, with the Army that followed him, brought them the first newes of his preparation. Hereup-that fainted, seeking by their Embassadours to pacifie the King, and to be received again pardon the Grecians. Wise menare not easily drawnessom great purposes by sight accarassancy easily be taken off, neither hath any King ever brought to effect any great the same certaine end.

And having now quieted his borderers towards the South, he refolved to affure those Nations which lay on the North-fide of Macedon, to wit, the Thracians, Triballes, Peones, Gues, Agrians, and other falvage people, which had greatly vexed with incurfions, not onely other of his Predeceffours, but even Philip his Father : with all which, after divers weithrowes given them, he made peace, or else brought them into subjection. Notwithfanding this good successe, hee could not yet finde the way out of Europe. There is nothing more naturall to man than liberty; the Greekes had enjoyed it over-long, and loft it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once againe. The Thebans, who had in their Citadella Garrison of a thousand Macedons, attempt to force it; Alexander hastneth to their fuccour, and presents himselfe with thirty thousand foot, all old fouldiers, & three thousand horse, before the City, & gave the Inhabitants some daies to prolive, being even heart-ficke with the defire of paffing into Afia. So unwilling , indeed, hewasto draw bloud of the Gracians, by whom he hoped to ferve himselfe elsewhere, that he offered the Thebans remission, if they would only deliver into his hands Phanix and Prothytes, the stirrers up of the Rebellion. But they, opposing the mounting fortune of Alexander, (which bare all refistance before it, like the breaking in of the Ocean Sea) in Head of fuch an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should have made, demanded Philosas and Antipater to be delivered unto them; as if Thebes alone, then layed in the ballance of Fortune with the Kingdome of Macedon, and many other Provin-03, could either have evened the scale or swaied it. Therefore in the end they petified in their obstinacy. For while the Thebans oppose the Army assailant, they parecharged at the backe by the Macedonian Garrison, their City taken and razed to the ground, fixe thousand slaine, and thirty thousand sold for slaves, at the price of four hundred and forty talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other Gracian

Many arguments were used by Cleadas one of the prisoners, to perswade Alexander to forbeare the destruction of Thebes. He prayed the King to beleeve that they were rather misseled by giving hasty creditto salse reports, than any way malicious; for being perswaded of Alexanders death, they rebelled but against his successour. He also before the King to remember, that his father Philip had his education in that City, yea that his Ancestour Hercules was borne therein: but all perswasions were fruitles; the times wherein offences are committed doe greatly aggravate them. Yet for the honour hebate to learning, he pardoned all of the race of Pindarus the Poet, and spared, and set at liberty Timoclea, the sister of Theagenes, who died in desence of the liberty of Greece spins this father Philip. This noble woman being taken by a Thracian, and by him ratible threatned to take her life unlesse she would consess her treasure: she led that Thracian to a Well, and told him that she had therein cast it: and when the Thracian to looke into the Well, she suddenly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and sto-

Now because the Ashenians had received into their city so many of the Thebans, as had

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escaped and fled unto them for succour, Alexander would not grant them peace, butupon condition to deliver into his hands both their Orators which perswaded this second
revolt, and their Captaines; yet in the end it being a torment unto him to retard the enterprise of Persia, he was content that the Orators should remaine, and accepted of the
banishment of the Captaines; wherein he was exceeding ill advised, had nothis fortune,
or rather the providence of God, made all the resistance against him unprofitable: for
these good Leaders of the Gracians betooke themselves to the service of the Persian,
whom after a few dayes he invaded.

6. II. How Alexander passing into Asia, fought with the Persians upon the River of Granicus.

Hen all was now quieted at home, Alexander, committing to the trust of Antipater both Greece and Macedon, in the first of the Spring did passe the Hellespont, and being ready to distimbarke, he threw a Dart towards the Asian shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any wastein their own Territorie, or to burne, or deface those buildings which themselves were presently, and in the suture to possess. He landed his Armie, consisting of two and thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all old Souldiers, neere unto Troy, where he of sered a solemne facrisice upon Achilles Tombe, his maternall Ancestor.

But before he left his own coast, hee put to death without any offence given him, all his Mother-in-lawes Kinsmen, whom Philip his Father had greatly advanced, not sparing such of his own as he suspected. Healso took with him many of his tributary Princes, of whose sidelity he doubted; thinking by unjust cruelty to affure all things, both in the present & suture. Yet the end of all fell out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended unto him, though agreeing very well with the justice of God; for all that he had planted, was soon after withered, & rooted up; those, whom he most trusted, were the most traiterous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by such another mercilesse sword as his owne, and all manner of consusion followed his dead body to sthe grave, and left him there.

When the knowledge of Alexanders landing on Asia side was brought to Daviss, he so much scorned the Armie of Macedon, and had so contemptible an opinion of Alexander himselse, as having stiled him his servant on a letter which he wrote unto him, reprehending his disloyaltie and audacitie (for Daviss intitled himselse King of Kings, & the Kinsman of the gods) he gave order withall to his Lievtenants of the lesser Asia, that they should take Alexander alive, whip him with rods, and then convey him to his presence that they should sinke his ships, and send the Macedons taken prisoners beyond the Red-Sea; belike into Aethiopia, or some other unhealthfull part of Affrica.

In this fortdid this glorious King, confident in the glittering, but heartleffe, multimde which he commanded, dispose of the already-vanquished Macedonians: But the illdeftinies of men beare them to the ground, by what strong confidence soever armed. The great numbers which he gathered together and brought in one heape into the field, gave rather an exceeding advantage to his enemies, than any discouragement at all. For befides that they were men utterly unacquainted with dangers, men who by the name and countenance of their King were wont to prevaile against those of lesse courage than themselves, men that took more care how to embroider with gold and silver their upper garments, as if they attended the invation but of the Sunne-beames, than they did to arme themselves with yron and steele against the sharpe pikes, swords and darts of the hardie Macedonians; I fay, befides all these, even the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which every one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turne to fight, filled every of them with the care of their owne fafetie, without any intent at all to harzard any thing but their owne breath, and that of their horses, in running away. The Macedonians, as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themselves with the gold and jewels of Persia, both which they needed; so the Persians, who expected nothing in that Warre but blowes and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the King who had power to constraine them in assembling themselves for his service; but their owne feares and cowardife, which in time of danger had most power over them,

they onely then obeyed, when their rebellion against so servile a passion did justly and violently require it. For, saith Vegetius: Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles pralium capit, ita formidat indoctus; nam sciendum est in pugna usum amplius prodesse quam vires; As the well-practifed Souldier desires to come to battaile, so the raw one feares it: for we must understand, that in fight it more availes to have beene accustomed unto the like, than only to have rud Arength. What manner of men the Perfians were, Alexander discovered in the first encounter, before which time it is said, by those that write his story, that is was hard to judge, whether his daring to undertake the conquest of an Empire so well peopled, with a handfull of men, or the successe he had, were more to be wondred at. For at the River of Granick, which severeth the Territory of Troy from Propontis, the Persians fought to stop his passage, taking the higher ground and banke of the River to defend, which Alexander was forced (as it were) to clime up unto, and scale from the Level of the water. Great refistance (faith Curtius) was made by the Persians, yet in the end Alexander prevailed. But it feemes to me, that the victory then gotten was exceeding eafie, and that the twenty thousand Persian foot-men, said to be slaine, were rather kill'd in the backe, in running away, than hurt in the bosomes by refisting. For had those twenty thousand foot, and two hundred and fiftie horsemen, or after Plutarch, two thousand and five hundred horse-men, dyed with their faces towards the Macedonians, Alexander could not have bought their lives at so small a rate, as with the losse of soure and thirty of all forts of his own. And if it were also true, that Plutarch doth report, how Alexander encountred two of the Persian Commanders, Spithridates and Rhasaces, and that the Puffanhorse-men fought with great furie, though in the end scattered; and lastly, how those Gracians in Darius his pay, holding themselves in one body upon a piece of ground of advantage, did (after mercy was refused them) fight it our to the last; how dothit then resemble truth, that such resistance having beene made, yet of Alexanders Army there fell but twelve Foot-men, and two and twenty Horsemen?

§. III. A digression concerning the defence of hard passages. Of things following the battaile of Granicke.

He winning of this passage did greatly encourage the Macedonians, and brought fuch terrour upon all those of the lesser Asia, as he obtained all the Kingdomes thereof without a blow, some one or two Townes excepted. For in all invasions, where the Nations invaded have once beene beaten upon a great advantage of the place, as in defence of Rivers, Streights, and Mountaines, they will soone have perswaded themselves, that such an enemy upon equall termes and even ground, can hardly berefisted. It was therefore Machiavels counsell, That he which resolveth to desend a passage, should with his ablest force oppose the Assailant. And to say truth, few Regions of any great circuit are so well fenced, that Armies of such force as may be thought suffident to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the naturall difficultie of the wayes. One passage or other is commonly left unguarded: if all be defended, then must the forces of the Country bee diffracted; and yet lightly some one place will bee found that is defended every weakely. How often have the dipes given way to Armies, breaking into Italy? Yea, where shall we find that ever they kept out an invader? Yet are they fuch as (to speake briefly) afflict with all difficulties those that travaile overthem; but they give no security to those that Ive behinde them: for they are of too large extent. The townes of Lombardy perswaded themselves that they might enjoy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the Switzers had undertaken to hinder Francis the French King from descending into the Dutchy of Milan: but whilest these Patrons of Milan, whom their own dwelling in those Mountaines had made fittest of all other for such a service, were busied in custody of the Alpes ; Francis appeared in Lombardy, to so much the greater terrour of the Inhabitans, by how much the leffe they had expected his arrivall. What shall wee say of those Mountaines, which locke up whole Regions in fich fort, as they leave but one gate open. The Streights, or (as they were called) the gates of Taurus in Cilicia, and those of Thermopyla, have seldome beene attempted, Pethaps because they were thought impregnable : but how feldome (if ever) have they beene attempted in vaine : Xerxes, and long after him, the Romans, forced the entrance of VVV 2 Thermopyle:

CHAP. 2. 5.7.

Thermopyle: Cyrus the yonger, & after him Alexander, found the Gates of Cilicia Wide open show strongly soever they had bin locked and barred, yet were those Countries open enough to a fleet that should enter on the backe-side. The defence of Rivers how hard a thing it is, we finde examples in all histories that beare good witnesse. The deepeft have many Foords; the swiftest and broadest may bee passed by Boates, in case it be found a matter of difficulty to make a bridge. Hee that hath men enow to defend all the length of his owne banke, hath also enow to beate his enemy; and may therefore doe better to let him come over, to his loffe, than by striving in vaine to hinder the Dafe fage, as a matter tending to his owne disadvantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, having their meanes of safeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of fuch as are too good for them. Certainely, if a River were fufficient defence against an Army, the Isle of Mona, now called Anglesey, which is divided from North-Wales by an arme of the Sea, had beene fafe enough against the Romans. invading it under conduct of Julius Agricola. But he wanting, and not meaning to frend the time in making veffels to transport his forces, did affay the foords. Whereby he fo amazed the enemies attending for ships and such like provision by Sea, that surely beleeving nothing could behard or invincible to men, which came so minded to Warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yeelded the Iland. Yet the Britaines were men from enough, the Persians were very dastards.

It was therefore wifely done of Alexander, to passe the River of Granick in face of the reenmy; not marching higher to seeke an easier way, nor labouring to convey his men over it by some safer meanes. For, having beaten them upon their owne ground, he did thereby cut off no lesse of their reputation, than of their strength, leaving no hope of sic.

cour to the partakers and followers of such unable Protectors.

Soone after this victory he recovered Sardis, Ephefus, the Cities of the Trallians and Magnefia, which were rendred unto him. The inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrie, hee received with great grace, suffering them to be governed by their owne lawes. For he observed it well; Novum Imperium inchoantibus utilis elemente sum is it is commodious unto such as lay the foundations of a new Soveraignty, to bave the sum of being mercifull. He then by Parmenio wan Miletus, & by force mastred Halicarnassum, which because it resisted obstinately, hee razed to the ground. From whence he ented into Caria, where Ada the Queene, who had beene cast out of all that she held (except the City of Alinda) by Darius his Lievtenants, presented her selfe unto him, and adopted him her son and successour; which Alexander accepted in so gracious part, as helest the whole Kingdome to her disposing. He then entred into Lycia, and Pamphylia, & obtained all the Sea coasts, and subjecting unto him Pssidia, he directed himselfe towards Darius (who was said to be advanced towards him with a marvellous Army) by the way of Phrygia: For all the Province of Asia the lesse, bordering upon the Sea, his sirst vidory layed under his feet.

While he gave order for the government and fetling of Lycia, and Pamphylia, they fent Cleander to raife some new Captaines in Peloponnesus, and marching towards the North, he entred Celenas seated on the River Meander, which was abandoned unto him, the Castle onely holding out, which also after forty dayes was given up: for so long time he gave them to attend succour from Darius. From Celenas he past on through Phrygia towards the Euxine Sea, till he came to a city called Gordium, the Regall seats, in former times, of King Midas. In this City it was that he found the Gordian-knot, which when he knew not how to undoe, he cut it assures with his sword. For there was an arcient prophecie did promise to him that could untie it, the Lordship of all Asia, where upon Alexander, not respecting the manner how, so it were done, assumed to himself

the fulfilling of the prophecie, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of Afia the leffe towards the east, he tooke care to cleare the Sea-coast on his backe, and to thrust the Persians out of the Ilands of Leibs, Chio, and Coos: the charge whereof he committed unto two of his Captaines, giving them such order as hethought to bee most convenient for that service; and delivering unto them sifty Talents to desiral the charge; and with all out of his first spoyle gotten, he sent threescore Talents more to Anipater his Lievtenant in Greece and Main. From Celenas he removed to Ancira, now called Angueri, standing on the same siver of Sangarius, which runneth through Gordium: there hee mustered his Army, and

then entred Paphlagonia, whose people submitted themselves unto him, and obtained freedome of tribute: where he left Catus Governor with one Regiment of Macedonians lately arrived.

Here he understood of the death of Memnon, Darius Lievtenant, which heartned him greatly to passe on towards him; for of this only Captaine he had more respect than of all the multitude by Darius affembled, and of all the Commanders he had befides. For fomuch hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath undertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-weales, the erection of Monarchies, the conquest of Kingdomes and Empires, guided handfulls of men against multitudes of equallbodily strength, contrived victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, convented the fearefull passions of his owne followers into magnanimity, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; fuch spirits have bin stirred up in fundry Ages of the world, and in divers parts thereof, to crect and cast downe againe, to establish and to dedroy, and to bring all things, Perfons and States, to the same certaine ends, which the infinite Spirit of the Universall, piercing, moving, and governing all things, hath ordained. Certainely the things that this King did, were marvellous, and would hardly have bin undertaken by any man else : and though his Father had determined to have invaded the leffer Afa, it is like enough that he would have contented himselfe with some panthereof, and not have discovered the River of Indus: as this man did. The swife course of victory, wherewith he ran over so large a portion of the World, in so short a foace, may justly be imputed unto this, that he was never encountred by an equall spirit. concurring with equall power against him. Hereby it came to passe that his actions beinglimited by no greater opposition, than defart places, and the meerelength of tedious journies could make, were like the Colossus of Rhodes, not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praise-worthy, as for the huge bulke. For certainly thethings performed by Xenophon, discover as brave a spirit as Alexanders, and working moleffe exquisitely, though the effects were leffe materiall, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it wrought. But he that would finde the exact patterne of anoble Commander, must looke upon such as Epaminondas, that encountring worthy Captaines, and those better followed than themselves, have by their singular vertue over-topped their valiant enemies, and still prevailed over those, that would not have yeelded one foor to any other. Such as these are, doe seldome live to obtaine great Empires. For it is a worke of more labour and longer time, to master the equal forces of onehardie & well-ordered State, than to tread down and utterly fubdue a multitude of servile Nations, compounding the body of a groffe unweildie Empire. Wherefore these Parvo Potentes, men that with little have done much upon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choise examples of worth; but great Conquerours, to be rather admired for the substance of their actions, than the exquisite managing : exactnesse and greatnesse concurring fo seldome, that I can find no instance of both in one, save onely that brave Roman, Cæfar.

Having thus farre digreffed, it is now time that we returne unto our Easterne Conqueror; who is travailing hastily towards Cilicia, with a defire to recover the Streights thereof before Darius should arrive there. But first making a dispatch into Greece, he sent to those cities, in which he reposed most trust, some of the Persian Targets which he had recovered in his first battaile; upon which, by certaine inscriptions, he made them partikers of his victory. Herein he well advised himselfe; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gaines in the Warres, as he doth of the spoiles, shall never belong followed of those of the better fort. For men which are either well borne or well bred, and have more of wealth than of reputation, do as often satisfie themselves with the purchase of glory, as the weake in fortune, and strong in courage, doe with the gaine

ofgold and filver.

The Governour of Cilicia hearing of Alexanders comming on, left fome Companies to keepe the Streights, which were indeede very defencible; and withall, as Curtius noteth, hee began overlate to prife and put in execution the Counfell of Memnon: who in the beginning of the Warres advised him to waste all the provisions for Men and Horse, that could not be lodged in strong places, & alwaies to give ground to the Invader, till he found some such notable advantage as might affuredly promise him the obtaining of victory. For the sury of an invading Army is best broken, by delayes, change

CHAP.2.5.4.

of diet, and want, eating sometimes too little, and sometimes too much, sometimes reposing themselves in beds, and more oftner on the cold ground. These and the like suddaine alterations bring many diseases upon all nations out of their own Countries. Therefore if Darius had kept the Macedonians but a while from meat and sleepe, &, refusing to give or take battaile, had wearied them with his light horse, as the Parthians afterward did the Romans, he might perchance have saved his owne life, and his estate. For it was one of the greatest incouragements given by Alexander, to the Macedonians, in the third and last fatall battaile, that they were to fight with all the strength of Persia at once.

Xerxes, when he invaded Greece & fought abroad, in being beaten, loft only his men; but Darius being invaded by the Greekes, & fighting at home, by being beaten, loft his to Kingdom. Pericles though the Lacedamonians burnt all in Attica to the Gates of Athens, yet could not be drawne to hazzard a battaile: for the invaded ought evermore to fight upon the advantage of time and place. Because wee reade Histories to inform our understanding by the examples therein found, wee will give fome instances of those that have perished by adventuring in their owne Countries, to charge an invading Armie. The Romans, by fighting with Hannibal, were brought to the brinke of their destruction.

Pompey was well advised for a while, when he gave Casar ground, but when by the importunity of his Captaines he adventured to fight at Pharsalia, he lost the battaile, lost the freedome of Rome, and his owne life.

Rerdinand, in the Conquest of Naples, would needs fight a battaile with the French to his confusion, though it was told him by a man of sound judgement, that those Counsels which promise surery in all things, are honourable enough.

The Constable of France made frustrate the mighty preparation of Charles the Fist, when he invaded Provence, by wasting the Countrie, & forbearing to fight; so did the Duke of Alva wearie the French in Naples, and dissolve the boosterous Army of the Prince of Orange in the low-Countries.

The Leigers, contrarie to the advice of their Generall, would needs fight a battaile with the Bourgonians, invading their Country, and could not be perfwaded to linger the time, and fray their advantage; but they lost eight and twenty thousand upon the place. 39 Philip of Valois setupon King Edward at Chessie; and King John (when the English were well-neere tired out, and would in short time by an orderly pursuit have beene wasted to nothing) constrained the black Prince with great sury, neere Poitiers, to joyne battaile with him: But all men know what lamentable successe these two French Kings sound. Charles the fift of France made another kind of Fabian-Warfare; & though the English burnt and wasted many places, yet this King held his resolution to sorbeare blowes, and followed his advice, which told him, That the English could never gethis inheritance by smoake; and it is reported by Belloy and Herrault, that King Edward was wont to say of this Charles, that he wan from him the Dutchy of Guyen without ever putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpose to destroy, wise men grow short-lived, and the charge of things is committed unto such as either cannot see what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any sound advice. The course which Memnon had propounded, must in all appearence of reason have brought the Macedonian to a great perplexity, and made him stand still a while at the Streights of Cilicia, doubting whether it were more shamefull to return, or dangerous to proceede. For, had Cappadocia & Paphlagenia bin wasted whilest Alexander was farre off; and the Streights of Cilicia been defended by Arsenes, Governor of that Province, with the best of his forces; hunger would not have suffered the enemy, to stay the triall of all meanes that might be thought upon, of forcing that passage: or if the place could not have bin maintained, yet might Cilicia, stat better leisure have bin so throughly spoiled, that the heart of his Army should have beene broken, by seeking our miseries by painfull travaile.

But Arfenes leaving a small number to defend the Streights, tooke the best of his Armie with him, to waste & spoile the Country; or rather, as may seeme, to finde himself some worke, by pretence of which he might honestly run further away from Alexander. Hee should rather have adventured his person incustody of the Streights, whereby he might perhaps have saved the Province; and in the meane time, all that was in the fields, would have beene conveighed into strong Townes. So should his Army, if it were

driven from the place of advantage, have found good entertainement within walled Cities, and himfelfe with his horse-men have had the lesse worke in destroying that little which was less abroad. Handling the matter as hedid, he gave the Gilicians cause to wish for Alexanders comming, and as great cause to the Keepers of the passage not to hinder it. For cowards are wise in apprehending all formes of danger. These Guardians of the Streights, hearing that Arsens made all haste to joyne himselfe with Darins, burning downe all as he went, like one despairing of the desence, began to grow circumspect, and nothinke that surely their Generall, who gave as lost the Countrie behinde their backes, but to dull the Macedonian swords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Countrie (which honour they saw that Arsens himselfe could well forbeare) they specify without labour got both the entrance of Cilicia, abandoned by the cowardise of his Enemies, and the whole Province that had beene alienated from the Persian side by their indiscretion.

§. IIII.

of the unwarlike Army levied by Darius against Alexander. The unadvised courses which Darius tooke in this expedition. He is vanquished at Issus, where his Mother, Wise, and Children are made prisoners: Of some things following the battaile of Issus.

Nthe meane season Darius approched; who (as Curtius reports) had compounded an Army of more than two hundred and ninety thousand Souldiers, out of divers Nations; Justine musters them at three hundred thousand Foot, and a hundred thousand Horse; Plut arch at fixe hundred thousand.

Themanner of his comming on, as Curtius describes it, was rather like a masker than a man of Warre, and like one that tooke more care to fet out his glory and riches, than to provide for his own fafety, perswading himselfe, as it seemed, to beat Alexander with pompe and fumptuous Pageants. For, before the Armie there was carried the holy fire. which the Persians worshipped, attended by their Priests, and after them three hundred and threescore and five young-men, answering the number of the dayes of the yeare, cowredwith Scarlet ; then the Chariot of Jupiter drawne with white Horses , with their Riders cloathed in the same colour, with rods of gold in their hands; And after it, the Horse of the Sunne: Next after these follow ten sumptuous Chariots, in-layed and garnisht with filver and gold; & then the Vantguard of their horse, compounded of twelve swerall Nations, which the better to avoid confusion, did hardly understand each others language; and these marshalled in the head of the rest, being beaten, might serve very filly to disorder all that followed them: in the taile of these Horses the Regiment of foot marched, with the Persians called immortall, because if any died, the number was prelarly supplied: & these were armed with chaines of gold, & their coates with the same metall imbroidered, whereof the fleeves were garnished with pearle; baites, either to catch the hungry Macedonians withall, or to perswade them that it were great incivility to cutand to deface such glorious garments. But is was well said: Sumptuose indutus wiles, se virtute superiorem aliis non existimet, cum in praliis oporteat fortitudine animi, & Mn vestimentis muniri, quoniam hostes vestibus non debellantur; Let no man thinke that he exceedeth those in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with suitude of minde, and not by the apparell they put on, that enemies are beaten. And it was Pichance from the Roman Papyrius that this advice wasborrowed, who when he fought against the Sammites in that farall battaile, wherein they all sware either to prevaile or dy, thirty thousand of them having apparelled themselves in white garments, with high crefts and great plumes of feathers, bade the Roman Souldiers to lay afide all feare : Non emm cristas vulnera facere, & per piela atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum; For the plumed crefts would wound no body, and the Romane pile would bore holes in painted and silded Ibiglds.

To fecond this Court-like company, fifteene thousand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparelled like Women (belike to breed the more terrour) & these were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinsmen. Then came Darius himselfe.

himselfe, the Gentle-men of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was sunported with the gods of his Nation, cast and cut in pure gold; these the Macedonians did not ferve, but they ferved their turnes of these, by changing their massie-bodies into thin portable and currant coyne. The head of this Chariot was fet with precious stones. with two little golden Idols, covered with an open-winged-Eagle of the fame metall. The hinder part being raised high whereon Darrus sate, had a covering of inestimable val lue. This Chariot of the King was followed withten thousand Horse-men, their Lances plated with filver, and their heads guilt; which they meant not to imbrue in the Ma. cedemonian bloud, for feare of marring their beauty. Hee had for the proper Guard of his owne person, two hundred of the bloud Royall; bloud too Royall and precious to be spile by any valorous adventure, (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdy fellowes, 10 like the Smitzers, would have done him more fervice) and these were backt with thirty thousand foot-men, after whom againe were led foure hundred spare horses for the King, which if he had meant to have used, he would have marshalled somewhat nearer

The fourth Booke of the first part

Now followed the Reareward, the same being led by Sifigambis the Kings Mother. and by his wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great traine of Ladies their attendants on horse-backe, with fifteene Wagons of the Kings children, and the wives of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fiftie Concubines, and a world of Nurfes and Eunuchs, most sumptuously apparrelled. By which it should seeme that Darins 10 thought that the Macedonians had bin Comedians or Tumblers; for this troope was far fitter to behold those sports than to bee present at battailes. Betweene these and a company of flight-armed flaves, with a world of Vallets, was the Kings treasure, charged on fixe hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proved, to pay the Ma. cedenians. In this fort came the May-game-King into the field, incumbred with a most unnecessary traine of Strumpets, attended with troupes of divers Nations, speaking divers languages, and for their numbers impossible to bee marshalled; and for the most part so effeminate, and so rich in gold and in garments, as the same could nor but have encouraged the nakedit Nation of the world against them. We finde it in daily experience, that all discourse of magnanimity, of Nationall Vertue, of Religion, of Liberty, and 10 whatsoever else hath bin wont to move and incourage vertuous men, hath no forceat all with the common-Souldier, in comparison of spoile and riches. The rich ships are boorded upon all disadvantages, the rich Townes are furiously assaulted, and the plentifull Countries willingly invaded. Our English nation have attempted many places in the Indies, and run upon the Spaniards head-long, in hope of their Royals of plate, and Pistolets; which, had they bin put to it upon the like disadvantages in Ireland, or in any poore Country, they would have turned their Peeces and Pikes against their Commanders, contesting that they had bin brought without reason to the Butchery and slaughter. It is true that the warre is made willingly, and for the most part with good successe, that is ordained against the richest Nations; for as the needle are alwayes adventurous, so plentie is wont to shunne perill, and men that have well to live, do rather studie how to live well, I meane wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. Car où il n'y 4 rien a gaigner que des coups, volontiers il n'y va pas. No man makes haste to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blowes.

Now if Alexander had beheld this preparation before his confultation with his Sooth faiers, he would have fatisfied himselfe by the out-sides of the Persians, and never have looked into the intrailes of Beasts for successe. For leaving the description of this second battell (which is indeed no-where well described, neither for the confusion & hastie nutming away of the Afians could it be) we have enough by the flaughter that was made of them, & by the few that fell of the Macedonians, to informe us what manner of refiltance was made. For if it be true that threescore thousand Persian footmen were slaine in this battaile, with ten thousand of their horsemen: Or (as Curtim faith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horsemen, and besides this slaughter, forty thousand taken prisoners, while of Alexanders Armie there miscarried but two hundred & fourtscore of all forts, of which numbers Arrianus & other Historians cut off almost the one halfe: I doe verily beleeve, that this small number rather died with the over-travaile& paines-taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes received from them. And furely if the Persian Nation (at this time degenerate & the basest of the World) had had

any favour remaining of the ancient valour of their fore-fathers; they would never have fold fo good cheape, and at fo vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the Kings children; had their owne honour been evalued by them at nothing; and the Kings suferie and his estate at lesse. Darius by this time found it true, that Charidenus abanished Gracian of Athens had told him, when he made a view of his Army about Es. bylan, to wit, That the multitude which he had affembled of divers Nations, richly attired, but poorely armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the countrey, whom in passing by they would devoure, than to the Macedonians, whom they meant to affaile; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattailed in groffe squadrons, which they call their Phalanx, well covered with Armour for defence, and furnifled with weapons for offence of great advantage, would make fo little accompt of his delicate Persians, loving their ease and their palar, being withall ill armed and worse disoplined, as except it would please him to entertain (having so great aboundance of treafireto do it withall) a sufficient number of the same Gracians, and so to encounter the Macedonians with men of equall courage, he would repent him overlate, as taught by the

But this discourse was so unpleasing to Darius (who had bin accustomed to nothing so much as to his owne praises, and to nothing so little as to heare truth;) as he commanded that this poore Gracian should bee presently slaine: who while he was a fundring in the Tormentors hand, used this speech to the King, That Alexander, against whom he hadgiven this good counsell, should affuredly revenge his death, and lay deserved punilment upon Darius for despising his advice.

It was the faying of a Wile man: Desperata ejus Principis salus est scujus aures ita formate sunt sut aspera que utilia, nec quicquam nisi jucundum accipiat; Than Princes safetie is inadesperate case, whose eares judge all that is profitable to be too sharpe, and will entertaine nothing that is unpleasant.

For liberty in counsell is the life and essence of counsell; Libertas consilir est ejus vita, & effentia, qua erepta confilium evanescit.

Darius did likewise value at nothing the advice given him by the Gracian Souldiers that ferved him, who intreated him not to fight in the Streights: But had they beene Counsellers and directors in that Warre, as they were underlings and communded by others, they had with the helpe of a good troupe of horse-men bin able to have opposed theflay of Alexander, without any affiftance of the Persian foot-men. For when Darius was overthrowne with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those Gracians, under their Captaine Amyntas, held firme, & marched away in order, indefpight of the vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not eafily difinayed: we reade in Histories ancient and moderne, what brave retraits have bin made by them, though the rest of the Army in which they have served, hath bin broken.

At the battaile of Ravenna, where the Imperialls were beaten by the French, a squaodron of spaniards, old Souldiers, came off unbroken & undifinayed, whom when Gafton de Foix, Duke of Nemours, and Nephew to Lewis the twelfth, charged, as holding the victory not entire by their escape, hee was over-turned and slaine in the place. For it is truely faid of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers, fear them not, That, Neglecto periculo imminentis mali opus ipsum quantumvis difficile aggrediuntur; They goe about the businesse it selfe, how hard soever it be not standing to consider of the danger, which the mischiefe hanging over their heads, may bring : and as truely of those that know the warres but by hearc-fay; Quod valentes funt & prevalentes ame pericula, in ipsis tamen poiculis discedunt; They have ability enough, and to spare, till dangers appeare; but when perillindeed comes, they get them gone.

These Gracians also that made the retrait, advised Darius to retire his Army into the plaine of Mesopotamia, to the end that Alexander being entred into those large fields and great Champions, hee might have invironed the Macedonians on all fides with his multitude; and withall they counselled him to divide that his huge Army into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby he might have fought many battailes, and have brought no greater numbers at once than might have been well marshalled & conducted. But this counsell was so contrary to the cowardly affections of the Persians, as they perswaded Darius to inviton the Gracians which gave the advice, and to cut them in pieces as Traitors. The infinite wisedome of God dothnot work alwayes

by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdomes and Estates by taking understanding from the Governours, so as they can neither give not discerne of Counsels. For Darius that would needs fight with Alexander upon a streightned piece of ground, neere unto the City of Iss, where he could bring no more hands to fight than Alexander could, (who by the advice of Parmenio staied there, as in a place of best advantage) was utterly overthrown, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the Gracians his followers had perswaded him to leave in Babylon, or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their traine of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Jewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queeno, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to Alexanders presence, were entertained with all respect due unto their birth, 10 their Honours preserved, and their Jewels and rich Garments restored unto them; and though Darrus Wife was a most beautifull Lady, and his Daughters of excellent forme. yet Alexander mastred his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of Aristobulus the Historian, that he imbraced the wife of the valiant Memnon, her Husband larely dead, who was taken flying from Damascus by Parmenio, at which time the Daughters of Ochus, who reigned before Darius, and the Wives and Children of all the Nobility of Persia in effect, fell into captivity; at which time also Darius Treasure (not lost at Is was seized, amounting to fixe thousand and two hundred talents of coine, and of Bullion five hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

Darius himselfe leauing his brother dead, with divers other of his chiefe Captaines, 201

(casting the Crowne from his head) hardly escaped.

After this overthrow given unto Darius, all Phanicia (the City of Tyre excepted)was

yeelded to Alexander, of which Parmenio was made Governour.

Aradus, Zidon, and Biblos, maritimate Cities of great importance, of which one strato was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged Alexander. Good fortune followed him so fast that it trod on his heeles; for Antigonus, Alexanders Lievtenant in Asathe lesse, overthrew the Cappadocians, Paphlagonuns, & others lately revolted; Aristodenus, Darius Admiral, had his Fleet partly taken, & in part drowned by the Macedonians newly levied; the Lacedamonians that warred against Antipater were beaten, soure thousand those Greeks which made the retrait at the last battaile, for saking both the party of Darius & of Alexander, & led by Amyntus into Egypt, to hold it for themselves, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to divide Kingdomes.

Alexander to honour Epheftien, whom he loved most, gave him power to dispose of the Kingdome of Ziden. A man of a most poore estate, that laboured to sustain his life being of the Royall bloud, was commended by the people unto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the same houre.

It was a good defire of this new King, when speaking to Alexander, he wisht thathe could beare his prosperity with the same moderation, & quietnesse of heart, that he had done his adversity; but ill done of Alexander, in that he would not performe in himselfe that which he commended in another mans desire: for it was a signe that he did but at 44

company, and could not governe his felicity.

While he made some stay in those parts, he received a letter from Darius, importing the ransome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouch safing, in his direction, to stile Alexander King. It is true, that the Romans, after that they had received an overthrow by Fyrrhus, returned him a more scorne sull answer upon the offer of peace, than they did before the triall of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of Darius had already cast lease; the one a resolved, well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate.

Alexander disdained the offers of Darius, and sent him word that he not onely directed this letter to a King, but to the King of Darius himselfe.

§. V.

How Alexander besieged and wan the Citie of Tyre.

Lexander comming neere to the City of Tyre, received from them the present of a golden Crowne, with great store of victuals, and other presents, which he tooke very thankefully, returning them answer, That he desired to offer a sacrifice

facrifice to Hercules, the Protector of their Citie, from whom he was descended But the Trians like not his companie within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of Hercules was feated in the old City adjoyning, now abandoned and desolate. To bee short, Alexander resolved to enter it by force: and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the Iland whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Maine, yet with the labour of many hands, having great store of stone from the old Tyre, and timber sufficient from Lybanus, hee filled the passage of the Scabetweene the fland and the Maine, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the Seaupon a storme of winde, somtime by the Tyrians fired, and sometime torne asunder, vet with the helpe of his Navie which arrived (during the fiege) from Cyprus, he overcame all difficulties and prevailed, after he had spent seven moneths in that attempt. The Tyrians in the beginning of the fiege had barbaroufly drowned the messengers sent by Alexander, perswading them to render the City, in respect whereof, & of the great losse of time and men, he put eight thousand to the fword, and caused two thousand of those, that escaped the first fury, to bee hanged on Crosses on the Sea-shore, and reserved for flaves (faith Diodore) thirteene thousand; Arrianus reckons them at thirty thousand. Anian: Many more had died, had not the Zidonians, that served Alexander, conveyed great numbers away by shipping unto their owne Citie.

Happy it was for Apollo that the Towne was taken: for one of the Tyrians having Julin. lib. 18. deamt, that this god meant to for fake the City, they bound him fast with a golden chaine to the Idoll of Hercules; but Alexander, like a gracious Prince, loosened him againe.

It is true, that it was a notable enterprife & a difficult, but great things are made greater. For Nabuchodono for had taken it before, and filled up the channell, that lay between the lland and the Maine.

The government of this Territory he gave to Philotas, the Sonne of Parmenio; Cilicia, he committed to Socrates, and Andromachus Lievtenant under Parmenio; Ephestion had charge of the Fleet, and was directed to finde Alexander at GaZa towards Egypt.

§. VI.

How Darius offered conditions of peace to Alexander. Alexander wins GaZa; and deales graciously with the Jewes.

In the meane while Darius sends againe to Alexander, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and layeth the losse of the last battaile to the streightness of the place: he hoped to terresse him by threatning to encompasse him inthe plaine Countries, he bids him to consider, how impossible it was to passe the Rivers of Euphrates, Tigris, Araxes, and the rest, with all such other searefull things: for he that was now filled with nothing but seare, had arguments enow of that nature to present an other. All the Kingdomes betweene the River of Alys, and the Hellesson, he offered him in Dower with his beloved daughter. But Alexander answered, That he offered him nothing but his owne, and that which victory and his own vertue had possess him of; That he was to give conditions, and not to receive any, & that he having passed the Sea it selfe, disdained to thinke of resistance in transporting himselse over Rivers. It is said, that Parmenie, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the King, That were he Alexander, hee would accept of Darius his offers; to which Alexander answered, That so would he, if he were Parmenie.

But he goes ontowards Egypt, and comming before GaZa, Getù a faithfull servant to Darius, shuts the Gate against him, & desends the Towne with an obstinate resolution, at the siege wherof Alexander received a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous, and ablow on his legge with a stone. Hee found better men in this place than he did at the former battailes, for he lest so many of his Macedonians buried in the sands of GaZa, that he was forc't to send for a new supply into Greece. Here it was that Alexander sinst began to change condition, & to exercise cruelty. For after that he had entred GaZa by assault, & taken Betic, (whom Josephus calleth Babemess) that was weakened with many wounds, and who never gave ground to the Assaulants, he bored holes through his seete, and caused him to be drawne about the street, whiles he was as yet alive; who being as valiant a man as himselfe, discanded to aske him either life or remission of his torments.

And

And what had he to countenance this his tyrannie, but the imitation of his Ancestor Achilles, who did the like to Hettor? It is true, that cruelty hath alwayes somewhat to cover her deformity.

Lib.11.cap. ult.

From GaZa (faith Josephus) heled his Army towards Jerufalem, a City, for the antiquity and great fame thereof, well knowne unto him while he lay before Tyre; He had fent for some supply thither, which Jaddus the high Priest, being subject and sworners Darius, had refused him. The Jewes therefore fearing his revenge, and unable to refist. committed the care of their estates and safetie to Jaddus, who, being taught by God, issued out of the City covered with his Pontificall Robes, to wit, an upper garment of purple, embroidered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of no God was written, the Priests and Levites in their rich ornaments, & the people in white garments, in a manner fo unufuall, flately and grave, as Alexander greatly admired it. Jose phus reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Priest, as reverencing the name of God, and that Parmenio reprehended him for it. How soever it was, I am of opinion, that he became so confident in his enterprise, and so assured of the successe after the prophecie of Daniel had been read unto him, wherein he faw himselfe, and the conquest of Persia so directly pointed at, as nothing thence-forth could discourage him or scare him. He confessed to Parmenio (faith Josephus) that in Dio a City of Macedon, when his mind laboured the conquest of Asia, he faw in his sleepe such a person as Jaddus, and so apparelled professing one and the same God; by whom he was incouraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand, with affurance of victory. This apparition, formerly apprehended only by the light of his fantasie, he now beheld with his bodily eyes, wherewith he was fo exceedingly pleased and imboldened, as contrary to the practice of the Phanicians. (who hoped to have fackt and destroyed Jerusalem) he gave the Jewes all, and morethan they defired, both of liberty and immunity, with permission to live under their owne lawes, and to exercise and injoy their owne Religion.

6. VII.

Alexander winnes Egypt: and makes a journie to the Temple of Hammon.

Rom Jerusalem Alexander turned againe towards Egypt, and entred it, where Darius his Lievtenant, Aslaces, received him, and delivered into his handthe City of Memphis, with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the Kings riches. By this we see that the King of Persia, who had more of affection than of judgement, gave to the valiantest man he had but the command of one City, and to the veriest coward the government of all Egypt. When he had set things in order in Egypt, he began to travaile after God-head, towards Jupiter Hammon; fo foolish had prosperity made him. He wasto passe over the dangerous and drie sands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels backe was fpent, he could not but have perished, had 40 not a marvellous showre of raine fallen upon him, when his Army was in extreme defpaire. All men that know Egypt, and have written thereof, affirme, That it never raines there: but the purposes of the Almighty God are secret, & he bringeth to passe what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, That when he had lost his way in those vast desarts, that a flight of Crowes flew before the army; who making fafter wing when they werefollowed, and fluttering flowly when the Army was cast backe, guided them over those pathlesse sands to Jupiters Temple.

Arrianus from the report of Piolomy, the sonne of Lague, faies, That he was led by two Dragons; both which reports may be a-like true. But many of those wonders and things prodigious, are fained by thosethat have writtenthe Storie of Alexander; as, That 5 an Eagle lay hovering directly over his head at the battell of Isu; That a Swallow flew about his head when he slept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at Halicarnasseus, fore-shewing the treason of Aeropus, practised by Darius to have slaine him; That from the yron barres of which the Tyrians made their defensive engines, when Alexander besieged them, there fell drops of bloud; and that the like drops were found in a loafe of bread, broken by a Macedonian Souldier, at the same time; That a Turfe of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before Gaza, out of which there slew ? Bird into the aire. The Spaniards in the conquest of the West Indies have many such

nretty tales; telling how they have been affifted in battell by the presence of our Lady. by Angels riding on white horfes, with the like Romish miracles, which I think themfelves do hardly beleeve. The strangest thing that I have read of in this kind being certainly true, was, That the night before the battell at Novara, all the Dogs which followedthe French Army, ran from them to the Switzers, leaping and fawning upon them, as if they had been bred and fed by them all their lives, and in the morning following, Trivally and Tremouille, Generals for Lewis the twelfth, were by these imperial Switzers utterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idoll of Jupiter Hammon is ill described by Curtius, for he bounds it no by the Arabian Troglodites on the South, between whom & the Territory of Hammon, the Region Thebais, or the superiour Egypt, with the Mountains of Lybia, & the River of Nilus, are interjacent; and on the North he joyns it to a Nation called Naffamones, who bordering the Sea-shore, live (saith he) upon the spoyles of shipwrack: whereas the remple or grove of this Idoll hath no Sea neare it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of Lybia; these Nassamones being due West from it, in the Piol. As. Tab. 3.

South part of Marmarica.

CHAP.2. S.8.

When Alexander came neare the place, he fent some of his Parasites before him to practifethe Priests attending the Oracle, That their answer might be given in all things, agreeable to his mad ambition; who affected the title of Jupiters fon. And so he was fablued, son of Jupiter, by the Divels Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some think) defective in the Greek tongue; For whereas he meant to say O padien, he faid o pai dies; that is, o Son of Jupiter, in ftead of O deare Son: for which Grammaicall errour he was richly rewarded, and a rumour presently spred, that the great Jupiter had acknowledged Alexander for his owne.

Hehadheard that Perfeus and Hercules had formerly confulted with this Oracle, The one when he was imployed against Gorgon, The other against Anteus and Busirus; and seeingthese menhad derived themselves from the gods, why might not hee ? By this it feens, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fools, though indeed he made himselfe one, by thinking to cover from the worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirme his followers in the beliefe of his Deity, he had practifed the Prefis to give answer to such as consulted with the Oracle; that it should be pleasing to

Jupiter to honour Alexander as his Son.

Who this Ammon was, and how represented, either by a Bosse carried in a Boat, or by CHELIDA aRamsor a Rams head, I fee that many wife men have troubled themselves to finde out; butas Arrianus speaks of Dionysius, or Liber Pater (who lived faith S. Augustine, in Mosume) Ea quæ de diis veteres fabulis suis conscripsere, non sunt nimium curiose pervesti-84nda We must not over-curiously scarchinto the fables which the Antients have written of

Butthis is certaine and notable, that after the Gospel beganne to be preached in the World, the Divell in this and all other Idols became speechlesse. For, that this Hammon was neglected in the time of Tiberius Cafar, and in the time of Trajan altogether forgot-

ten, Strabo and Plutarch witnesse.

There is found neare his Temple a Fountaine called Fons folis (though Ptolomy in his third Affrican Table fets it farther off) that at mid-night is as hot as boyling water, and at Noone as cold as any yee: to which I cannot but give credit, because I have heard of some other Wels of like nature, and because it is reported by S. Augustine, by Diodore Hondoins, Pliny, Mela, Solinus, Arrianus, Curtius, and others; and indeed our Bathesin England are much warmer in the night than in the day.

6. VIII.
How Alexander marching against Darius, was opposed very unskilfully by the Enemy.

Rom the Temple of Hammon hereturned to Memphis, where among many other learned men, he heard the Philosopher Pfammones, who, belike understanding that he affected the title of Jupiters Son, told him that God was the Father-King of all meningenerall; and refining the pride of this haughty King, brought him to fay, That God was the Father of all mortali men, but that he acknowledged none for his children lave good men.

Arrian. lib.3.

CHAP.2.S.9.

Avift Polls.

Curt.L.4.

He gave the charge of the severall Provinces of Egypt to severall Governours, following the rule of his Master Aristotle, That a great Dominion (hould not be continued in the hands of any one: whom therein the Romane Emperors also followed, not daring to commit the government of Egypt to any of their Senators, but to men of meaner rank and degree. He then gave order for the founding of Alexandria upon the Wester-most branch of Nilus. And having now fetled (as he could) the estate of Egypt, with the kingdomes of the lesser Asia, Phoenicia and Syria, (which being but the pawns of Darius his ill fortune, one happy victory would readily have redeemed) he led his Army towards Euphrates, which passage though the same was committed to MaZeus to defend, yet was ruphrates, which parage resistance past it. From thence he marched towards to it abandoned, and Alexander without resistance past it. From thence he marched towards to Tigris, a river for the swiftnesse therof called by the Persians, The Arrow. Here, as Curtius, and Reason it selfe tels us, might Darius easily have repelled the invading Macedonian: for the violent course of the streame was such, as it drave before it many weighty stones, and those that moved nor, but lay in the bottome, were so round & well polished by continual rolling, that no man was able to fight on fo flippery a footing, nor the Macedonian foot-mento wade the river, otherwise than by joyning their hands, and enterlacing their armes together, making one weighty and entire body to refift the fwift paffage and furious race of the streame. Besides this notable help, the Channell was so deep towards the Easterne shore, where Darius should have made head, as the soot-men were enforc't to lift their Bowes, and Arrowes, and Darts over their heads to keepe them 19 from being moistned, and made unserviceable by the Waters. But it was truely and understandingly said of Homer,

The fourth Booke of the first part

Talis est hominum terrestrium mens, Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq; Deorumq;.

The mindes of men are ever so affected, As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the world, by the surfeit of mis-government have been subject to many grievous, and sometimes mortall diseases: So had the sempire of Persia at this time brought it selfe into a burning and consuming Feaver, and thereby become frantick and without understanding, foreshewing manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But Alexander hath now recovered the Eastern shores of Tigris, without any other difficulty, than that of the nature of the place; where Mazem (who had charge to defend the Passage both of Euphrates and it) presented himselfe to the Macedonians, followed with certaine companies of Horse-men, as if with uneven forces he durst have charged them on even ground, when as with a multitude farre exceeding them, he for sook the advantage which no valour of his enemies could easily have overcome. But it is commonly seene, that seasfull and cowardly men do ever follow those wayes and counsels, whereof the opportunity is already lost.

It is true that he set all provisions a fire wherewith the Macedonians might serve themselves over Tigris, thinking thereby greatly to have distressed them; but the execution of good counsell is fruitlesse, when unseasonable. For now was Alexander so well furnished with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competency of the Army which he conducted. Those things also which he sought to waste, Alexander being now in sight, were by his Horse-men saved and recovered. This Mazeum might have done some slayes before at good leasure; or at this time with so great a strength of Horse-men, as the Macedonians durst not have pursued them, leaving the strength of their soot out of sight and far behind.

5. IX.
Thenew provisions of Darius. Accidents foregoing the battell of Arbela.

Arius, upon Alexanders first returne out of Egypt, had affembled all the forces, which those Regions next him could furnish, and now also were the Arians Scythians, Indians, and other Nations arrived; Nations (faith Curtins) that is ther served to make up the names of men, than to make resistance. Arrians hat number

numbred them with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all forts ten hundred thoufand, and of horse foure hundred thousand, besides armed Chariots, and some sew Elephants. Curtius, who musters the Army of Darius at two hundred thousand soot, & near
fifty thousand horse, comes (I think) nearer to the true number; and yet seeing hee had
more considence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vassals, it is like enough that
hehad gathered together of all sorts some three or source hundred thousand, with which
he hoped in those fair plains of Assyria, to have over-born the sew numbers of the invading Army. But it is a rule in the Philosophy of the War;

Inomni prælio non tam multitudo, & virtus indotta, quam ars & exercitium solent præ Vese. Sare victoriam; In every battell skill and practice do more towards the victory, than multi-

tude and rude audacity.

While Alexander gave rest to his army after the passage over Tigris, there happened an Eclipse of the Moone, of which the Macedonians, not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude alwaies are) took it for acertain presage of their overthrow and destruction, in so much as they began not only to murmur, but to speake it boldly, That for the ambition of one man, a man that discinct Philip for his father, and would needs be called the son of Jupiter, they should all perish; For henot only enforce them to make war against Worlds of enemies, but a gainst Rivers, Mountaines, and the Heavens themselves.

Hereupon Alexander being ready to march forward, made a halt, & to quiet the minds of the multitude, he called before him the Egyptian Aftrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be affured that this defection of the Moon was a certain prefage of good fuccesse; for, that it was naturall they never imparted to the common people, but referved the knowledge to themselves, so as a forry Almanack.

maker had been no small foole in those daies.

Of this kind of superstitious observation Casar made good use, when he sought against Ariovistus & the Germans: for they being persuaded by the casting of lots, that if they sought before the change of the Moone, they should certainely lose the battell, Casar force them to abide it, though they durst not give it, wherein having their minds already whether by their owne superstition, and being resolutely charged by the Romans, the whole Army in effect perished.

These Egyptians gave no other reason than this, That the Grecians were under the aspect of the Sun, the persians of the Moone; and therefore the Moone sailing and being darkened, the state of Persia was now in danger of salling, and their glory of being obscured. This judgement of the Egyptian Priests being noysed through all the Army, allwere satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the Warre, which, though devised since, was well observed then: Exercitum terrore pleasan Dux ad pugnam and ucat; Let not a Captaine lead his Army to the sight, when it is possessed with matter of terrour.

It is truely observed by Curtius, that the people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, we finde it in all stories, and often in our owne, that by such inventions, devised tales, dreames, and prophecies, the people of this Land have been carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their owne losse and mine

As Alexander drew nearethe Persian Army, certaine letters were surprized, written by Darius to the Grecians, perswading them for great summes of mony-either to kill or

betray Alexander. But thefe by the advice of Parmenie he suppressed.

At this time also Darius his faire Wife, opprest with sorrow, and wearied with travell, died. Which accident Alexander seemed no lesse to bewaile than Darius, who upon the sufficient bruit, suspected that some dishonourable violence had been offered her; but being faitsssed by an Eunuch of his owne that attended her, of Alexanders kingly respect to wardsher, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortall Gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the Persian Empire, then it would please them to confer it on so just and consinent an enemy as Alexander, to whom he once againe before the last tryall by battell offered these conditions of peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliver up and refigne all Asia the lesse, with Egypt, all those kingdoms between the Phœnician sea, & the River of Euphrales; That he would pay him for the ransome of his Mother, and his other Daughters, 30.

Aaaa 2

thousand

thousand talents and that for the performance thereof, he would leave his sonne Occhus inhostage: To this they sought to perswade Alexander by such arguments as they had. Alexander causing the Embassadors to be removed, advised with his Councell, but heard no man speak but Parmenio, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perswaded him to accept of these faire conditions. He told him, that the Empire between Euphrates and Hellespont was a faire addition to Macedon; that the retaining of the Persian prisoners was a great cumber, & the treasure offered for them of far better use than their persons. with divers other arguments; all which Alexander rejected. And yet it is probable that if he had followed his advice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might have lived as famous for vertue as for fortune, and left himselfe a Successor of able age to to have enjoyed his estate, which afterward indeed he much enlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himselfe: who to assure themselves of what they hadusurped upon his iffues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few years after. The truth is, That Alexander in going fo far into the East, left behinde him the reputation which he brought out of Macedon; the reputation of a just and prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, advised and gratefull: and being taught new lessons by abundance of prosperity, became a lover of wine, of his owne flattery, and of extreme cruelty. Yea, as Sentes hath observed, the taint of one unjust slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beauty of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the Perssan Embaffadors ftay his answer, which was to this effect, That what soever he had bestow- 10 ed on the wife and children of Darius, proceeded from his owne naturall clemency and magnanimity, without all respect to their Master, but thanks to an enemy was improper: that he made no Wars against adversity, but against those that resisted him; not against Women and Children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated pra-Etice of Darius, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great summes of money to perswade his friends to attempt upon his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet he could not (were it otherwise and faithfull) resolvein haste to accept the same, seeing Darius had made the Warre against him, not as a King with Royall and overt-force, but as a Traytor by fecret and base practice; That for the Territory offered him, it was already his owne, and if Darius could beat him back again 19 over Euphrates, which he had already past, he would then beleeve that he offered him somewhat in his owne power: Otherwise he propounded to himselfe for the reward of the War which he had made, all those kingdomes as yet in Darius possession; wherein, whether hewere abused by his owne hopes or no, the battell which he meant to fight in the day following should determine. For in conclusion, he told them, that he came into Afia to give, & not to receive; That the heavens could not hold two Suns: and therefore if Darius would be content to acknowledge Alexander for his Superiour, he might perchance be perswaded to give him conditions fit for a second Person, and his Inferiour.

The battell of Arbela: and that it could not be so strongly fought as report

Ith this answer the Embassadors return; Darius prepares to fight, & sends MaZeus to defend a paffage, which he never dared yet for much as to hazzard. Alexander confults with his Captaines, Parmenio perswades him to force Darius his Camp by night; so that the multitude of enemies might not move terrour in the Macedonians being but few. Alexander disdaines to steale the victory, and resolves to bring with him the day-light, to witnesse his valour. But it was the successe that made good Alexanders resolution, though the counsell given by Parmenie was more found : For it is a ground in Warre, Si pauci necessario cum multitudine pagnare cogantur, confilium est nottis tempore belli fortunam tentare. Notwith standing upon the view of the multitude at hand, he ftaggers and trenches himselfe upon a ground of advantage, which the Persian had abandoned: And whereas Darius for feare of surprise had stood with his Army in armour all the day, and forborne sleepe all the night; Alexander gave his men rest and store of foode; for reason had taught him this Rule in the Warre, In pugna Milites validius resistunt, si cibo potuque refetti fuerint, namfames intrinscus magis pugnat, quam ferrum exterius; Souldiers do the better fland to it in fight, if they have their belies full of meate and drinke; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than steele

The numbers which Alexander had, faith Arrianus, were forty thousand foot, & seven thousand horse; these belike were of the Europæan Army: for he had besides both Syrians, Indians, Egyptians, and Arabians, that followed him out of those Regions. He used but a short speech to his Souldiers to encourage them; and I thinke that he needed little Rhetorick's for by the two former battels upon the River of Granick and in Cilicia, the Macedonians were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true n laying, Victoria victoriam parat, animumque victoribus auget, & adversariis aufert; One victory begets another, and puts courage into those that have already had the better, taking

hirit away from those that have been beaten.

Arrianus and Curtius make large discriptions of this battell, fought at Gaugamela; They tell us of many charges and re-charges; That the victory inclined sometime to the Persians, sometime to the Macedonians; That Parmenie was in danger of being overthrowne, who led the left wing; That Alexanders Rear-guard was broken, and his carrimes lost; That for the fierce and valorous encounters on both sides, Fortune her selfe was long unrefolved on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, That Alexander in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retrait. But in conclusion, Currus delino versus in account but three hundred dead Macedonians, in all this terrible daies work, faying, That Epheftion, Perdiccas, and others of name were wounded. Arrianus finds nota third part of this number flaine; of the Perfians there fell forty thousand (faith Curius) thirty thousand according to Arrianus: Ninety thousand, if we believe Diodure. But what can we judge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two formerbattels, the Persians upon the first charge ran away, and that the Macedonians purfied. For if of those foure or five hundred thousand Asians brought into the field by Darins, every man had cast but a dart or a stone, the Macedonians could not have bought the Empire of the East at so easie a rate, as fixe or seven hundred men in three notorious bands. Certainly, if Darius had fought with Alexander upon the banks of Euphrates, p & hadarmed but fifty or threescore thousand of this great multitude, only with Spades, (for the most of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had been impossible for Alexander to have past that River so easily, much lesse the river of Tigris. But as a man whose Empire God in his providence had determined, he abandoned all places of advantage, and fuffered Alexander to enter fo far into the bowels of his Kingdome, as all hope and possibility of escape by retrait being taken from the Macedonians, they had presented untothem the choice, either of death or victory; to which election Darius could no way constraine his own, seeing they had many large Regions to run into from those that invaded them.

§. XI. Of things following the battell of Arbela. The yeelding of Babylon and Sufa.

Arius after the rout of his Army recovered Arbela the fame night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded unto them that ranne after him his purpose of making a retrait into Media, perswading them that the Macolonians, greedy of spoyle and riches, would rather attempt Babylon, Susa, and other Cities filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his

Nobility rather obeyed than approved.

Alexander soon after Darius his departure arrives at Arbela, which with a great masse Oftreasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred to him: for the feare which conducted Darins, tooke nothing with it but shame and dishonour. He that had been twice beaten, hould rather have sent his treasure into Media, than brought it to Arbela, so nearethe place where he abid the comming of his enemies; if he had been victorious, he might have brought it after him at leasure; but being overcome, he knew it unpossible to drive Mules and Camels laden with gold from the pursuing Enemy, seeing himselfe, at the o-Venhrow he had in Cilicia, cast the Crowne from his head, to run away with the more peed. But errors are then best discerned when most incurable. Et preterita magis reprebindi possimit quam corrigi; It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past.

CHAP. 2. S. 12.

An.b. Alex.

From Arbela Alexander tooke his way towards Babylon, where Mazem, in whom Darim had most considence, rendred himselfe, his Children and the Citie. Also the Capt ain of the Castle, who was keeper of the treasure, strewed the streets with slowers. burnt frankincense upon Altars of silver as Alexander passed by, and delivered unto him whatfoever was committed to his trust. The Magi (the Chaldean Astrologers) followed this Captaine in great folemnitie to entertaine their new King: after these came the Babylonian horsemen, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poorein warlike furniture. Betweene these (though not greatly to be feared) and himselfe, Alexander caused his Macedonian foot-men to march. When he entred the Castle, headmired the glorie thereof, and the aboundance of treasure therein found, amounting to 10 fiftie thousand talents of filver uncoyned. The Citie it selfe I have elsewhere described with the Walls, the Towers, the Gates and Circuit, with the wonderfull place of pleafure about two miles in Circuit, furrounded with a Wall of fourescore foot high, and on the top thereof (being under-borne with Pillars) a Grove of beautifull and fruitfull trees, which it is faid that one of the Kings of Babylon caused to be built, that the Queene and other Princesses might walke privately therein. In this Citie, rich in all things, but most of all in voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himselfe and the whole Armie source and thirtie dayes, consuming that time in banquetting and in all forts of effeminate exercife; which fo much softned the minds of the Macedonians, not acquainted til now with the like delicacies, as the fevere discipline of war, which taught them the sufferances of 10 hunger and thirst, of painefull travell, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten. than neglected.

The fourth Booke of the first part

Here it was that those bands of a thousand Souldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed overthem, who thereupon were stiled Chiliarchi. This new order Alexander brought in, was to honour those Captains which were found by certaine selected Judges to have deserved best in the late war. For before this time the Macedonian companies consisted but of five hundred. Certainly the drawing down of the foot-bands in this latter age hath been the cause (saith the Marshall Monluss) that the title and charge of a Captaine hath bin best owed on every Picque-Boufor Spurn-Cow; for when the Captaines of soot had a thousand Souldiers under one Ensigne, and after that five hundred, as in the time of Francis the first, the title was honorable, and the kings were lesse charged, and far better served. K. Henry the eighth of England never gave the commandement of any of his good ships, but to men of knowne valour, and of great estate, nay sometime he made two Gentlemen of qualitie Commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees

while Alexander was yet in Babylon, there came to him a great supply out of Europe; for Antipater sent him fixe thousand foot and five hundred horse out of Macedon; of Thracians three thousand foot, and the like number of horse; & out of Greece fourthoufand and foure hundred horse, by which his Armie was greatly strengthened: for those that were insected with the pleasures of Babylon, could hardly be brought againe, Designitude of the pleasures of Babylon, could hardly be brought againe.

He left the Castle and Citie of Babylon, with the Territories about it, in charge with three of his owne Captains, to wit, Agathon, Minetus, and Appolidorus; to supply all wants, a thousand talents: but to grace Mazeus, who rendred the Citie unto him, he gave him the title of his Lievtenant over all, and tooke with him Bagistines that gave up the Castle, and having distributed to every Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left Babilon, and entred into the Province Satrapene: from thence he went on towards Sufain Persia, the same which Ptolomy, Herodotus, and Elianus call Memnonia, situate on the iver Euleus,a Citic sometime governed by Daniel the Prophet. Abulites also, Governor of this famous Citie, gave it up to the Conqueror, with fiftie thousand talents of filverin Diador Speaketh bullion, and twelve Elephants for the warre, with all other the treasures of Darius. In of more than this fort did those Vassals of fortune, lovers of the Kings prosperitie, not of his person, torty thouland talents in bulli- (for fo all ambitious men are) purchase their owne peace and safetie with the Kingstreaen, and of nine fures. And herein was Alexander well advised, that what soever titles he gave to the Permillions of gold, fubdanicas frans, yet he left all places of importance in trust with his owne Captaines, to will, Babylon, Sufa, and Perfepolis, with other Cities and Provinces by him conquered; for if Darius (as yet living) had beaten the Macedonians but in one battell, all the Nobilite of Persia would have returned unto their naturall Lord. Those that are Traitors to their owne Kings, are never to be used alone in great enterprises by those Princes that entertaine them, nor ever to be trusted with the defences of any frontier-Town, or Formess of weight, by the rendring whereof they may redeem their liberty and estates lost. Hereof the French had experience, when *Don Pedro de Navarra*, being banished out of Spaine, was trusted with Fonterabe, in the yeare 1523.

While Alexander spoiled Arbela, Mazeus might have furnisht the King from Babylon; and while he stayed sourcand thirty dayes at Babylon, Abulues might have holpen him from Susa: & while he seasted there, Tiridates from Persepolis might have relieved him; for the great masse of Treasure was layd up in that City. But who hath sought out and friended searfull adversity? It is certaine, that benefits bindenot the ambitious, but the honest: for those that are but greedy of themselves, doe in all changes of fortune onely consult the conservation of their owne greatnesses.

The government of Susa, with the Castle and Treasure, he committed to his own Maccolonians, making Abultes, who rendred it unto him, his Lievtenant, as he had done Maccolonians, in giving them titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousend old Souldies in Garrison to assure the place; and Darius mother and her children to repose themselves.

It is faid that Charles the fift, having promifed Charles of Bourbon the government of Marfeilles, if he could have forc't ir, and whereof he made fure accompt, told fome of his potential Counfellors, that he meant nothing lefte than the performance of that promife, because hee should thereby have left the Duke (revolted from his Master) very well wherewithall to have recovered his favour.

6. XII.

How Alexander came to Persepolis and burnt it.

Rom Susa Alexander leadeth his Army toward Persepolis, and when he sought to passe those Mountaines which sunder Susiana and Persia, he was soundly bearen by Ariobar and Susa Who desended against him those Streights, called Pyla Persidis, or Susaide, and after the losse of many Companies of his Macedonians, he was forc't to save himselse by retrait, causing his Foot to march close together, and to cover themselves with their Targets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountain top. Yet in the end he sound out another path, which a Lycian, living in that Country, discovered unto him, and came thereby suddenly inview of Ariobar Lanes, who being enforc't to fight, uponeven ground, was by Alexander broken, whereupon he sted to Persepolis; but safter that they of Persepolis had resused to receive him) he returned and gave a second charge upon the Macedonians, wherein he was slain. In like manner did King Francis the first, inthe year 1515, sinde a way over the Alpes, the Switzers undertaking to desend all the offices, who, if their sootmanship had not faved them upon the Kings descent on the other side, they had been ill payd for their hard lodging on those Hils:

Four thousand Greeks, saith Curtius (Justine numbers them but at eight hundred) having bin taken prisoners by the Persians, presented themselves to Alexander now in sight of Persepolis. These had the barbarous Persians so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their hands, noses, eares, and other members, as they could no way have been known to their Countri-men, but by their voyces, to each of these Alexander gave three hundred Crownes, with new garments, and such Lands as they liked to live upon.

Tiridates, one of Darius his false-hearted Grandes, hearing of Alexanders approach, made him know that Persepolis was ready to receive him, and prayed him to double his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoyle the Kingstreasure. This City was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants upon Alexanders arrivall, and they that stayed followed the worst counsell; for all was left to the liberty of the souldiers, to spoyle and kill at their pleasure. There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had been laid in the ballance with Persepolis, would have weighed it downe. Babylon indeed, and Susa, were very rich; but in Persepolis lay the bulke and main store of the Persians. For a ster the spoyle that had been made of money, curious plate, bullion, Images of gold and silver, and other Jewels; there remained to Alexander himselse one hundred and twenty thousand talents. He left the same number of three thousand Macedonians

CHAP.2. S.12.

Macedonians in Perfepolis, which he had done in Sufa, & gave the fame formall honour to the traitor Tiridates, that he had done to Abalises; but he that had the trust of the place was Nicarides, a creature of his owne. The body of his Army he left here for thirm dayes, of which the Commanders were Parmento and Craterus, and with a thousand horse and certain troupes of chosen foot, he would needs view in the Winter-time those parts of Persia, which the Snow had covered; a fruitlesse and foolish enterprise, but as seneca faies : Non ille ire vult fed non potest fare : He bath met a will to goe, but he is unable to frand fill. It is faid and spoken in his praise, That when his Souldiers cryed out against him because they could not endure the extreme frost, and make way, but with extreme difficulty, through the flow, that Alexander for fook his horse, and led them the way, to But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other meri into extremity, therby to flew how well himselfe can endure it ! His walking on foote did no otherwise take off their wearinesse that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drinke did quench their thirst, that could lesse endure it. For mise owne little judgement, I shall sather commend that Captain that makes carefull provision for those that follow him, & that seeks wife. ly to prevent extreme necessity, than those witlesse arrogant fools, that make theyanne of having endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We find in all the Wars that Cafar made, or the best of the Roman Commanders, that the provision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of Coligni, Admirall 20 of France; That who so will shape that Beast (meaning War) must begin with his belly.

But Alexander is now returned to Persepolis, where those Historians that were most amorous of his vertues, complaine, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemency towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drinke; That he fmothered in carowfing cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reverend Throne of the greatest King, into the company and familiarity of base Harlots, he began to be despised both of his owne and all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was inflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumper Thais, he caused the most sumpruous and goodly Castle and Citie of Persepolis to be confirmed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of Parmento to to the contrary, who told him that it was a different to deferoy those things by the perfwalions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perswasion to the Asians, to think hardly of him, and the royalien their hearts: for they might well beleeve that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing leffe than (after fuch vaftation) to hold their poffession. Per vinotentiam crudelitas sequetur; Cruelty doth commonly follow drunkennesse: For it fo fell out soone after, and often, in Alexander.

3en.Epist.8.4.

Gurt.Lib.5.

6. XIII.

The Treason of Bessus against Darius. Darius his death.

Bout this time hereceived a new supply of Souldiers out of Cilicia, and goson to finde Darius in Media. Darius had there compounded his fourth and last Army, which he meant to have increased in Bactria. had he not heard of Alexanders comming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as he had, which was manbred at thirty or forty thousand) he determined once again to try his fortune. He therefore cals together his Captaines and Commanders, and propounds unto them his refolution, who being desperate of good successe, used silence for a while. Artabazus, one of his eldest men of Warre, who had sometime lived with Philip of Macedon, brakethe se yee, and protesting that he could never be beaten by any adversity of the Kings, from the faith which he had ever ought him, with firme confidence, tharall the rest were of the same condition (whereofthey likewise assured Darens by the like protestation) he approved the Kings resolution. Two only, and those the greatest, to wit, Nabur Zanes and Beffus, whereof the leater was governour of Bactria, had confpired against their Mafter; and therefore advised the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to purfue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the gods nor fortune had in all things declared themselves to be an enemy: this preamble Nabar Janes used

and in conclusion advised the election of his fellow Traitor Besses, with promise that the warres ended, the Empire should againe be restored to Darius. The King swollen with disdain, prest towards Nabur Zanes to have slain him, but Bessus and the Bactrians whom hecommanded, being more in number than the rest, with-held him. In the meane while NaburZanes with-drew himselfe, and Bessus followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Army. ArtabaZus, the Kings faithfull servant, perswaded him to be advised and serve the time, seeing Alexander was at hand, and that he would at least make shew of forgetting the offence made; which the King being of a gentle disposition, willingly yeelded unto. Beffus makes his fubmiffion, and attends the King, who removes his Army. Patron, who commanded a Regiment of four thousand Greeks, which had in all the former battels ferved Darius with great fidelity, and alwayes made the retrait in spight of the Macedonians, offered himselfeto guard his person, protesting against the Treason of Bessus; but it was not his destiny to follow their advice who from the beginning of the Warre gave him faithfull counsell, but hee enclined still to Bessus, who told him, that the Greeks, with Patron their Captaine, were corrupted by Alexander, and practifed the division of his faithfull servants. Beffus had drawner unto him thirty thouland of the Army, promising them all those things, by which the lovers of the World and themselves are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, safety, and honour.

Now the day following Darius plainly discovered the purposes of Bessus, and being overcome with passion, as thinking himselse unable to make head against these ungratefull and unnatural! Traytors, he prayed Artaba Zus his faithfull servant to depart from him, and to provide for himselfe. In like fort he discharged the rest of his attendants, all favea few of his Eunuches; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His Perfians being most base cowards, durst not undertake his defence against the Bactrians, not withflanding that they had foure thousand Greeks to joyne with him, who had been able to have beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forfakes himselfe, no man followes. It had been far more Man-like and King-like, to have dyed in the head of those foure thousand Greeks, which offered him the disposition of their lives, (to which Artaba? us perswaded him) than to have lyen bewailing himselfe on the ground, and suffering himself to be bound like a slave by those ambitious Monsters that laid hand on him. whom neither the confideration of his former great estate, nor the honour he had given them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could move to pity: no nor his prefent adverfity, which above all things should have moved them, could pierce their viperous and ungratefull hearts. Vaine it was indeed to hope its for infidelity hath no compassion.

Now Darius, thus for saken, was bound & laid in a Cart, covered with hides of Beasts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be discovered; & to adde despight and derisson to his adversity, they fastned him with Chaines of Gold, and so drew him on among their ordinarie Carriages and Carts. For Besses and Naburzanes perswaded themselves to redeemetheir lives and the Provinces they held, either by delivering him a prisoner to Alexander, or, if that hope sailed, to make themselves kings by his slaughter, and then to defend themselves by force of Armes. But they sailed in both. For it was against the nature of God, who is most just, to pardon so strange villanie, yea, though a-

gainst a Prince purely Heathenish and an Idolater.

Alexander having knowledge that Darius was retired towards Battria, and durst not abide his comming, hastened after him with a violent speed, and because he would not force his footmen beyond their powers, he mounted on hors-back certain selected companies of them, & best armed, & with six thousand other horse, rather ran than marched after Darius. Such as hated the Treason of Bessus, and secretly for sook him, gave knowledge to Alexander of all that had happened, informing him of the way that Bessus stook, and how neere he was at hand: for many men of worth daily ran from him. Heerepon Alexander againe doubled his pace, and his Vant-guard being discovered by Bessus its Reare, Bessus brought a Horse to the Cart, where Darius lay bound, perswading him to mount thereon, and to save himselse. But the unfortunate King ressing to follow those that had betrayed him, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beasts that drew him, and slew two poor Servants that attended his person. This sone, they all fled that could, leaving the rest to the mercie of the Macedonian swords.

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Poly stratus

Polyfratus a Macedonian, being by pursuite of the vanquished prest with thirst, as he was refreshing himselfe with some water that he had discovered, espying a Cart with a Teame of wounded beafts breathing for life, and not able to move, fearched the fame and therein found Darius bathing in his owne bloud: And by a Persian captive which followed this Polystrains, he understood that it was Darius, and was informed of his barbarous Tragedy. Darius also seemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the living God can be comforted) that he cast not out his last forrowes unheard, but that by this Macedonian, Alexander might know and take vengeance on those Traytors, which had dealt no leffe unworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their revenge to A. Lexander by this messenger, which he besought him to pursue, not because Darins had to defired it, but for his own honour, and for the fafety of all that did, or should after weare Crownes. He also having nothing else to present, rendred thanks to Alexander for the Kingly grace used towards his Wife, Mother, & Children, desiring the immortal leads to submit unto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus speaking impatient death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he defired water, which Polystraus presented him, after which he lived but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, wherewith to defire the gods to reward his compassion.

The fourth Booke of the first part CHAP. 2. S. 14.15.

6. XIV.

How Alexander pursued Bessus, and tooke into his grace Darius his Captaines.

T was now hoped by the Macedonians, that their travels were neare an end, every man preparing for his returne. Hereof when Alexander had knowledge, he was great-Iy grieved; for the bounded earth sufficed not his boundlesse Ambition. Many arguments he therefore used to draw on his Army farther into the East, but that which had most strength, was, that Besser, a most cruell traytor to his Master Darius, having at his devotion the Hyrcanians and Bactrians, would in short time (if the Macedonians should return)make himselse Lord of the Persian Empire, and enjoy the fruits of all their somer 10 travels. In conclusion he wan their consents to go on: which done leaving Craterus with certaine Regiments of foot, and Amystas with fixe thousand horse in Parthenia, heenters not without some opposition into Hyrcania; for the Mardons, and other barbarous Nations, defended certaine passages for a while. He passeth the river of Zioberis, which taking beginning in Parthia, dissolves it selse in the Caspian Sea: it runneth under the ledge of Mountains, which bound Parthia & Hyrcania, where hiding it selfunder ground for three hundred furlongs, it then rifeth again, & followeth its former course. In Zadracarra or Zeudracarta, the same Citie which Ptolomy writes Hyrcania, the Metropolisos that Region, he rested fifteen dayes, banquetting and feasting therein.

Phataphernes, one of Darius his greatest Commanders, with others of his best follow- as ers, submitthemselves to Alexander, and were restored to their places and governments. But of all other he graced Artaba Zus most highly for his approved and constant faith to his master Darius. Artaba Zus brought with him ten thousand & five hundred Greekes, the remainder of all those that had served Darius; He treats with Alexander for their pardon, before they were yet arrived, but in the end, they render them selves simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the Lacedæmonians, whom he imprisoned, their Leader having staine himselfe. He was also wrought (though to his great dishonour) to receive NabarZanes that had joyned with Bessus to murder Darius.

6. X V.

Of Thalestris Queen of the Amazons; where by way of digression, it is shewed, that such A. mazons have been and are.

PEre it is faid that Thalestris or Minothea, a Queene of the Amazons, came to vi fite him, and her suit was, (which she easily obtained) that she might accompany him till she were made withchild by him: which done (refusing to follow him into India) the returned into her owne Country. Plutarch

Plutarch citeth many Historians, reporting this meeting of Thatefris with Alexander. and some contradicting it. But indeed, the letters of Alexander himselfe to Antipater. recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this Amazonian bufinesse, may justly breed suspition of the whole matter as forged. Much more justly may we suspect it as a vaine tale, because an Historian of the same time reading one of his bookes to Lysanachus (then King of Thrace) who had followed Alexander in all his voyage, was laught at by the King for inserting such newes of the Amazons; and Lysimachus himselfe had never heard of. One that accompanied Alexander, tooke upon him to write his acts; which to amplifie, He told how the King had fought fingle with an Elephant, and slaine it. The King hearing such stuffe, caught the booke, to and threw it into the river of Indus; faying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inferting fuch fables, disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as webeleeve & know that there are Elephants, though it were falle that Alexander fought with one; fo may we give credit unto writers making mention of fuch Amazons, whether it were true or falle that they met with Alexander; as Plutareh leaves the matter undetermined. Therefore I will here take leave to make digression, as well to show the opinions of the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some moderne discoverers touching these warlike Women, because not only Strabo, but many others of these our times make doubt, whether or no there were any such kind of peo-

ple. Julius Solimus seates them in the North parts of Asia the leffe. Pom. Mela finds two solicizes 65. Regions filled with them; the one on the River Thermodoon, the other neare the Cabian Sea : Quas (faith he) Sauromatidas appellant ; Which the people call Sauromatidas. The former of these two had the Cimerians for their Neighbours; Certumes (faith Vadianus, who hath commented upon Mela illos proximos Amazonibus fuisse; It is certaine Ptollib.6. that the Cimerians were the next Nations to the AmaZons. Ptolomy sets them farther into Pinto.c.20. the Land North-wards, neare the Mountaines Hippaci, not far from the Pillars of Ahexander. And that they had Dominion in Asia it selfe toward India, Solinus and Pling tellus, Where they governed a people called the Pandeans, or Padeans, fo called after 30 Pandea the Daughter of Hercules, from whom all the restderive themselves. Claudian affirmes, That they commanded many Nations: For he speakes (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

> Medis levibusque Sabais Imperat hic Sexus : Reginaramque (ub armis, Barbaria pars magna jacet.

Over the Medes, and light Sabæans reignes This female fexe: and under armes of Queen. Great part of the Barbarian Landremaines.

Diodorus Siculus hath heard of them in Lybia, who were more ancient (faith he) than Lib.2. those which kept the banks of Thermodoon, a River falling into the Euxine Sea, neare Heraclium.

Herodotus dothalfo make report of these Amazons, whom he tels us that the Scythians call Aorpatas, which is as much as Viricidas, or men-killers. And that they made incurfioninto Afia the lefte, fackt Ephelin, & burnt the Temple of Diana, Manethon, & Aventimes report, which they performed forty years after Troy was taken. At the fiege of Troy it selfe we reade of Penthesilea, That she came to the succour of Priamus.

Am, Marcellinus gives the cause of their inhabiting upon the River of Thermodoon, L, 22.6.74 ipeaking confidently of the wars they made with divers Nations, & of their overthrow. Plutareh in the life of Thefeur, out of Philochorus, Hellenicus, and other ancient Historians, reports the taking of Antiops Queen of the Amazons by Hercules, and by him given to Thefeus, though some affirme, That Thefeus himself gother by steatth, when she came to visit him aboord his ship. But in substance there is little difference, all confessing, That fuch Amazons there were. The fame Author in the life of Pompey speakes of certaine companies of the Amazons, that came to ay de the Albanians against the Romans, by whom after the battell, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken up : and he fairh farther, That these women entertain the Gelwand Lelages once a year, Nations inhabiting between them and the Albanians.

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But to omit the many Authors, making mention of Amazons that were in the old times, Fran. Lopez, who hath written the navigation of Orellana, which he made down the river of Amazons from Peru, in the yeare 1542: (upon which river, for the divers turnings, he is faid to have failed fixe thousand miles) reports from the relation of the said Orellana, to the Councell of the Indies, That he both saw those women, and fought with them, where they sought to impeach his passage towards the East-Sea.

It is also reported by Ulrichus Schmidel, that in the yeare 1542. when he failed up the Rivers of Paragna and Parabol, that he came to a King of that country, called Scherver, inhabiting under the Tropicke of Capricorne, who gave his Captaine Ernando Rieffere, a Crown of filver, which he had gotten in fight from a Queene of the Amazons in those 10

Ed. Lope? in his description of the Kingdome of Congo, makes relation of such Amazons, telling us, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burne off their right breasts, and live apart from men, save at one time of the year, when they feast and accompany them for one moneth. These (saith he) possessed apart of the Kingdome of Monomorapa in Africa, nineteen degrees to the Southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest Guards of this Emperour, all the East Indian Portugals know.

I have produced these authorities in part, to justifie mine owne relation of these Ama. Zons, because that which was delivered me for truth by an ancient Cacique of Guiana, how upon the River of Papamena (since the Spanish discoveries called Amazons) that 20 these women still live and govern, was held for a vain and unprobable report.

6. XVI. How Alexander fell into the Persian Luxurie: and how he further pursued Bessus.

Ow as Alexander had begun to change his conditions after the taking of Persepolis: fo at this time his prosperitie had so much over-wrought his vertue, ashe accounted clemencie to be but basenesse, and the temperance which he had used all his life time, but a poor and dejected humour, rather becomming the instructers of his 30 youth, than the condition and state of so mightie a King as the World could not equall. For he perswaded himselfe that he now represented the greatnesse of the gods; he was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground and adore him, he ware the robes and garments of the Persians, and commanded that his Nobilitie should doe the like the entertained in his Court and Camp, the same shamelesse rabble of Curtisans, and Sodomiticall Eunuchs, that Darius had done, and imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, and detested maners of the Persians, whom he had vanquished. So licentious is selicitie, as notwithstanding that he was fully persuaded, that the gods whom he served (detesting the vices of the invaded)assisted him in all attempts against them, he himself, contrary to the Religion he profest (which how Idolatrous foever it were, could not be but 40 fearfull unto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, & not by ignorance or education, a more foule and fearfull Moniter than Darius, from whose tyrannie he vaunted to have delivered so many Nations. Yea, those that were dearest and nearest unto him, began to be ashamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like scornefull discourse; That Alexander of Macedon was become one of Darius his licentions Courtiers; Thatby his example, the Macedonians were in the end of fo many travels, more impoverished in their vertues, than inriched by their victories; and that it was hard to judge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered were the baser slaves. Neither were these opinions fo referved, but that the noise of them came to his eares. He therefore with great gifts fought to pacifie the better fort, and those of whose judgments he was most jealous; and so making it knowne to the Armie, that Beffus had affumed the title of a King, and called himselfe Artaxerxes, and that he had compounded a great Armic of the Battrians, and other Nations, he had arguments enow to perswade them to goe on, to the end that all alreadie gotten, might not with themselves (so farre ingaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoiles of so many Cities, as the whole armie seemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much unlike the warfare of the French) having commanded every mans fardels to be brought into the market-place, he, together with his owne, caused all to be confumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but have proved

most dangerous unto him, seeing the common Souldiers had more interest in these things which they had bought with their painefull travailes, and with their bloud, than in the Kings ambition; had not (as Seneca often observed) his happy temerity overcome all things. As he was in his way, newes came to him, that Satribar anes, whom hehad established in his former governement over the Arrians, was revolted; whereupon leaving the way of Bactria, he fought him out; but the Rebell, hearing of his comming, fled to Beffus, with two thousand Horse. He then went on towards Beffus and by fetting a great pile of wood on fire, with the advantage of a strong winde, won the paffage over an high & unacceffable Rocke, which was defended against him with thirteene thousand foot. For the extremity of the Flame & smoake forced them from the place. otherwise invincible. I saw in the third civill warre of France, certaine Caves in Lanoutdoe, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rockes, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last, by certaine bundels of straw, let down by an yron chaine, & a waighty stone in the middest, those that defended it, were so smothered, as they rendred themselves, with their plate, mony, and other goods therein hidden. There were also some three yeers before my arrivall in Guiana, three hundred Spaniards well mounted, funothered to death, together with their Horses, by the Countrie-people, who did set the long dry graffe on fire to the Eastward of them, (the winde in those parts being alwayes East) so as not with stanoding their flying from the smoake, there was not any one that escaped. Sir John Borrowes alfo, with a hundred English, was in great danger of being loft at Margarita, in the Well-Indies, by having the graffe fired behinde him; but the smoake being timefully discover red, he recovered the Sea-shore with the losse of fixteene of his men. I remember these things, but to give caution to those that shall in times to come invade any part of those Countries, that they alwayes, before they passe into the Land, burne down the grasse and ledge to the East of them; they may otherwise, without any other enemy than a handfull of straw set on fire, dye the death of hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hive.

§. XVII.

A Conspiracie against Alexander. The death of Philotas and Parmenio.

Lexander was, after he parted hence, no where refifted, till he came into Aria, to the East of Battria, where the chiefe City of that Province, called Artacoana, was a while defended against him, by the revolt of SatribarZanes, but in the end he received the Inhabitants to mercie. At this place his Army was re-enforced with a new supply of five thousand and five hundred soot, and neere five hundred Horse, out of Greece, Thessate, and other places. His journey out of Persa into these parts, is very consolided, described. For having (as all his Historians tell us) a determination to find Besse in Battria, he leaves it at the very entrance, and takes the way of Hyrcania, from thence he wanders Northwards towards the obscure Mardi, upon the Cassian-Sea, and thence over the Mountaine Coronus into Aria, and Drangiana.

At this time it was that the treason of Dimmus brake out, of which Philotas the sonne of Parmenio was accused, as accessary, if not principall. This Dimmus, having (I know not upon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of Alexander, went about to draw Nichomachus, a young man whom he loved, into the same treason. The Youth, although he was first bound by oath to secrecy, when he heard so soll a matter uttered; began to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to have staine him for security of his owne life. So, constrained by seare, he made shew as if hee had bin won by perswassion; and by seeming at length to like well of the businesse, he was told more at large what they were that had undertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of ranke, whose names Dimmus (to countenance the enterprise) reckoned up to Nichomachus. Nichomachus had no sooner freed himselfe from the company of this Traitor Dimnus, than he acquainted his owne brother Ceballinus (who might with least suspicious) should goe to the Court, and utter all. Ceballinus, anceting with Philotas, told him the whole business desiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which he promised

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to do, but did not. Two dayes passed, and Philotas never brake with the King about the matter, but still excused himselfe to Ceballinus by the Kings want of leisure. This his coldnesse bred suspition, and caused Ceballinus to addresse himselse to another, one Metron, Keeper of the Kings Armorie, who forth-with brought him to Alexanders presence. Alexander, finding by examination what had passed betweene Ceballinus and Philotas, did fully perswade himselfe that this concealement of the treason, argued his hand to have bin in the businesse. Therefore when Dimnus was brought before him, hee asked the Traitor no other question than this: wherein have I so offended thee, that thou Chouldest thinke Philotas more worthy to be King than 1? Dimnus perceiving when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had so wounded himself, that he lived no longer, than 10 to give his last groane in the Kings presence. Then was Philotas called, & charged with the suspition, which his silence might justly breede. His answer was, That when the practice was revealed unto him by Nichomachus, he judging it to bee but frivolous, did forbeare to acquaint Alexander therewithall, untill he might have better information. This errour of his, (if it were onely an errour) although Alexander, for the notorious fervices of his Father Parmenio, of his brother Nicanor lately dead, and of Philotal himfelfe, had freely pardoned & given him his hand for affurance; yet by the instigation of Craterus, he againe swallowed his Princely promise, and made his enemies his Judges. Curtim gives a note of Craterus in this businesse; How he perswaded himselfe, that he could never finde a better occasion to oppresse his private enemie, than by pretending 10 piety, and dutie towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our own hath given a note as much better, as it is more generall in his Philotas:

See how these great men cloathe their private hate, In these faire colours of the publike good, And to effect their ends, pretend the State, As if the State by their affection stood: And, arm'd with power and Princes jealousies, Will put the least conceit of discontent Into the greatest ranke of treacheries, That no one action shall seeme innocent: Yea valour, honour, bountie, shall be made As accessaries unto ends unjust: And even the fervice of the State must lade The needfull'st undertaking with distrust; So that base vilenesse, idle Luxurie, Seeme safer farre, than to doe worthily, &c.

Now although it were so, that the King following the advice of Craterus, hadresolved the next day to put Philotas to torment, yet in the very evening of the famenight in which he was apprehended, hee called him to a banquet, and discoursed as familiarly 46 with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night Philotas wastaken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to binde him, he cryed out upon the King in these words: O Alexander, the malice of mine Enemies hath surmounted they mercy, and their hatred is farre more conftant than the word of a King. Wany circumstances were urged against him by Alexander himselse (for the Kings of Macedon did in person examine the accusations of treason)& this was not the least (not the least offence, indeed, against the Kings humour, who defired to be glorified as a God) That when Alexander wrote unto him concerning the title given him by Jupiter Hammon; He answered, That he could not but rejoyce that he was admitted into that facred Fellowship of the gods, and yet he could not but withall grieve for those that should live under such a one as 50 would exceede the nature of man. This was (faith Alexander) a firme perswafionunto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in dispight. See what a strange Monster Flatterie is, that can perswade Kings to kill those that doe not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. Philotas was brought before the multitude, to heare the Kings Oration against him: he was brought forthin vile garments, and bound like a Theefe; where he heard himselfe, and his absent Father, the greatest Captaine of the World, accused; his two other Brothers, Hester and Nicanor having beene lost in the present Warre. He was so greatly opprest with griefe,

as for a while he could utter nothing but teares, and forrow had so wasted his spirits, as he sanke under those that led him. In the end, the King asked him, In what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the King to accusc him; which he did, to the end that the Persians, as well as the Macedonians, thighe understand him. But hereof the King made his advantage, perswading the assembly, that hedisdained the language of his owne Country, and so with-drawing himselse, left him

This proceeding of the Kings, Philotas greatly lamented, seeing the King, who had so fharply inveighed against him, would not vouchfafe to heare his excuse. For not his ene-10 mies onely were imboldened thereby against him, but all the rest, having discovered the Kings disposition and resolution, contending among themselves, which of themsshould exceede in hatred towards him. Among many other arguments, which he used in his own defence, this was not the weakest; That when Nicomachus desired to know of Dimmm, what men of marke and power were his partners in the conspiracie (as seeming unwilling to adventure himselfe with meane and base Companions) Dimnus named unto him Demetrius of the Kings Chamber, Nicanor, Amyntas, & some others; but spake not aword of Philotas, who by being Commander of the Horse, would greatly have valued the party, and have incouraged Nicomachus. Indeede, as Philotas faid well for himselfe, ir is likely that Dimnus, thereby the better to have heartned Nicomachus, would have named him, though he had never dealt with him in any fuch practice. And for more cername proofe, that he knew nothing of their intents that practifed against the King, there was not any one of the Conspirators, being many, inforc'd by torments, or otherwise, that could accuse him; and it is true, that adversity being seldome able to beare her own burden, is for the most part found so malicious, as she rather defires to draw others (not alwayes deferving it) into the fame danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the lift, how foever it were, to avoid the extremity of refiftleffe and unnaturall torments, devifed by his profest enemies Craterus, Cenus, Ephestion, and others, Philoras accused his ownefelfe; being perswaded that they would have slaine him forthwith. But he failed even in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laid on slesh and bloud, he was 10 forced to deliver, not what he knew, but whatfoever best pleased their eares, that were farre more mercilesse than death it selse.

Of this kinde of judiciall proceeding S. Augustine greatly complaineth, as a matter to Aug. de Civil. be bewailed, faith he, with Fountaines of teares. Quid cum in sua causa quisque torque- Deith. 1.c. 6. tur: & cum quaritur utrum sit nocens cruciatur : & innocens luit pro incerto scelere certisimas pænas : non quia illud commisisse detegitur, sed quia non commisisse nescitur? what shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his own cause; and tormented whilest jet it is in question whether he be quilty; and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault, of which there is no certaintie : not because he is knowne to have committed the offence, but because others doe not know that he hath not committed it?

It had beene enough for Alexanders fafety, if Philoras had been put to death without torment; the rest would not much have grieved thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But Hemolam, who afterward conspired against him, made the Kings cruelty and delight inbloud, the greatest motive of his owne ill intent. Therefore, Seneca, speaking of Alexander, faith thus: Crudelit as minime humanum malum est, indignum ammiti animo; ferina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abject o homine, in silvestre animal Soute cloud. transfire; Cruelty is not a humane vice, it is unworthy of so milde a spirit: It is even a beaftly rage to delight in bloud and wounds, and casting away the nature of man, to become a savage Monster.

For the conclusion of this Tragedie, Curtius makes a doubt, whether the confession that Philotas made were to give end to the torments which he could not any longer endure, or that the same was true indeede; For (saith he) in this case, they that speake truely, or they that deny falfly, come to one and the same end. Now, while the Kings hands were yet wet in bloud, he commanded that Lyntefter, fonne-in-Law to Antipater, who had beene three yeares in prison, should be slaine: The same dispatch had all those that Nicomachus had accused: others there were that were suspected because they had followed Philotas, but when they had answered for themselves that they knew no way so direct to winne the Kings favour, as by loving those whom the King favoured, they were difmift. But Parmenio was yet living; Parmenio, who had ferved

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with great fidelity as wel Philip of Macedon the Kings Father, as himself; Parmenio, that first opened the way into Asia; that had deprest Att alm the Kings enemy; that had alwaves, and in all hazzards, the leading of the Kings Vant-guard, that was no leffe prudent in counsell, than fortunate in all attemps; A man beloved of the men of War, and, to fav the truth he that had made the purchase for the King of the Empire of the East, and of all the glory and fame he had: That he might not therefore revenge the death of his Sonne. though not upon the King, (for it was unlikely that he would have dishonoured his fidelity in his eldest age, having now lived threescore and ten yeers) yet upon those that by the witchcraft of flattery had posses themselves of his affection, it was resolved that he should be dispatcht. Polydamas was imployed in this businesse, a man whom of all other ra Parmenio trusted most, and loved best, who (to be short) finding him in Media, and having Cleander and other murderers with him, flew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings letters. Hic exitus Parmenionis fuit, militia domique clari viri: Multa sine Rege prospere, Rex sine illo nihil magna rei gesserat; This was the end of Parmenio (faith Curtius) who had performed many notable things without the King but the King , without him, did never effect any thing worthy of praise.

6. XVIII.

How Alexander fubdued the Bastrians, Sogdians, and other people. How Bessus delivered into his hands. How he fought with the Scythians.

Hen these things had end, Alexander went on with his Army, and brought under his obedience the Araspians or Evergitans; he made Amenides (somtime Darim his Secretary) their Governour, then he fubdued the Aracholians, & left Menon to command over them. Here the Army, somtimes led by Parmenio, findes him, confilting of twelve thousand Macedons and Greeks, with whom he past through fome cold Regions with difficulty enough. At length he came to the foote of the Mountaine Taurus towards the East, where he built a City, which he honoured with his own name, & peopled it with seven thousand of his old Macedons, worne with age & with travailes of the war. The Arians, who fince he left them were revolted, he subdued 30 againe by the industrie and valour of Caranus and Erigius. And now he resolves to finde out the new King Beffus in Bastria. Beffus, hearing of his comming, prepares to passe over the great River of Oxus which divides Ballria from Sogdiana; Artabazus is made Governor of Battria abandoned by Beffus; The Macedonian Army fuffereth for want of Water, infomuch as when they came to the River of Oxus, there died more of them by drinking inordinatly, than Alexander had loft in any one battaile against the Persians. And it may well be: For (as Clytus did after object unto him) he fought against women, not against men, and not against their persons, but their shadowes. Hee found on the bankes of this great River no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boates, bridges, or raffe, but was forc't to few together the Hides that covered his carriages, and stuffe them with straw, and on them in fixe daies to passe over his Army; which Beffu might eafily have diffrest, if hee had dared but to behold the Macedonian Army afar of. He had formerly complained against Darius for neglecting to defend the banks of Tigris, and other passages, and yet now, when this traiterous slave had styled himself a King, he durst not perform any thing worthy of a slave. And therefore those that were neerest unto him, & whom he most trusted, to wit, Spitamenes, Dataphernes, Catanes, and others the Commanders of his Army, moved both by the care of their own fafety, and by the memory of Beffus his Treason and cruelty against Darius, bound him in the like manner that he had done his Master, but with this difference, that he had the chaine closed about his necke like a mastiffe Dog, and so was dragged along to be presented to 50 his enemy.

In the meane while Alexander was arrived at a certaine Town inhabited with Greeks of Miletum, brought thither by Xerxes, whenlong before hee returned out of Greece; whose issues had well-neere forgotten their Country-language. These most cruelly (after they had received him with great joy) he put to the sword, & destroyed their City. At this place he received Besse, and having rewarded Spitamenes with the rest that delivered him, he gave the Traitor into the hands of Oxatres, Darius his brother, to be tormented.

But while he now thought himself secure, some twenty thousand Mountainers assaulted his Campe; in repelling whom he received a shot in the legge, the arrow head sticking in the stell, so as he was carried in a Horse-litter, sometime by the horsemen, sometime by the foot.

Soone after he came unto Maraeanda, which Petrus Perondinus takes to be Samar-chand, the regall City of the great Tamerlaine. It had incompasse threescore & ten surlongs (Curtius saith.) Here he received the Embassadors of the Scythians (called Aviant) who offered to serve him.

The Bastrians are shortly again with the Sogdians stirred to Rebellion, by the same spitamenes & Catanes, who had lately delivered into his hands the traitor Bessel Many to Cities were resolvedly defended against him, all which, after victory, he defaced & razed, killing all therein. At one of these he received a blow on the necke, which strucke him to the ground, and much diabled him for many dayes after. In the meane while spitamenes had recovered Maracanda, against whom he imployed Menedemis with three thousand some and eight hundred horse.

In the heate of these tumults Alexander marched on (if we may believe Currius and others) till he came to the river of Tanais; upon whose banke he built another Alexandria, threescore surfaces in compasse, which he beautified with houses within seventeen dayes after the wals built. The building of this City is said to have bin occasion of a war to between him and the Seythians; the Seythian King perswading himselfe, that this new Towne was fortissed of purpose to keepe him under. I doe not well understand, why the Seythians, offering war in such terrible manner, that Alexander was judged by his owne Souldiers to counterfeit sicknesse for very seare, should neverthelesse make suit for peace: neither finde I the reason why Alexander (not intending the conquest of those Northerne desarts, but onely the desence of his owne banke) should resure to let them alone, with whom he could not meddle further than they should agree to suffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter; and a victory described; in pursuit of which the Macedons can beyond the bounds and monuments of Bacchushis expedition.

The truth is, That Curtius and Trogus have greatly mistaken this River, which they call Tanais. For it was the River of Jaxartes, that runs betweene Sogdiana and Soythia, which Alexander past over, while Menedemus was imploied in the recovery of Samarhand: But Tanais, which divides Asia from Europe, is neere two thousand miles distant from any part of Bastria and Sogdiana, & the way desart and unknowne. So that Alexander had (besides Jaxartes) the great River of Volga & many others to swim over, ere hecould recover Tanais: which (from the place where he was) he could hardly have discovered with the Army that followed him, if he had imploied all the time that he lived in Asia in that trayaile.

Wherefore it is enough to believe, that the Assaulus Scythians, making some offer to disturbe the erection of this new City, which was like to give some hinderance to so their excursions, were driven away by the Macedonians; and being naked of defensive Ames, easily chased some tenor twelve miles; which is the substance of Curring his report. As for the limits of Bacching his journes; like enough it is that Bacching (if in his life time he were as sober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken god) went not very far into that wast Country, where he could find nothing but trees and stones, nor other businesse that to set up a monument.

Threefcore of the Macedons are said to have bin slaine, and one thousand one hundred hurr in this sight; which might easily be in passing a great River, defended against them by good Archers. Of Seythian horses one thousand eight hundred were brought into the Campe, and many prisoners. It is forbidden by some Historians, and indeeded it is hardly possible to set down the numbers of such as perish in battell: yet Cafar commonly didit. And where the diligence of the victors hath beene so inquisitive into the greatnesse of their own successe, that writers have beene able to deliver such particulars by credible report, I hold it not unlawfull to set down what we finde; especially when it serves to give light to the businesse in hand. The small number which the Macedonians lost; the omission of the number which they slew (a thing not usual in Currius, who forbeares nothing that may set out the greatnes of Alexander) and the little bootie that was gotten; doe make it probable, that this war was no better than the repulsion of a sew roving Tartars (the like being yeerly performed by the Moscovite; without

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any boast) and therefore better omitted by some Historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit, by others.

While Alexander was affuring himself of those Scythians bordering upon Jaxartes, he received the ill newesthat Menedemus was slain by Spitamenes, the Army (by him led) broken, and the greatest numbers slaine, to wit, two thousand foot, and three hundred horse. He therefore, to appease the rebellion, and to take revenge of Spitamenes, makes all the haste he can; but Spitamenes slies into Badria. Alexander kills, burns, and layes waste all before him; not sparing the innocent children, and so departs, leaving a new Governour in that Province.

To repaire this losse he received a great supply of nineteene thousand Souldiers out of Greece, Lycia, & Syria; with all which, & the old Army, he returnes towards the South and paffeth the River of Oxus; on the South-fide whereof he built fixe Townes neere each other for mutuall succour. But he findes a new start-up-Rebell, called Arimages. (a Sogdian) followed with thirty thousand Souldiers, that defended against him a strong piece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when Alexander had fought in vaine to win by faire words, he made choice of three hundred young men, & promifed ten talents to the first, nine to the second, and so in proportion to the rest, that could findea way to creepe up to the top thereof. This they performed with the loffe of fome two and thirty of their men, & then made a figne to Alexander, that they had performed his commandement. Hereupon he fent one Cophes to perswade Arimazes to yeeld the place; 10 who, being shewed by Cophes that the Army of Macedon was already mounted up, veelded fimply to Alexanders mercy, and was (with all his kinred) scourged and crucified to death; which punishment they well deserved for neglecting to keepe good watch in fo dangerous a time. For the place, as feemes by the description, might easily have been defended against all the Armies of the World. But, what strength cannot doe, Manswir, being the most forcible engine, hath often effected: Of which I will give youan example in a place of our owne.

The Iland of Sarke, joyning to Garnfey, & of that government, was in Queen Maries time furprised by the French, and could never have beene recovered agains by strong hand, having cattell and corne enough upon the place to feed fo many men as will ferve to to defend it, and being every way so inaccessible, that it might be held against the Great Turke. Yet by the industry of a Gentleman of the Netherlands, it was in this fort regain ned. He anchored in the roade with one Ship of small burden, and pretending the death of his Merchant, befought the French, being some thirty in number, that they might burie their Merchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chappell of that Isle; offering a present to the French of such Commodities as they had aboord; whereto (with condition that they should not come a-shore with any weapon, no not so much as with a Knife) the French men yeelded. Then did the Flemings put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead carkaffe, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebuffes; The French received them at their landing; and fearching every of them fo narrowly as they could not 40 hide a Pen-knife, gave them leave to draw their Coffin up the Rockes with great difficulty; some part of the French tooke the Flemish Boat & rowed aboard their Ship, to fetch the commodities promised, & what else they pleased; but being entred, they were taken and bound. The Flemings on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappell, thut the doore to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, fet upon the French; they run to the Cliffe and cry to their Company abourd the Fleming to come to their fuccour, but finding the Boat charged with Flemings, yeelded themselves and the place. Thus a Fox-taile doth fometimes helpe well to piece out the Lyons-skin, that else would be too short.

6. X I X. How Alexander slew his owne friends.

Fter these Sogdian & Seythian Warres, we reade of Alexanders killing of a Lion, and other Frivolous matters, and that he committed the Government of Maracanda, and the Country about it, to Clyim, and how he slew him soone after, for valuing the vertue of Philip the father before that of Alexander the son, or rather because he objected to the King the death of Parmenio, & derided the Oracle of Hammon.

for therein he toucht him to the quicke, the fame being delivered in publike, and at a drunken Banquet. Chrus, indeed, had deferved as much at the Kings hands, as any man living had done, & had in particular faved his life, which the King well remembred when he came to himselfe, and when it was too late. Yetto say the truth, Chrus his insolency was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgat whom he offended, so the King in his (for whereof the tare his owne face, and sorrowed so inordinately, as, but for the griefe of Calishenes, it is thought he would have slaine himselfe.

Wine begat Furie, Furie matter of Repentance: but preceeding mischieses are not amended by succeeding bewailing: Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; obstan10 tem malis conatibus verecundiam removet; ubi possedit animum nimia vis vini; quiequid mali latebatzemergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, sed protrabit; Brunkennesse both kindles & layes open every vice; it removes out of the way that shame which gives impediment unto badde attempts; where wine gets the mastrie, all the ill that before lay hidden breakes out drunkennesse indeed rather discovers vices, than makes them.

Soone after this, Spitamenes, who flew Beffus, & had lately revolted from Alexander, was murdered by his Wife, & his head prefented to Alexander. Spitamenes being taken away, the Dahans also seized upon his fellow-conspirator Dataphernes, and delivered him up. So Alexander being now freed from all these pettie-Rebels, disposed of the 20 Provinces which he past over, & went on with his Army into Gabaza, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storme, as he lost in one Tempest a thousand of his Traine. From hence he invaded the Sacans, & destroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territory of Cohortanes, who submitted himselfe unto him, feasited him greatly, & presented him with thirty beautifull Virgins, among whom Roxane, asterwards his Wise, was one: which although all the Macedonians disclained, yet none of them durst use any freedome of speech after Clysus his death. From hence he directed his course towards India, having so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand armed men.

In the meane while he would needs bee honoured as a god: whereto that hee might allure the Macedonians, he imployed two pernicious Parasites, Hagis and Cleo; whom Califhenes opposed: For, among many other honest arguments used to the affembly he told Cleo. That he thought, that Alexander would disdaine the gift of God-head from his Vasfalls; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did sometime follow the death of those, who in their life-time had done the greatest things, yet it never accompanied any one as vet living in the world. He further rold him, That neither Hercules nor Bacchus were Deified at a banquet, and upon drinke (for this matter was propounded by Cleo at acarowfing feast:) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they lived, they were in future and fucceeding Ages numbred among the gods. Alexander flood behinde a partition, and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunitie to be revenged on Califthenes, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a lover of the Kings honour, was yet soone after tormented to death; not for that he had betraied the King to others: but because he never would condescend to betray the King to himselfe, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracy against the King made by one Hermolaus & others (which they confest) he caused Calisthenes without confession, accusation, or triall, to be torne asunder upon the racke: This deed unworthy of a King, Seneca thus censureth. Hocest Alexandri crimen aternum, quod nulla virtui nulla bellorum fælicitas redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa millia: opponitur, & Calisthenem: Quoties distum erit, Occidit Darium: opponitur, & Calisthenem. Quoties dictum erit, Omnia Oceano tenus vicit, ipsum quoq; tentavit novis classibus, & Imperiu ex angulo Thracia usq; ad Orientis terminos protulit dicetur, sed Calisthenem occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum Regumque exempla transierit, ex his qua fecit nihil tam magnum erit quam scelus Calisthenes, This is the eternall crime of Alexander, which no vertue nor felicity of his in warre shall ever be able to redeeme. For as often as any man hall say, he slewmany thousand Persians, it shall by replied, He did so, & he slew Calisthenes: When it Shall be said , He slew Darius , it shall be replied , and Califthenes ; When it Shall be said, He wan all as farre as the very Ocean, thereon also he adventured with unusuall Navies, & extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace, to the utmost bounds of the Orient: It shall be said withall; But he killed Calisthenes. Let him have out-gone all the ancient

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examples of Captaines and Kings ; none of all his acts make so much to his glory , as Callisthenes to his reproach.

6. XX.

Of Alexanders journey into India. The battaile betweene him and Porus.

Ith the Army before remembred of one hundred & twenty thousand foor & horse, Alexander did enter the borders of India, where such of the Princes, as submitted themselves unto him, he entertained lovingly, the rest he constrained; killing Man, Woman, and Childe, where they refisted. He then came before Nifa built by Bacchu, which after a few daies was rendred unto him. From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens, filled with delicate fruits and Vines, dedicated to Bacchus, to whom he made feasts for ten dayes together. Now when he had drunke his fill, he went on towards Dedula, and from thence to Acadera. Countries spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants; by reason whereof, victualls failing, he divides his Army: Ptolomy led one part, Cenon another, and himselfe the reft. They take many Townes, whereof that of greatest fame was Mazage, which had init three hundred thousand men; but after some resistance: it was yeelded unto him by Cla ophethe Queene, to whom againe he restored it; at the siege of this City he received? wound in the legge. After this, Nora was taken by Polysperchon, and a Rocke of great to strength by himselfe: hee wanne also a passage upon one Eryx, who was slaine by his companie, & his head presented to Alexander. This is the summe of Alexanders doings in those parts, before such time as he arrived at the River of Indus. Comming to Indus. he found there Ephestion, who (being sent before) had prepared boates for the transportation of his Army, & ere Alexanders arrivall, had perswaded Omphis King of that part of the Country, to submit himselfe to this great Conquerour. Therefore, sooneupon Alexanders comming, Omphis presented himselfe with all the strength of his Country, & fixe & fiftie Elephants, unto him; offering him his fervice and affiltance. He made Alexander know, that he was an Enemie to the next two great Kings of that part of India, named Abiafares and Porus; wherewith Alexander was not a little pleased, hoping by 10 this dif-union to make his owne victory by farre the more easie. He presented Alexander with a Crowne of gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, & withall fourescore talents of filver coyne; which Alexander not only refused, but to shew that he was covetous of glory, not of gold, he gave Omphie a thousand talents of his owne treasure, besides other Persian rarities. Abiasares, having heard that Alexander had received his enemy Omphis into his protection, resolved to make his owne peace also: For knowing that his own strength did but equal that of Omphis, and that there was no other differeace betweene them, than that which the chance of Warregave, hee thought it snill match when Alexander, who had already beaten under foote all the greatest Princes of Afia, should make himselse a Party and Head of the quartell. So had Alexander none 40 now to stand in his way but Porm, to whom he sent a commandement, that he should attend him at the border of his Kingdome, there to doe him homage. But from Porm he received this manly answer. That he would fatisfie him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement he was refolved to take counfell of his Sword. To be short, Alexander refolves to passe over the River Hydaspes, and to finde Porm at his owne home. Pormattends him on the farther banke with thirty thousand foot, fourescore & ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troope of Horse. If Darius had done the like on Tigris, Alexander had furely stated formwhat longer ere he had seene India. The River was foure furlongs broad, which makes halfe a mile, and withall deepe and fwift. 10 It had in it many Ilands, among which there was one well shadowed with wood, and of good capacity. Alexander sent Ptolomy up the River with a great part of the Army, shrowding the rest from the view of Porm: who by this device being drawne from his first incamping, sets himselfe down opposite to Ptelomy, supposing that the whole Army of Macedon meant to force their passage there. In the meane while Alexander recovers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his troopes and advanceth rowards Porus, who at first rather believes, that Abiasares his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had bin come over Hydaspes to his aide, than that Alexander had past it.

But he findes it otherwise, and sends his Brother Hagis with foure thousand horse, and a hundred armed waggons to entertaine him. Each waggon had in it foure to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little use: for there had fallen so much raine and thereby the fields were so moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. The Serthians and Dahans had the Vant-guard, who fo galled these Indians, as they brake their raines. & other furniture, overturning the waggons, & those in them . Perdiccas also gave up the Indian horse-men, & the one and the other were forc't to recoile. Porus moves forward with groffe of his Army, that those of his Vant-guard scattered might recover his Reares Alexander being followed with Epheftion, Ptolomy, & Perdiccas, tooke on him to charge to the Indian horse-men on the left wing, commanding Census or Cenon to invade the right: Antigonus & Leonatus, he directed to breake upon Porus his battaile of foot, strengthened with Elephants, Porus himselfe being carried upon one of them, of the greatest stature. By these beasts the Macedonian foote were most offended but the Archers & Darters being well guarded with the long & strong pikes of the Macedonians, so galled them, asbeing inraged, they turned head, and ranne over the foot that followed them: In the end, and after a long and doubtfull fight, by the advantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulnesse of the Macedonian Captaines, the victory fell to Alexander, who allo farre exceeded Porus in number: for befides the Macedonians and other Easterne & Northerne Nations, Porus was affailed by his owne Confederate and Countrie people. o Yet for his owne person he never gave ground otherwise than with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Army, he became a prisoner to the Conqueror, from whom againe he received his estate with a great enlargement.

§. X X I. How Alexander finished his expedition, and returned out of India.

Forbeare to trouble my felf and others with a frivolous discourse of Serpents, Apes & Peacocks, which the Macedonians found in these their travailes: or of those pettie Warres which Alexander made betweene the overthrow of Porus, and his failing downe the River of Indus. The descriptions of places about the head & branches thereof are better knowne unto us in this Age, by meanes of our late Navigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those Kings we could in no fort be perfwaded to believe, till our own experience had taught us, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be seene betweene London and Stanes.

Our great traveller Mandevile, who died in the year 1372, and had feene fo much of the World, and of the East India, we accompted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to judge as we. Witneffe the Monument made of him in the Covent of the Friers Guillimius in Liege, where the religious of that place keep some things of his, Comme pour honorable memoire de son Guie, in Disc. of Excellence: For an honourable memorie of his Excellencie, faith Guichardine.

The Countries towards the Springs of Indus, and where those many Rivers of Hyda-tries. spes, Zaradris, Acesines, and the rest, fall into the maine streame, are now possess by the great Mogor, the ninth from Tamberlaine, who commands all that tract between Persia and Indus towards the West, as also a great extent of Countrie towards Ganges. In the mouth of Indus, the Ascension, a shippe of London, suffered shipwracke, in the yeere 1609. and some of the company travelled over Land till they came to Agra, the same great Citie (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call Nagra, being named of od Dionysopolis.

Philostratus in the life of Apollonius Tyanaus, speaking of the expedition of Bacchus &c Hercules into the East India, tells us, that those two great Captaines (whom Alexander lought by almeans to out-fame) when they indea youred to fubject to them the Oxydrace, apeople inhabiting betweene the Rivers of Hyphalis & Ganges, they were beaten from the affault of their Cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be understood by the great Ordnance that those people had then in use. For it is now certainely knowne, that the greatKings of the uttermost East, have had the use of the canon many hundreds of yeares fince, and even fince their first civilitie and greatnesse, which was long before Alexanders

Alexanders time . But Alexander pierc't not so farre into the East. It sufficed, that having already over-wearied his Army, he discovered the rest of India by same. The Indian Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called Aggramenes, who commanded many Nations beyond the River Ganges, was the powerfullest King of all those Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three shoufand Elephants, twenty thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though Alexander were more inflamed than ever to proceed in this discovery and conquest, yet all the art he had, could not perswade the Souldiers to wander over those great Desarts beyond Indus & Ganges, more terrible unto them than the greatest Army that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many per- 10 fwafive Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discover such part of the Ocean Sea, as was neerer at hand, whereunto the River of Indus was their infallible guide. Alexander seeing that it would be no otherwise, devised a prettie tricke, wherewish he hoped to beguile posterity, and make himselfe seeme greater than he was. He enlarged his Campe, made greater trenches, greater cabbines for Souldiers, greater Horse-stalles, and higher mangers than Horses could feede in. He caused all furniture of men & horses to be made larger than would serve for use; & scattered these Armours & Bridles about his Campe, to be kept as reliques, and woundred at by the Savages. Proportionableto these he raised up twelve great Altars to be the monument of his journies end. This was a ready way to encrease the same of his bignesse; to his greatnesse it could adde nothing 20 fave a suspition, that it was lessethan is thought, seeing he strove so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned againe to the banke of Acesines, and there determined to setup his fleet, where Acelines and Hydaspis incounter; where to testifie by a surer monument, how far he had past towards the East, he built by those rivers two Cities: the one he called Nicaa, & the other Bucephalon, after the name of his beloved Horse Bucephalus. Here againe he received a fourth supply of fixe thousand Thracian Horse-men, seven thousand Foot; and from his Lievtenant at Babylon five and twenty thousand Armours, gamished with filver and gold, which he distributed among his Souldiers. About these Rivers he wan many Townes, and committed great flaughter on those that resisted; It is then 20 written of him, that affaulting a Citie of the Oxidracans, he leapt from the top of the wall into it, and fought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of Bevis of Southampton, frivolous and incredible. Finally, he past downe the River with his fleet, at which time also the newes came unto him of a rebellion in Bastria, and then of the arrivall of an hundred Embassadours from a King of India, who submitted himselfe unto him. He feasted these Embassadours upon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuosity that could be devised, who soone after their dispatch, returned againe with a present of three hundred Horse, one hundred and thirty Waggons, and to each of them foure Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare and

Their entertainments ended, he failed towards the South, passed through many obscure Nations, which did all yeeld unto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among these he builded another Alexandria. Of many places which he tooke in this pasfage, Samus was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with poisoned swords, with one of which Ptolomy (afterward King of Egypt) was wounded, and cured by an

hearb which Alexander dreamt he had seene in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came neere the out-let of Indus (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies, as they were on a fudden shuffled one upon another by the Floud, so on the Ebbe they were left on the drieground, and on the sandie bankes of the River, wherewith the Macedonians were much amazed; but after he had a few daies observed well the course 50 of the Sea, he past out of the rivers mouth some few miles, & after Sacrifices offered to Neptune, returned : and the better to informe himselfe, he sent Nearchus and Onesicritus, to discover the coast towards the mouth of Euphrates. Arrianus in the beginning of his fixt Book hath written this passage downe the River of Indus at length, with the maner of the Vessels in which he transported his Army, the Commanders that were used therein, and other the marvellous provisions made.

Neere the out-lets of this river, he spent some part of the Winter, and in eighteene daies march from thence recovered Gedrosia, in which passage his Army suffered such miserie for want of foode, that of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thoufand horse, which he carried into India, not the fourth part returned alive.

6. XXII.

Of Alexanders Riot, Cruelty, and death.

Rom Gedrosia. Alexander led his Army into Carmania, and so drawing neere to Persia, he gave himselfe wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of Bacchus. And though this Swinish vice be hatefull enough in it selfe, yet it alwayes to inflamed this King to Cruelty. For (faith Curtims) the Hang-man followed the feast, for Aspastes, one of his Provinciall Governors, he commanded to be staine, so as neither did the excelle of voluptuousnesse qualifie his cruelty, nor his cruelty hinder in ought his volup-

While he refreshed his Army in these parts, a new supply of five thousand soot and a thousand horse, was brought him by Cleander, and his fellows, that had bin imployed in the killing of Parmenio. Against these Murderers great complaint was made by the Denuties of the Provinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outragious, as Alexander was perswaded, that, had they not altogether despaired of his retume out of India, they durst not have committed them. All men were glad of the occa-20 fion, remembring the vertue of him, whom they had flaughtered. The end was, That cleander, and the other chiefe, with fixe hundred Souldiers by them imployed, were delivered over to the Hang-manievery one rejoycing that the Ire of the King was at last executed on the ministers of his Ire.

Nearchus and Onesicritus were now returned from the coast, and made report of an lland rich in gold, and of other strange things; whereupon they were commanded to make some farther discoverie: which done, that they should enter the mouth of Euphra-

tes, and finde the King at Babylon.

As he drew neere to Babylon, he visited the Sepulchre of Cyrus in Fasargada, now call Arrianus hath a led Chalquera: where he was presented with many rich gifts by Orfines, one of the Prin-farre different ces of Persia, of the race of Cyrus. But because Bagoas, an Eunuch in especial favour with description of the King, was neglected, he not only practifed certaine loofe fellowes to witnesse against Orfines, that he had robbed cyrus tombe, for which hee was condemned to die; but he affilted the Hang-man with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time also Alexander caused Phradites to be slaine, suspecting his greatnesse. Coperat (saith Curtius) esse praceps ad repræsentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; He began head-longly to bed bloud and to beleeve false reports. It is true, that he tooke a way to make all men weary of his government, feeing cruelty is more fearefull, than all adventures that can bemade against it.

At this time it is faid, that Calanus the Philosopher burnt himselfe, when he had lived o threescore and thirteene yeares. Whether herein he followed the custome of his Countrie, being an Indian, or fought to prevent the griefe and incommoditie of elder age, it is uncertaine: but in this the Historians agree, that fore-seeing and fore-shewing Alexanders death, he promised to meet him shortly after at Babylon.

From Pasargadahe came to Susa, where he maried Statira, Darius his eldest Daughter, giving her younger fifter to his beloved Epheltion, and fourescore other Persian Ladies to his Captaines. There were fixe thousand guests invited to the feast, to each of which he gave a cup of gold. Here there came unto him three thou fand young fouldiers, out of his conquered Provinces, whereat the Macedonians greatly murmured. Harpalus, his Treasurer in Babylon, having lavishly consumed the monies in his keeping, got him going with five thousand Talents, and fixe thousand hired Souldiers; but he was rejected in Greece, there flaine. Alexander greatly rejoyced at the fidelity of the Greeks, whom Harpalus with these forces and treasures could not stirre : yet he sent commandement, that they should againe receive their banished men, whereunto (fearefull of his indignation) all submitted themselves (except the Athenians) though they resolved, that it was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this there followed a marvellous discontentment in his Army, because he had resolved to send into Macedon all those old Souldiers which could no longer endure the travell of Warre, and to keepe the rest in Asia. He used many Orations to satisfie them, but it was in value during the

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tempest of their fury. But afterward, as Whales are drawne to the Land with a twine. threed, when they have trumbled a while, fo are the unconfiderate multicude eafily conducted when their first passions are evaporate. With such as were licenced to depart. he sent Craterus, to whom he gave the Lievtenantship of Macedon, Thessaly, and Thrace. which Antipaper had held from his first departure out of Europe, who had beaten the rebellious Greeks in his absence, discharged the trust committed unto him with great sideliev, and fent him fo many strong supplies into Asia from time to time. Certainely if Alexander had not taken counsell of his cups, he would have cast some better colour on this alteration, and given Antipater a stronger reason for his remove, than to have imploved him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to Babylon, the Warre ra being now at an end. For Antipater faw nothing in this remove, but the Kings disposition to fend him after Parmenio, and the rest. With this Antipater, the King, not with standing his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though jealous, doe not stand in doubt of every manill affected, though valiant: but there is a kinde of kingly courage, compounded of hardinesse and understanding, which is many times so feareful unto them, as they take leave both of Law and Religion, to free themselves thereof.

After he had fent for Antipater, he made a journey into Media to fettlethings there: where Ephestion, whom he favoured most of all men, dies. The King according to the greatnesse of his love, laments his losse, hangs his Physician, and bestowes upon his Monument twelve thousand talents: After which he returnes to Babylon. Thither Antipater 20 came not, but fent; and not to excuse himselfe, but to free himselfe. For if we believe Gurtius (whom Plutarch & others gaine-fay) Antipater by his fonnes, Caffander, Philip. and Iolla, who waited on Alexanders cup, gave him poyfon; Theffalus (who was of the conspiracie) having invited him to a drinking feast of purpose. For after he had takena carouse in Hercules his cup, a draught of drinke stronger than Hercules himselfe, he quit-

ted the World within a few daies.

Certainly the Princes of the World have feldome found good, by making their Minifters over-great,& thereby fulpicious to themselves. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelity to be a debt, but is perswaded, that Kings ought to purchase it from their Vassals. will never please himself with the price given. The only restorative, indeed, that streng- 30 thens it, is the goodnesse & vertue of the Prince, & his liberality makes it more diligent; To as proportion and distance be observed. It may be that Antipater, having commanded two or three Kingdomes ten or twelve yeares, knew not how to play any other part; no more than Cafar did, after he had so long a time governed the Gaules, where hee utterly forgat the art of obedience. A most cruell and ungratefull traitor Antipater was, if Curtius do not belie him: For though he feared some ill measure upon his remove (the Tragedies of Parmenio, Clytus, and Callifthenes, having bin fo lately acted) yet he knew nothing to the contrary, but that the King had refolved to have given him some other great government in Afia: The old Souldiers thence returned having perchance defired to be governed by Craterus, whom they had followed in all the former Warre.

6. XXIII.

of Alexanders person and qualities.

Owfoever it were, Alexanders former cruelties cannot be excused, no more than his vanity to be esteemed the sonne of Jupiter, with his excessive delight in drinke and drunkennesse, which others make the cause of his sever and death. In that he lamented his want of enterprising, and grieved to consider what he should doe when he had conquered the World, Augustus Casar found just cause to deride him, 26 50 if the well-governing of fo many Nations and Kingdoms, as he had already conquered, could not have offered him matter more than aboundant, to busie his braines withall-That he was both learned and a lover of learning, it cannot be doubted. Sir Francis Bacon, in his first booke of the Advancement of Learning, hath proved it sufficiently. His liberality I know not how to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said, That when he gave a whole Citie to one of his fervants, He, to whom it was given, did out of modesty refuse it, as disproportionable to his fortune:to whom Alexander replied, That he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to give : of which Sentes;

Animosa vox videtur & regia, cum sit stultisima. Nihil enim per se quenquam decet. Refert Lade Benes. auid.cui,quando,quare,ubi, &c. sine quibus facti ratio non constabit; babeatur personarum le dignitatum proportio, & cum sit ubiq; virtutis modus, aque peccat quod excedit, quam and deficit; It feems a brave and royall speech, whereas indeed it is very foolish. For nothing simply considered by it selfe beseemes a man. We must regard what, to whom, when, where, and the like; without which confiderations no act can be approved. Let honours be proportioned unto the persons: for whereas vertue is ever limited by measure, the excesse is as faulty as the defect.

For his Person, it is very apparent, That he was as valiant as any man, a disposition taken by it selfe, not much to be admired; For I am resolved that he had ten thousand in his Army as daring as himselfe. Surely, if adventurous natures were to be commended fimply, we should confound that vertue with the hardinesse of Theeves, Russians, and malliffe Dogs. For certainly it is no way praife-worthy but in daring good things, and in the performance of those lawfull enterprises, in which we are employed for the service

of our Kings and Common-weales.

If we compare this great Conquerour with other troublers of the world, who have hought their glory with fo great destruction and effusion of bloud, I think him far inferiout to Cafar, and many other that lived after him, seeing he never undertook any warlike Nation, the naked Scythians excepted; nor was ever encountred with any Army of which he had not a most mastering advantage, both of Weapons & Commanders, every one of his Fathers old Captains by far exceeding the best of his Enemies. But it seems Fortune and Destinie (if we may use those termes) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his owne, both heapes of Men, that willingly offered their necks to theyoke, and Kingdomes that invited and called in their owne Conquerours. For condulion, we will agree with Seneca, who speaking of Philip the Father, and Alexander the Son gives this judgement of them: Quod non minores fuere pestes mortalium, quaminun. Naques, 1343 latio qua planum omne perfusum est quam conflagratio qua magna pars animantium exaruit; They were no lesse plagues to mankind, than an overflow of waters, drowning all the levell : or some burning drought, whereby a great part of living creatures are scorchedup.

CHAP.III.

The reigne of Aridæus.

Of the question about succession to Alexander.



HE death of Alexander left his Army (as Demades the Athenian then compared it) in such case, as was that monstrous Giant Polyphemus, having lost his only eye. For that which is reported in fables of that great Cyclops, might well be verified of the Macedonians: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance uneffectuall, & harmfull chiefly to themselves. The causes whereof (under the divine ordinance) where partly the uncertainty of Title to fuccession in the Kingdome of Macedon, partly the stub-

borne pride of Alexander himselfe, who thinking none worthy to be his heire, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leaving every one to his own fortune: but especially the so great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Master to suffer no equals; a lesson foon taught unto spirits reslecting upon their own worth, when the reverence of

agreater object faileth.

It hath formerly beene shewed, That Philip (the Father of Alexander) governing in Macedon as Protector, assumed unto himselse the Kingdome, not rendring it unto Amyntas, (the Sonne of his elder brother Perdiccas) when he grew to mans estate; but onely bestowing upon him in marriage a Daughter of his owne: by which bond, and much more by his owne proper strength, he assured the Crown unto himselfe: Amyneas never attempting ought against Philip; though (with price of his life) he did against

CHAP.3. S.2.

against Alexander in the beginning of his reigne. Wherefore Eurydice, the fole iffue of this marriage, ought in reason to have been acknowledged Queen after Alexander; as having better Title thereto, than either He or Philip had, when they lived, vnlesse (peradventure) some Law of that Nation forbad the reigne of Women. But the excellent vertue of these two Princes had utterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their owne bodies: and so great were their conquests, that Macedonit selfe was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way deserving to be laid in ballance against the demand of their posterity, had they left any able to make challenge of the Royall seat.

Alexander having taken many wives, had iffue by none of the principall of them. Bar- 10 fine the Daughter of ArtabaZus a Perfian, had borne unto him a young Son: and Roxane the Daughter of Oxyartes (whom he had more folemnly married) was left by him great with childe. But the basenesse of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alledged in Barre of Plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps)

have wrought out their owne ends, under the name of Alexanders children.

Cleopatra a fifter of Alexander, widow to the King of Epirus, & Aridens his base brother (son to Philip by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Lady Eurydice before mentioned, were next in course. Of Cleopatra there was no speech, which may give suspition, that either Law or Custome had made that sex uncapable of the Soveraignty: Arideus (besides his bastardy) was neither for personnor quality sit to sules as King; yet upon him the election fell, but slowly, and (as happeneth often) for lacke of a better: when the Counsellors having over-laboured their disagreeing wits in devising what was bast, were content for very weatinessee to take what came next to hand.

Ptolomy (foon after King of Egypt) concurring with them who rejected all mention of the halfe-Perfian brood, King Alexanders children, was of opinion, that the rule of all should be given to the Captaines; that going for law which by the greater part of them should be decreed: fo farre was he from acknowledging any one as true Heire to the

Crowne.

This Ptolomy was called the sonne of Lagus, but reputed of Philp: who having used the company of Arsinov Ptolomie's mother, delivered her in marriage to Lagus, being 30 great with child. Therefore, whether it were so that he hoped well to work his own fortune out of those differtions, which are incident unto the consultations of many ambitious men, equall in place, forcing them at length to redeeme their quiet with subjection to one, deserving regard by his bloud, and trust for his even carriage; or whether he desired only to get a share to himselse, which could not have come to passe, had all been given to one: plaine enough it is, that he thought not on preferring Aridaus before himselse; and therefore gave such counsell as fitted his owne and other mens purposes. Yea, this device of his tooke place indeed, though not in forme as he had propounded it; For, it was in effect all one, to have assembled at Alexanders empty chair, as Ptolomy had conceived the forme of their consultations, or to set in the chaire such a King 40 as Aridaus, no wifer than the chaire it selse. Also the controversies arising were determined by the greater part of the Captaines; by the greater part, if not in number, yet in puissance.

But as these counterseit shewes of dissembling aspirers doe often take checke by the plain dealing of them who dare to go more directly to work: fowas it like to have fared with Ptolomy and the rest, when Aristonia another of the Captains, interpreted the very words of Alexander; saying, That he lest his Kingdom to the worthiest, as designing Perdicas, to whom (lying at the point of death) he delivered his ring. It seemed good in reason, that Alexander should be disposer of his owne purchases: and those tokens of Alexanders purpose appeared plain enough, so long as no man would interpose anothers construction: every one being uncertain how the secret affections of the rest might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their love, or because they would not be of the latest, urged Perdices to take upon him the estate Royall. He was no stranger to the Royall bloud; yet his birth gave him not such reputation, as the great savour of his dead King, with whom he had bin very inward, 8 that especially since the death of Ephession (a powerful Minion) into whose place he was chosen. For his own worth he might well be commended, as a good man of War, and one that had given much proofe of his private valour. But very surly he was: which quality (joyned with good fortune) carried a shew of

Majefty: being checkt with misadventure, it was called by a true name, Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the present businesse a foolish over-weening did him as great harme, as it had been great happinesse to have succeeded Alexander. For, not content to have the acclamation of the Souldiers, approving the sentence of Aristonus, he would needs counterfeit modefly; thinking that every one of the Princes would have intreated him to take the weighty burden of an Empire, which would be the lesse envious, the more solemnity he used in the acceptance. It is truly said, He that faineth himselfea Sheep, may chance to be eaten by a Wosse. Meleager, (a man by nature envious, and bearing a particular hartered to Perdices) took advantage of his irresolute behaviour, and very bitterly enveighed against Souldiers ought to be Heires to the Treasure; and therefore he invited them, who were nothing slow, to share it. This disturbed all the Consultation. The Captaines were less along, farre enough from agreeing, and not able to have brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Souldiers, who greedy of spoyle, thronged about Meleager.

6. II.

The Election of Aridæus, with the troubles there-about arifing ; the first division of the Empire.

Uring this up-roare, mention was made of Aridaus by fome one, and entertained with good liking of many, untill at last it grew to the vovce of the Army. Meleager having with-drawne himselfe tumultuously from the company of the Lords, was glad of so faire an occasion to make himselfe great: therefore he produced Mridans, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name Philip, and brought him into the Palace, investing him in Alexanders Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withstood this election, but in vaine: for they could not refolve what course to follow, rejecting this. Only Python, a hot-headed man, took upon him to proclaime the Son of Alexander by Roxane, according to the counfell which Perdiscas at first had given appointing Perdiscas and Leonatus his Protectors. But this childe was not vet borne, which made that attempt of Python vaine. Finally, Perdicto with fixe hundred men, and Ptolomy with the Kings Pages, tooke upon them to defendthe place where slexanders body lay: but the Army conducted by Meleager, who carried the new King about whither he lifted, eafily brake in upon them, and inforced them to accept Aridam for their Soveraigne Lord. Then by the interceffion of the ancien Captains, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither fide faithfully meant.

Leonatus, who was of Royall bloud, a goodly Gentleman and valiant, iffued out of Babylon, being followed by all the horse, which confisted (for the most part) of the Nobility. Perdiceas abode in the City (but standing upon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any commotion that should happen among the infantry. The King (who was governed by Meleager) commanded, or gave leave to have Perdiess made away; which attempt succeeded ill, being neither secretly carried, nor committed to fure executioners. Their comming was not unexpected: and they were by Perdices rebuked with fuch gravity, that they departed honefter than they came; being forry for their bad enterprise. Upon the newes of this attempt, the Campe was in anup-roare, which the King feeking to pacifie, wanted authority, as having newly got othe Crowne by them, and holding it by their courtefie. The matter it felfe afforded no good excuses, and his indifferction made them worfe. He faid that no harme was done, for Perdiceas was alive: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which he imputed to Meleager; abandoning the furest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appealed, untill the King by offering to refigne his estate unto them, renewed out of their pity that favourable affection, which had moved them to fet him up at the first.

Perdiccus having now joyned himselfe with Leonatus, kept the fields, intending to cut offall provision of victuals from the Citie. But after fundry Embassies passing betweene Cccc 2

the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to have the Authors of fedition given up into their hands; the King, that Meleager might be joyned with Leonatus and Perdices, as a Third ingovernment of the Army) things were compounded according to the Kings defire. Meleager should have done well to consider, That such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to give him a principall place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treachery lurked under their great facility. Generall peace was renewed, and much love protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had beene in Alexanders time: but no longer now did the fame heart give it life; and windy fpirits they were which moved in the arteries. False reports were given out by appointment of Perdiceas, 10 tending to his owne diffrace, but in fuch termes as might feeme to have proceeded from Meleager: who finding part of the drift, but not all, took it as an injury done to himfelfe. and (as defirous of a true friendship) defired of Perdiccus, that such authors of discord might be punished. Perdiccas (as a lover of peace) did well approve the motion; and thereforeagreed that a generall Muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receive their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Army. The plot was mischievously layd. Had Meleager given way to feditious rumours, he must needs have incurred the general hatred of all as a fower of diffention, & thereby with a publike approbation might have bin cut off, as having often offended in that kinde: his Prince being too weak a Patron. Now feeking redreffe ofthese disorders, he hastened his owne ruine, by a lesse formall, but more speedy way. This kind of Muster was very solemne, & practifed with many ceremonies, as for cleanfing of the Army. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the Macedonian foot, the Mercenaries were each according to their quality fet in array, apart from others, as if they had bin of fundry forts, met at adventure: which done, the manner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to the direction of their severall Captaines. But at that time thegreat battell of Macedonian Pikes, which they called the Phalanx, led by Meleager, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disadvantage 3 and the countenance of the Horse and Elephants beginning to give charge upon them, was fuch, as discovered no jesting passing nor good intent. Kings were alwayes wont to fight among the horse-men: of which cu- 30 frome Perdiceas made great use that day, to the utter confusion of his enemies. For Aridans was alwaies governed by him, which for the present had him in possession. Two or three dayes before, he lought the death of Perdiccas at the instigation of Meleger: now he rides with Perdiceas up and downe about the foot-men, commanding them to deliver unto the death all fuch as Perdiceas required. Three hundred they were who were cast unto the Elephants, and by them flaine, in the presence of the King (who should have defended them) and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred werenotthe men whose punishment Meleager had expected: they were such as had followedhim, when he disturbed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especiall friends. Having therefore kept himselfe quiet a while, as 40 unwilling to give offence to them which had the advantage; when he saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he sted away into a temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for thither they fent and flew him.

The Army being thus corrected, was led into the City, where anew Councell of the Princes was held, who finding what manner of man their King, was, divided all the Provinces of the Empire among themselves; leaving to Arideus the office of a Visitor, and yet making Perdiccus his Protector, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of Alexander thought upon; whose body having bin sevendaies neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the Egyptians: no signe of poyson appearing, how great soever the suspicion might be. The charge of his buriall was committed to so Arideus: one of the Captains, who was two years preparing of a great and costly shew, making a stately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coarses of his friends being layd in the ground before that of Alexander was bestowed in Alexandria, a City of his

owne building, in Egypt.

6. III.

The beginning of the Lamian Warre.

Hilest these things were in doing, or presently after, Antipater & Craterus, two principall Noble-men, and inferiour to none of Alexanders followers; if not greater than any of the rest, were busied in Greece with a war, which the Athenians more bravely than wifely had begun in Alexanders life, but now did profecute more boldly than before, upon the courage which they had taken by his death. Alexander not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished Greekes (few 10 excepted) should be restored unto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the Grecian Estates, & therfore thought so to provide, that in every City he would have a fure party. But it fell out otherwise: For helost the hearts of many more than he wan by this proud injunction. His pleasure indeed was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law, and a beginning of o nen tyranny. The Athenians greatly decayed in estate, but retaining more than was needfull of their ancient spirits, forbade the execution of this decree in their Dominions; for didalfo the Ætolians, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature : yet neither of them tooke Armes, but seemed to beare themselves, as men that had done no more than they might well justifie by reason: neverthelesse to prevent the worst, the Athenians gave secret instructions to Leosthenes, a Captaine of theirs, willing him to levie an Army, but in his owne name, and to keepe it in a readinesse for their use. This was no hard thing for Leofthenes to doe: great numbers of Greek Souldiers being lately returned from the Asian War in poor estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captaines. Of these he had gathered up eight thousand, when the certaine newes were brought of Alexanders death: at which the City of Athens declared it felfe, and more honourably than wifely, proclaimed open War against the Macedonians for the liberty of Greece. Hereupon Leofthenes drew-in the Ætolians and fome other Estates, gave battellto the Boeotians, who fided with Antipater, and overthrew them; growing fo fast in preputation, and fo ftrong in adherents, that Antipater (arming in all hafte, yet suspecting his owne (trength) was faine to fend into Afia to Craterus for fuccour.

Nothing is more vaine than the feares and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their defficies a farre off, which deceive all mortall wisdome, even when they seem neare at hand. One moneth was scarcely past, since nothing so heavily burthened the thoughts of Antipater as the returne of Craterus into Macedon, which he then feared as death, but now defired as the most likely affurance of his life. Craterus, whom Alexander held as of allmen the most assured unto him, was sent into Macedon to convey home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence) & to fucceed Antipater in the government of Macedon and Greece. The fuspitions were strong that he had a privile charge to put Intipater to to death: neither did that which was commonly published found much better; which was, That Antipater should be sent unto the King, as Captain of the young Souldiers, newly tobelevied in Europe. For Alexander was much incenfed against him by his Mother Olympia: and would fometimes give out speeches, testifying his owne jealousie and hatred of him; but yet he strove to smother it, which in a cruell Prince betokeneth little good. Few of Alexanders Lievtenants had escaped with life: most of them indeed were meane persons in regard of those who followed him in his Indian expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) removed to make place for their betters. But if the Kings rigour was such, as could finde rebellious purposes (for so hee interpreted even lewd government) in base persons; little might Antiquer hope for, who having sitten Vice-roy ten so yeares in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Master, and the envie of a Court, wherein they had been his inferiours, which would now repine to seehim their equall. Therefore whether his feare drew him to prevention, working first the Kings death by poyson, given by his some tolaus, Alexanders Cup-bearer; or whether it brake not forth untill opportunity had changed it into the paffion of revenge, which was cruelly performed by his fonne Cassander : great cause of much feare he had; which I note in this place, as the ground of effects to be produced in

Very few yeares.

At the present Craterus was sent for, and all the Captaines of companies lying nears,

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folicited to make hafte. Not without cause: For in Macedon there could not at that time be raifed more than thirtcene thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse; which Mustar was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Country being emptyed into Asia. The Thessalians indeed who had long stood firme for Philip & Alexander, who also were the best horse. men of Greece, furnished him with very brave troups, that might have done great fee. vice, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of Greece. With the forces did Antipater in Thessaly try the fortune of a battell with Leotthenes; Tather (as may seem) searing the increase of his enemies power, and rebellion of the Greeks, (were they not checkt at the first) than prefuming on his strength. For Leostheres had of Athenians, Atolians, and Mercenatics, two and twenty thousand foot, besides the affishere of 10 many perty Signories, and of some Illyrians and Thracians: of horse he brought into the field about two thousand and five hundred; but over-strong he was that way also when once the Thessalians had revolted unto him. So Antipater lost the day : and his tosse was fuch, that he neither was able to keepe the field, nor to make a fafe retrait into his owne Country: therefore he fled into the Towne of Lamia, which was well fortified, and wel provided of all things necessary to beare out a fiege. Thicher did Leesthenes followhim. present him battell againe, and upon refusall close up the Towne with earth-works, and a wall. There will we leave him for a while, travelling in the last honourable enterprise that ever was undertaken by that great City of Athens.

§. IV. How Perdiccas employed his Army.

Ing Aridam living under the rule of Perdices, when all the Princes were gone each to his owne Province, kepta naked Court: all his greatnesse consisting in a bare title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for himotherwise than to make use of him. Perdices had no Province of his owne peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he should visit in his government. A stronger Army than any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that unsetled condition of things to make better worth to him than many Provinces could have bin. The 30 better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of Cleopatrs, the sister of Alexander 3 yet about the same time he either married Nicesa the daughter of Anipater, or made such love to her as blinded their eyes, who did not somewhat narrowly search into his doings.

Ariarathes the Cappadocian, the fecond of that name, and tenth king of that Country, had continued faithfull to the Persian Empire as long as it stood : following the example of his forefathers, even from Pharnaces the first that reigned in Cappadocia, who married Aiossa sister to the great Cyrus. Some of his Ancestors had (indeed) been oppressed by the Perfians: but what fortune tooke from them at one time, Vertue restored at another, and their faithfull Princes had much encreased all. But now in the farall Period of 40 so great an Empire, with much wisdome, and (Darius being slain) with sufficient honour, he might have acknowledged the Macedonian in the Perfians roome. This he did not; neither did Alexander call him to account, being occupied with great cares. But Perdiccas, who had no greater business wherein to entertain his Army, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take that in-land Kingdome, furrounded with Provinces of the Macedonian conquest, and for his own particular, to have one opportune place of fure retrait, under the government of a stedfast friend. Therefore he entred Cappadocia fought with Ariarathes, who drew into the field thirty thousand foot, and fifteene thousand horse(a strong Army, had it not encountred a stronger, and better trained)wan the victory, and thereby the whole Kingdome. But with much cruelty did he use the vi-50 ctory: for having taken Ariarathes prisoner with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light upon; and fo delivered that Province to Eumenes, whom of all men living he trufted most.

Another part of his forces he had comitted to Python, rather as to the most honourable of such as remained about him, than as to the most affured. Python was to subdue the Greeks rebelling in the high Countries of Asia. About twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse they were, (all old Souldiers) who, planted in Colonies by Alexander, to bridle the barbarous nations, were soon weary of their unpleasant habitations, & the tude people

people, among whom they lived: and therefore took advantage of the prefent troubles to feeke unto themselves a better fortune. Against these Python went, more desirous to make them his owne, than to destroy them : which intent of his, Perdiccas discovering; did both give him in charge to put all those Rebels to the sword, giving the spoyles of them to his Souldiers, and further enjoyned it unto Pythons Captaines (his owne creatures) that they should see this commandement executed. These directions for use of the victory, might have proved needleffe; fo uncertaine was the victory it felfe. A Captaine of the Rebels commanding over three thousand, corrupted by Python, did in the heate of the fight (which was very doubtfull) retire without necessity to a hill not farre off. This dismaied the rest, and gave the day to Python: who being far enough from Perdicalo, offered composition to the vanquished, granting unto them their lives and liberty, under condition of laying downe their armes; and hereupon he gave them his faith. Being master of these Companies, he might well have a good opinion of his owne power: all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vaunt himselfe asfree Lord of any Territory. He had thirteene thousand foot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new Companions, whom needlesse seare without great losse had caused to leave the field: but in true estimation all the greatnesse whereof Python might thinke himselfe affured, was (and soon appeared to be) inherent in Perdiccas. For by his command were ten thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, of those which followed Python, levied; the Rulers of the Provinces carefully obeying the letters of Perdiceas, by which they were enjoyned to give affiftance to that businesse: and by vertue of the precept given unto them by Perdiscan, did the Macedonians cut in pieces all those poore men who had yeelded themselves; leaving Python as naked as he came forth to returne unto his great Master.

Nowwas Perdiceas mighty above the mighty, and had fair leafure to pursue his hopes of marriage with Cleopatra, and thereby to make himselfe Lord of all: but this must be screetly carried for seare of opposition. How it succeeded, will appear e when the Lami-

an War taketh ending.

The processe of the Lamian War.

Ee left Antipater hardly befieged, wanting means to free himfelfe without fuccours from his friends in Afia. Those helps not appearing so soon as he expected, he came to parley with Leosthenes, and would have yeelded unto any terms of reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of victory, does eldome limit their desires. Leosthenes willed him without further circumstance to submit himselfe to discretion. This was too much for him that had once commanded over them, who now required of him such a dishonourable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extressor mities, from which as yet he was surre enough, could bring no worse with it, Antipater prepared for the desence; and the other for winning the Towne, which selt great want of victuals.

Inthis lingring War the Ætolians (whether weary of fitting still at a fiege, or having businesse which they pretended at home) took their leave, and returned into their owne Countrey. Their departure left the trenches so thinly manned, that Antipater found meanes to fally out upon his enemies to their great loffe : for many were flaine, and Leof benes himselfe among them, ere he could be repulsed into the Towne. Yet hereby the Macedonians were nothing relieved, their victuals wasted, and they were not strong enough to deale with the Greeks in open fight. Craterus was long in comming. Lysima-50 thus, who was neareft at hand in Thrace, had worke too much of his owne, leading no more than foure thousand foote, and two thousand horse, against Seuthas the Thracian King, who brought into the field above four times that number; and though Lysimachus, not without losse had gotten one victory, yet the enemy abounding in multitude, felt not the blow so much as might abate his courage. Therefore Leonatus was earnestly folicited by Antipaters friends, to make all haste to the rescue. He had the government of Phrygiathe leffe, and was able to raife an Army of more than twenty thousand foor; and two thousand five hundred horse, whether levied out of his province, or appointed unto him out of the maine Army, it is uncertaine. Certaine it is, that he was more wil184

ling to take in hand the journey into Greece, than Anipater was to have him come. For Cleopatra had written unto him, desiring his presence at Pella, the chiefe Citie of Macedon, and very kindly offering herselfe to be his wise; which letters he kept not so close as had bin requisite, and therefore brought himselfe into great suspition, that soon ended with his life. Antiphilas, chosen Generall by the Athenians in place of Leosshenes, heaving of his approach, for sook the siege of Lamia, and tooke the ready way to these great Conquerors of Asia, with purpose to give them an evill welcome home, before Anipa-

CHAP. 3. S. 6.

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thing sutable to their ancient glory.

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have made themselves once againe Masters, were put to the worst.

But now the fatall captivity of Greece came on of which the never could be delivered unto this day. Craterus with a ftrong Army having made great marches from Cilicia, 30 paffed over into Europe, and comming into Teffaly, joyned himselfe with Anipair. The forces of Leonatus, Intipater, and Craterus being joyned in one, contained fony thousand weightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and five thousand horse; of which numbers the Greeks wanted a thousand and five hundred in horse; in foot, eighteene thousand. Carefully therefore did Antiphilus labour to avoyd the necessity of a battell, untill fuch time as the Towns confederate should returne unto the Camp those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in comming, and Antipater fourgent upon the Greeks, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazzard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the victory : for the Theffalians had the upper hand, and held it, untill fuch 40 time as they perceived their battels (over-laid with multitude) retire unto the higher ground, which caused them also to fall back. So the Macedonians became Lords of the field, having little elfe to boast of considering that with the losse of an hundred & thirty men, they had only purchased the death of some five hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great use made: For the Greeks, as not subject unto the ful command of one General; and being every one desirous to preserve his own estate and City; concluded to make a treaty of peace with Antipater; who being a fubtle Artificer, and well understanding their aptnesse to division, refused to hearken to any generall composition, but willed every city to deale apart for it selfe. The intent of his device was so apparent, that it was rejected; the Greeks choosing rather to abide the comming of their affishants, whose unreasonable 50 carelesnesse betrayed the cause. Antipater and Craterus besieging and winning some Towns in Theffaly, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieve, wearied that Nation from attending any longer upon other mens unlikely hopes, with their owne affured and present calamity.

of the peace granted to Athens by Antipater. Of Demosthenes his death.

The Thessalians falling off, all the rest soon followed severely, & sued for peace; the gentle conditions given to the most forward, inviting such as were slack. Only the Athenians and Ætolians held out. Little favour could they hope for, having been Authors of this tumult: and their feare was not great; the seat of the war being far from them. But the celerity of Antipater consounded all their imaginations; who save fill at Athens, devising upon courses of prosecuting the War to come, which came to their dores before their consultation could finde issue. He was ready to enter upon their Frontiers; they had no ability to resist, and were as heartlesse as friendlesse. All that remained was to send Embassadors, desiring peace upon some good termes: necessity enforcing them to have accepted even the very worst. Phocion, with Demades the Orator, & Xenocrates the Philosopher, were chiefe of this Embassage; Phocion, as the most honourable; Demades, a strong perswader (both of them well respected by Anipater); and Xenocrates, as one admired for wisdome, gravity of manners, and vertue; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of selfer regard, when their admiration was to cost them much in reall effects.

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To the same end (yet withall for satisfying his owne suspicions and harred) he caused Demosthenes and Hyperides, famous Orators, with some others, to be slaine. Had the death of these two, especially of Demosthenes, beene forborne, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well have passed for very milde: whereas now all such, as eigother are delighted with the Orations of Demosthenes, or have surrendred their judgements to Authors justly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that ever did speake and write, condemne him utterly, calling him a bloudie tyrant. Such grace and reputation doe the learned arts finde in all civill Nations, that the evill done to a man, samous in one of them, is able to blemish any action, how good soever otherwise it be, or honoura-

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CHAP.3.5.5.

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Thematters of Athens being thus ordered, the chiefe command was left in the hands of Phocion, a vertuous man, and lover of his Countrie, yet applying himfelfe to the necesfitie of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the Cirie much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grievous to free-men, yet favou-

rable to the vanquished) he endeavoured carefully to preserve.

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How Craterus and Antipater were drawn from their Etolian wars into Asia. The grounds of the first civill war between the Macedonian Lords.

O Antipater with Craterus returned into Macedonia, where they strengthned their friendship with a new alliance; Craterin taking Phila, the Daughter of Antipater. to Wife.

Shortly after they went against the Ætolians, whose povertie was not so easily daunted, 10 as the Iuxurious wealth of the more powerfull State of Athens had bin. Their Countrie was rough and mountainous, having many places of great fastnesse, into which they conveied fuch of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people, as were least fit for war: with the rest they fortified the strongest of their Cities, and so abode the comming of the Macedonians, whom they manfully refifted. With great obstinacie did the Mace donians contend against the difficulties of the places, which the Ætolians made good as long as their victuals held out. But when Craterus had shut up all passages, & utterly debarred them of reliefe, then were they put to a miscrable choice; either to descend from their strong holds, and fight upon equall ground, with unequall numbers, or to endure the miseries of hunger & cold, against which they could make no long resistance; or to yeeld 39 themselves to the Macedonians: who, incensed by the losse of many good Souldiers, were not like to leave fo stubborn enemies in places, which might give confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremitie, much finenesse of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger, commonly doth more hurt than a blunt confideration of that only, which at the present is in hand. These Atolians did not as yet want meat: but their enemies daily molested them: wherefore as yet they thought upon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For fuch newes came out of Afia into the Macedonian Camp, as made Antipater and Craterus think every houre a moneth, till they had rid their hands of these A tolians, giving them what soever conditions they would aske: yet with purpose to call them to fevere account; yea, to root them out of Greece by death, or by captivitie, when 4 once they should have settled the affairs of Asia; as they hoped and defired. But of mens purposes God is disposer: in whose high counsell it was ordained, that this poore Nation should continue atroublesome bar to the proceedings of Maredon and Greece, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchie) an open gate to let the Roman Conquerors into those and other Provinces. Likewise concerning the matters of Asia, the reformation in sended by Antipater and Craterin, was so far from taking effect, that it served meerly as an introduction to all the civill wars enfuing.

The grounds of the Afiatique expedition, which did fet the world in an uproare, were these. Antipater and Crateriu were of Alexanders Captaines the mightiest in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedencie, and the present rule which he bare se in the parts of Europe. The other, as of all men the best beloved, and most respected, both of Alexander & of the whole Armie. Next unto these had Perdiceas been; whom the advantage of his presence at the Kings death did make equall, or superiour, to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of Perdiceas were, to have consorted with these two, and to have beene with them a third partner in the government of all; to which purpose hee entertained the discourse of marriage with one of Antipaters Daughters. But feeling in short space the strength of that gale of winde which boilehim up, he began to take wing and foare quite another way. Aridiem was a very fimple man,

vetserved well enough to weare the title of that Majesty, whereof Perdiccas being Administrator, and hoping to become proprietary, the practice was more severe than had been in the dayes of Alexander: the defire to feeme terrible, being very familiar with weake Princes, and their ambitious officers, who know no other means of preferving themselves from contempt, and of giving such a fiery lustre to their actions, as may dazle theeyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poor Greeks in the higher Afia were all put to the fword; and how tyrannously the King and Princes of Cappadocia were crucified, hath already been shewed. The Pisidians were the next who selt the wrath of these counterfeit Atexanders. One City of theirs was utterly razed; the children fold for o flaves, and all the reft massacred. The Isaurians by this example growne desperate, when affertwo or three dayes triall they found themselves unable to continue the defence, locktthemselves into their houses, and set the Town on fire, into the slame whereof the voing mendid throw themselves, after that they had a while repelled the Macedonians

These exploits being performed, the Army had no other workthan to sift the ashes of the burnt City for gold and filver; but Perdiceas had bufineffe of greater importance troubling his braines. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to fit still without imployment: letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whileft others grew great, and took deep root in their severall Provinces. He purposed therefore to transport his forto tes into Europe, under pretence of bringing the King into Macedonia, the feat of his Anceltors, and head of the Empire. The Kings presence would make the Offices of his Vice-Royes(during the time) actually voyd; Antipater with Graterus being once in case of private men, and only Perdiceas holding authority, the match with Cleopaira might eafily hemade. So should greatnesse meet with a good title; and what more could be wished? Some impediment the power of Ptolomy might give, who held Egypt well fortified with men, but much better with love of the people; yet if the businesse prospered in Macedonia, like enough it was that either Ptolomy would follow of himselfe, or be driven to ome to reason. Antigonus likewise then governing in Phrygia, a busic headed man, and ill affected to the fide, was to be looked into and made away, for feare of further trouble. so So thought Perdiccas, and was deceived in so thinking. Antigonus was as good a man of War, of as deep a judgement, as high a spirit, and as great undertaking, as any of Alexandes Captains. His imployments had been leffe than some of theirs, which made him albut leffe respected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for he valued himselfe by his owne worth, not by the opinions of other men; with carefull attention had he watched Perdiceas, and founded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time wdiscover. For Perdiceas having with a jealous eye pryed into the demeanour of Anti-(1001), and finding him no way fit for his turne, caused him to be charged with such accufitions, as might fuffice to take away his life, especially by a Judge that sought his death. This device Antigonus would not feeme to perceive, but prepared himselfe in shew to make answer, indeed, to make escape; which easily he did, putting himselfe and his Sonne Demetrius aboord of some Athenian Gallies, that carried him to Antipater, laden with fuch tidings as finished the Ætolian War before mentioned.

As the comming of Antigonus made Craterus and Antipater manifestly perceive their owne danger : To his flight gave Perdiccas to understand that his intentions were layed on, and must now be justified by the sword. Therefore he prepared as fast as he could, not onely for defence, but (as having on his fide the Kings name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing flacke in providing to encounter him. Ptolomy being adverti-Idofthese proceedings, and confidering how nearely they concerned him, fided with Anipater. To his government of Egypt he had annexed the Dominion of Cyrene, not without consent of the chiefe Citizens; and now in the midst of these garboyles he ceebrated the funerall of Alexander with great folemnity, purchasing thereby to himselfe much good will and many partakers, notwithstanding the terrible report of the Kings

Army comming against him.

6. VIII.

Perdiccas his voyage into Egypt, and his death.

Erdiceas, uncertaine which way to bend his maine power, at length refolved to fet upon Ptolomy; leaving Eumenes to keepe to his use, against Craterus and Antipater, the parts of Asia bordering upon Europe.

It may feem ftrange, that hedid not rather make head against those who were to come out of Greece with a great number, and of more able men than Ptolomy could bring, Perhaps he thought to make a quick end with Ptolomy; or beleeved that Crateria Would not 10 be readie for him foone enough. Sure it is that he tooke a bad course, and made it worse

with ill handling.

Ptolomy by his sweet behaviour allured many to his partie, without helpe of any bad arts. Perdiceas contrariwise was full of insolencie, which never failed to be rewarded with hatred; that is truely defined, An affection founded upon opinion of an unjuft contempt. The whole storie of his proceedings in Egypt is not worth relation: for hedid norhing of importance; but (as a wilfull man) tired his followers, and wasted themin hard enterprises without successe. His most forceable attempt was upon a little Town. called the Camels wall: thither he marched by night, with more hafte than good speed: for Ptolomy preventing him, did put himselfe into the place, where behaving himselfe 20 not only as a good Commander, but as a front Souldier, he gave the foile to Perdices. caufing him to retire with loffe, after a vehement, but vaine, affault continued one whole day. The night following, Perdiceas made another journy, (which was his last) and came to the divisions of Nilus, over against Memphis. There with much difficultie he beganto passe over his Armie into an Iland, where he meant to incampe. The current was strong. the water deepe, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants above the passage, to breake the violence of the streame, and his horse-men beneath it, to take up fuch as were carried away by swiftnesse of water. A great part of his Armie beingarived on the further banke, the channell began to waxe deep; fothat whereas the former companies had waded up to the chin, they who should have followed could find no foo-39 ting. Whether this came by the rifing of the water, or flitting away of the ground; (the earth being broken with the feet of fo many Men, Horse, & Elephants) no remedy there was but such as had passed must repasse again, as well as they might: for they were too weake for the enemie, and could not be relieved by their fellowes. With great confusion therefore they committed themselves to the river, wherein above two thousand of them perished, a thousand were devoured by Crocodiles, a miserable spectacle evento such as were out of danger; such as were strong and could swim, recovered the Campe, many were carried down the stream, and driven to the contrary banke, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the Souldiers against their Generall, giving libertic to their tongues, which long time had concealed the evill thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, newes came from Ptolomy, which did fet them in an up-roar. Ptolomy had not only shewed much compassion on those who fell into his hands alive, but performed all rights of funerall to the dead carkaffes, which the river had caft upon his fide: and finally, fent their bones and ashes to be interred by their Kinsmen or Friends. This did not only move the common Souldiers, but made the Capraines fall to mutinie, thinking itunreasonable to make warreupon so vertuous and honourable a person, to fulfill the pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, using them like slaves. These dition growing strong, wanted only a head, which it quickly found. Python was there, who inwardly hated Perdiccas, for the differed which he had fuffered by his procurement, after the victorie upon the rebellious Greeks. Python had lived in honourable place about Alexander; he was in the division of the Provinces made Governour of Media, He had followed Perdiccas, and being in all things (the Protectorship excepted)equal to him, had neverthelesse been scornfully used by him, which now he requited. Drawing rogether a hundred of the Captaines, and a good part of the Horse, which consisted of the Gentrie, (the footmen having declared themselves before) he entred the Tentos Perdiceas, where without further circumstance they all, ranne upon him, and slew him Such end had the proud mif-governing authoritie of Perdiccas. He might have lived

as great as any, could he have fuffered any as great as himfelfe; yea, peradventure mafter of all, had he not been too masterly over those which were already his.

The next day Ptolomie came into the Campe, where he was joyfully received; he excused himselfe of things past, as not having beene Author, or given cause of the warre, and was eafily beleeved: the favour of the Army being such toward him, that needes they would have made him Protector in the roome of Perdiccas. But this he refused. Irwas an Office fit for one that would feeke to increase his greatnesse with his trouble. Prolomie was well enough already; wherefore, for his own quiet he forbare to accept ir. and for their well-deferving of him, he procured that honourable charge to Python, & to 10 Arideus the Captain, who having had some companies of Souldiers, to furnish with their attendance the folemnities of Alexanders Funerals, did with them adhere to him against

In the middest of these businesses came newes of two great victories obtained by Eumenes; which newes, had they arrived two or three dayes sooner, had been entertained with joy full acclamations; and would have given fuch reputation to Perdiceas, as had raused both his private maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to have accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings comming in ill time, when death had stopped the eares which would have given them welcome, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

§. IX. Victories of Eumenes in the lower Afia.

The Fore wee proceeds in the relation of things happening about the person of the King, it is meet that we speake of those businesses in the lower Asia, which were handled by Eumenes with notable dexterity, whilest Perdicess was occupied in the Egyptian Wars. Alcetas the brother of Perdiccas, and Neoptolemus, had received command from Perdiceas to be affiftant to Eumenes, and to follow his directions. But Alcetas made flat answer that he would not; alledging the backwardnesse of his men to beare Ames against so great a person as Antipater, and a man so much honoured as Craterue. Nuptolemus was content to make faire shew, but inwardly he repined at the precedency given to Eumenes, as thinking himselfe the better man. Eumenes discovering, through the counterfeited looks of Neoprolemus, the mischiefe lurking in his heart, wisely diffembled with him, in hope to win him by gentle behaviour, and fweet language, that commonly are lost, when bestowed upon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himselfe, that hemight stand upon his own strength, he raised out of the Countries under his jurisdiction, about fixe thousand horse, giving many priviledges to such as were serviceable, and taining them well up. Not without great need. For when upon advertisement of the great preparations made by Craterus and Antipater (who had newly passed the Hellefont) for the invafion of his Provinces, he willed Neoptolemus to come to him with all his power; Neoptolemus did(indeed)advance, but in hostile manner, though unprovoked, presented him battell. Neoptalemus had secretly covenanted with Antipater to lay open the way for him to the conquest of Asia, which now intending to performe, hee was shamefully disappointed. For though his footmen, being all Macedonians, had much the better, and prevailed far upon Eumenes his battels; yet were his horse driven our of the field, and himselfe compelled, with a few of them, to run away, leaving naked the backs ofhis Macedonian foot-men to be charged by Eumenes, who forced them in fuch wife, that cashing down their Pikes, they cryed for mercy, and gladly took their oath to doe him faithfull fervice. Antipater and Craterus endeavoured with many goodly promiles to draw Eumenes into their fociety, who contrariwise offered himselfe as a meane ofreconciliation, betweene Perdictas and Craserus, whom he dearely loved; professing withall his hatred to Apripater, and constant faith to the cause which he had undertaken to maintaine.

Whilest these negotiations were on foot, Neoptolemus came with his broken crue to Antipater, and his Affociates, vilifying Eumenes, & calling him a Scribe (at which foolish railing they laught) but extolling the vertue of Craterus (as well he might) with high commendations; affuring them, that if Craterus did but once appeare, or that his voyce were but heard by any Macedonian in Eumenes his Campe, the victory was wonne; for

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they would all forth-with revolt unto him. Earnestly therefore he defired them to give himayd against Eumenes, and especially requested that Craterus might have the leading of the Army to be fent. Their owne affections did eafily lead them to condescend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of Craterus might prevaile ac much as the force which he drew along. For he had in the middest of Alexanders vanities, when others (imitating their King) betooke themselves to the Persian fashions of garments and customes, retained the ancient Macedonian form of behaviour, and apparrell; whereby he became very gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld these new tricks of Asia with discontented eyes, as reproachfull and derogatory to the manners of their native Countrey. So Antipater took the way toward Cilicia, to hold Per- 10 diceas at bay, and to joyne with Ptolomy. Craterus used great celerity, to have taken Eumenes revelling (as hee hoped) according to the common fashion of Captaines, after a great victory. But he had a wary and well advised enemy to encounter, who kept good espiall upon him, and with much wisedome fore-saw all that was to be seared, and the meanes of prevention, which his courage did not faile to execute. Eumenes was not ignorant that Craterus was able to defeat him without battell, yea without stroke; him thereforehe feared more than the Army following him: (yet the Army following him was fuch as much exceeded his own in foot-men, but was inferiour in horf-men)& thought it more uneafie to keept the Macedonians from revolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a strange piece of work, which desperation of all courses else 20 taught him, & wife managing prosperously accomplished. He gave out reports, that Neoptolemus was returned with fuch company as he could gather together, & had gotten Pigres (a Captain of no great estimation, who lay not far off) to joyn with him. Havinganimated his men against Neoptolemus, whom he knew to be despised & hated among them, (as having bin vanquished by some of them, & for saken others in plain field, whill they valiantly fought in his quarrel) he took great care to keep them from receiving any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded that no messenger nor trumpetershould be admitted; & not herewith satisfied, he placed against Craterus no one Macedonian, nor any other that much would have regarded him had he bin known: but Thracians, Cappadocians & Persians, under the leading of such, as thought more highly 30 of none, than of Perdiccas & himselfe. To these also he gave in charge, that without speaking or hearkning to any word, they should run upon the enemy, and give him no leasure to fay, or do any thing but fight. The directions which he gave to others, he did not hall to execute in his own person: but placing himselfe in the right wing of his battell, oppofite to Neoptolemus, who (as he understood) conducted the left wing on the contrary fide, he held the Macedonians arranged in good order, and ready to charge the enemy as foon as the distance would give leave. A rising piece of ground lay between them, which having ascended, the Armies discovered each other: but that of Eumenes every way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long journies, which over-halfily they had made, seeking the deceitfull issue of frivolous hopes. Then was it high time for Craterin 40 (having failed in furprifing them as enemies) to discover himselfe to his old friends, and fellow fouldiers, of whom he could fee none. Phanix a Tenidian, & Artaba Zusa Persian, had the leading of that fide, who mindfull of their inftructions, began to give upon him, with fuch countenance as told him his errour; which to redeem, he bad his men fight, and redeem the day, and take the spoyle to themselves, but the Bear whose skin he sels, is not yet caught. The ground whereon the battell was fought gave most advantage to the horse, who encountred very roughly on all parts: especially about Eumenes and Neoptolemus; who as foon as they had discovered one another, could not containe themselves, but with great rage met body to body, & letting loose their bridles, grappled so violently together, that their horses ran from under them, leaving both of them tumbling on the 50 ground. Neoptolemus rose first up, but Eumenes had his fword first drawn, wherewith he houghed the other, causing him to fall down & fight upon one knee. In this conflict they received many wounds, but Neoptolemus giving flight ones, took fuch as were deadly, by which he dyed in the place, and was there (being halfe-dead, halfe-alive) stripped by his mortall enemy, whose revilings he requited, Iying even at the last gaspe, without wound in the groine, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of Neoptolemus caufed his followers to run away upon the spurre, and seeke shelter behinde the battels of their foote. They were nothing hotly pursued. For Eumenes pained himselfe to carry

fuccour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed; but found accompanied with the same fortune, that had affitted him when he fought in person. Craterus had gallantly borne himselfe a while, and sustained the impression of Artabazus and Phanix with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little estimation or note. Otherwife it is not unlikely, that he might have either carried the day, or preferved himfelfeto abetter adventure by giving ground, as the rest (when he and Neoptolemus were saine) did. But whilest he fought to preferve his reputation, he lost his life by the fall of his horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound received; upon which accito dent he was trampled under foot by many that knew him not, and so perished unknown, till it was too lare to know it. Eumenes comming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as having alwayes loved and honoured Craterus, of whose death he was now become the instrument. The vanquished Army entertained a treaty of peace with Eumenes, making shew of willingnesse to become his followers; but their intent was only to refresh themselves, which (by his permission) having done, they stole away by night, and fled toward Antipater.

This battell fought withinten dayes of the former, wanne to Eumenes more reputationthan good will: for his owne Souldiers took the death of Craterus heavily; and the Armies lying further off were inraged with the newes. But other matters there were which incented men against him, besides the death of Craserus, whereof it manifestly appeared, that he was as forry as any that pretended greater heavinesse. His Army wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wifely amended by giving to them the spoyle of fuch Towns as were ill-affected to him. So he redeemed the love of his own men, who of their meere motion appointed unto him a Guard for defence of his person. Others were not so easie to be reconciled. They who had been Traytors to Perdiccus, hated him for his faithfulnesse, as greatly, as they thought he would hate them for their falshoods neither found they any fairer way of excufing their late revolt, than by accufing and condemning the fide which they had for faken. Wherfore they proclaimed Eumenes a Traiw, and condemned him to die: but it was an easier matter to give that sentence, than to putit in execution.

CEAP-3.5,10,

Quarrels between Eurydice the Queene, and Python the Protestor. Python resignes bis office, into which Antipater is chofen.

Tribon and Aridaus being chosen Protectors of King Aridaus, and the children of Alexander, took the way to Asia the leffe, conducting the Armie through Syria. Of these two, Python was the greater in reputation, yet far too weak to sustaine so important a charge. For Eurydice wife to King Aredaus, was come to her husband, a Lady of a masculine spirit, well understanding what she was or should be, and thinking her este able to support the weight which fortune layd upon her foolish husband, being due toher owne title. Her Mother Cynn, fifter to Alexander, by her Father King Philip, was married (as hath been shewed) to Amyntas, who was the right Heire to the Kingdome of Macedon, being the only for of King Perdictas, Philips elder brother.

This Cynu was a warlike woman; the had led Amies, and (as a true lifter of Alexander) ighting hand to hand with Carra Queene of the Phrygians, a Virago like unto her felfe, ad flaine her. Shee brought up this Eurydive in the fame unwomanly Art of Warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contenument of Python, that could not brooke her too curious intermedling in his charge. Whether it were fo, that Python had some purpose to advance the some of Alexander by Roxane, to the Kingdome; (as once he had fought to doe) or whether the Queene did suspect him of some such intent; or whether only defire of rule cufed her to quarrell with him; quarrell free did, which disturbed the proceeding agunt Eumenes. The Army having shaken off such a ratike-rider as Perditear, would not afterward be reined with a twined threed. Python bearing himfelfe upon his office, took upon him to give directions in the Kings name, which the Queene did oftentimes controll, using the same name, with more authority, and better liking of the Souldiers.

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CHAP.3. S. 12,

Python feeing this, would needs refigne his office, whether upon wearinesse of the contentions daily growing, or on purposeto bring the Queene into envie, it is uncertaine. Perhaps he thought, that now being the far worthicst maninthe Campe, he should be intreated to retain the place, and have his authority confirmed, or (as might be) increased. were it but for want of a fit Successor. Eurgdice was nothing forry at this course; for now the thought to mannage the affaires of the Empire at her own will, being freed from the troublesome affistance of a Protector. But the souldiers disappointed both her & Python of their contrary expectations; choosing Antipater, the only powerfull man of Alexan. ders Captains, then living, into the room of Python. Hereat the Queen fretted exceedingly, & began to deale earnestly with the Macedonians, that they should acknowledge no 10 Lord fave only the King their Soveraigne. Yet she failed of her purpose, being hindred (as may feeme) by three things: the apparent weaknesse of her husband: the growth of Alexanders children, who (though born of out-landish women) were bred in the Macedonian Camp; and the mightineffe of Antipater, who commanding a great Army neare at hand, arrived in few daies at the Camp, and enforced Eury dice to hold her felf content. Antipater was of fuch power, that henceded not to work by any close devices, as Perdiccas had done: he had no concurrents, all the Governors of Provinces that remained alive. acknowledged him their better: yea many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their roomes. This done, he took the King, Queene, and Princes along with him into Macedonia, leaving Antigonus Generall of the Royall Army: to whom for his good 20 fervices done, and to be done against Eumenes, he gave the rule of Susiana, besides his former Provinces, and committed into his hands the government of Afia during that War.

6. X I.

Antigonus Lievtenant of Asia, wins a battell of Eumenes, and besiegeth him in Nora: Hu vanquishethother followers of Perdiccas.

The begins the greatnesse of Antigonus, whose power in few yeares over-growing the rest, wanted little of spreading it selfe over the whole Monarchic. He to was to make War upon Eumenes, Alcetus the brother, and Attalus the brotherin-law to Perdiccas: worke enough to keep his Army imployed in the publike service, till fuch time as he might finde occasion to make use of it in his owne businesse. The first of these which he undertooke was Eumenes, with whom Alcetus and Attalus refused to joyne, having unfeafonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chiefe place. Eumenes had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needfull provisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore Antigonus tryed all wayes of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Army with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of Eumenes (who made shew as if hee himselfe had scattered abroad those letters to try the faith of his men) he dealt apart with fuch Captains as he thought most a cafie to be wonne. Of these Captains one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any helpe was nearehim, yet looking to carelesty to himselfe, that he and his were surprised, when he thought his enemies far off. Another follower of Eumenes (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to be in company with Antigonus) kept his treachery fecret, referving it for the time of execution. Upon confidence of the treason which this false man Apollonides had undertaken, Antigonus presented battel to Euments; in the heat wherof Apollonides, General of the horse to Eumenes, fled over to the contrary fide, with fuch as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by fome, whose company he defired not. Eumenes perceiving the irrecoverable mischief which this traiterous practice had brought upon him, purfued the villain, & cut him off before he could s thrust himselfe into the troups of Antigonus, and boast of his treachery. This was some comfort to Emmenes in the loffe of that battell, which disabled him utterly to keepe the field, & left it very hard for him to make a safe retrait. Yet one thing he did which much armazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused Antigonus himselfe to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victory to get polfession of the dead bodies. Eumenes, whilest Antigonus held him in chase, turned out of the way, and fetching a compasse, returned to the place where the battell had beene fought; there he burned (according the manner of the time) the bodies of hisowne

men, and interred the bones and a shes of the Captains and common Souldiers apart, raifing up heaps of earth as mountains over them, and fo went his way. As this bold adventure bred in the Macedonians (returned to their Campe) great admiration of his brave fpirit: fo the newes which Menander (who was fet to look unto their carriages) brought and published among them, enticed them to love him as their honourable friend. Hee had found Menander in an open Plaine, careleffe, as after an affured victory, and loaden with the spoyles of many Nations, the rewards of their long service; all which he might have taken: but fearing left fuch a purchase should prove a heavie burden to him, whose chiefe hope confifted in swift expedition, he gave fecret warning to Menander to flie to to the mountains, whilest he detained his men (whom authority could not have restrained) by this fleight setting them to bait their horses. The Macedonians extolled him for this courtefie, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborn when it lay in his power to ftrip them out of all their wealth, and make their children flaves, and to ravish their wives: but Anngonus told them, that he had not forborne to do this out of any good will to them; but out of meere fubtlety had avoyded those precious fetters, which would have hindred his speedy flight. He told them true. For Eumenes did not only think all carriages to be over-burdensome, but the number of his men to be more troublesome than availeable in his intended course. Wherefore he fent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to hist for themselves; and retaining only five hundred horse, and two hundred soot. When he had wearied Antigonus awhile in following him up and downe, he came to Nora: where againe keeping no more about him than necessity required to make good; theplace, he lovingly dismissed all the rest. Nora was a little fortresse in the borders of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, so strongly situated, that it seemed impregnable, & so wel vidualled and stored with all necessaries, that it might hold out for many yeares. Thither did Antigonus follow him, with more defire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him in War. To this purpose he entertained parley with him, but in vaine. For, whereas Aniganus offered him pardon and his love; Eumenes required restitution of his Provinces, which could not be granted without Antipaters confent. Then was Nora closed up; where Antigonus leaving sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, took his journy mo Pisidia, against Alcesus and Astalus, with whom he made short work. He came upon them unexpected, and seized on passages, which wanted not men, but such a Captaine Is Eumenes, to have defended them. Alcetus and Attalus, as they had been too fecure beforthis comming, so were they too adventurous, in fighting at the first fight, upon all distrantages: and their folly was attended with furable event. Attalus with many principall Captains was taken; Alcetus fled to the City of Termefus, where the love of the younger fort toward him was so vehement, that stopping their cares against all perswalons of the ancient men, they needs would hazzard their lives and their Country in his defence. Yetthis availed him nothing: for the Governors of the Town having secretly compounded with Autigenus, caused the young mento fally out; & using the time of advantage, they with their servants did set upon Alcetus, who unable to resist, slew himself. Hisdead body was conveyed to Antigonas, and by him barbaroufly torn, was east forth without buriall. When Antigenus was gone, the young men interved the carcaffe with solume funerals, having once been minded to set on fire their own towne in revenge of his death. Such favour had he purchased with courteous liberality: but to make an able Generall, one vertue, how great foever, is infufficient.

Prolomic wins Syria and Phanicia. The death of Antipater.

Hilest these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, rather seeking to enjoy their Governments for the present, than to confirm or enlarge them. Only Ptolomic looking abroad, wan all Syria and Phoenicia: makion of great importance, but not remarkeable for any circumstance in the manastite ender a Lievtenant with an Army, who quickly took Laomedon prisoner, that rush there by appointment of Anipater, and formerly of Perdicess; but (as may seeme) without any great strength of Souldiers, far from affiltants, and vainly relying upon the authoritie which had given him that Province, & was now occupied with greater cares, than with seeking to maintaine him in his Office.

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Antipater was old and fickly, defirous of rest, and therefore contented to let Antigonus pursue the dispatch of those businesses in Asia. He had with him Polysperchon, one of the most ancient of Alexanders Captains, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the Ætolians, which Nation had stirred in the quarrell of Perdiccas, prevailing farat the first, but soon losing all that they had gained, whilest Anipater was abroad in his Cilician expedition. In this Poly perchon Antipater did repose great confidence; so far forth that (sufpecting the youth of his own Son Cassander of insufficiencie in so great a charge) he bequeathed unto him on his death-bed the government of Macedon and Greecestogether with his office of Protectorship. So Antipater died, being four-score years old, having alwaies travelled in the great affaires of mighty Princes, with fuch reputation, that to Alexander in all his greatnesse was jealous of him, and the successors of Alexander did either quietly give place unto him, or were unfortunate in making oppositions. In his private qualities he was a subtle man, temperate, frugall, and of a Philosophicall behaviour not unlearned, as having been Scholler to Aristotle, and written some Histories. He had been much molested by Olympia, Alexanders mother, whom after the death of her Son. he compelled to abstaine from comming into Macedonia, or entermedling in matters of Estate: yea, at his own death he gave especiall direction, that no woman should be permitted to deal in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was soonforgotten: and yet ere long, by forrowfull experience approved to have been found and good.

§. XIII.

of Polysperchon, who succeeded unto Antipater in the Protectorship. The insurrection of Cassander against him.

Polyperchon was very skilfull in the Art of Warre, having long time beene Apprentife in that occupation; other qualities, requifite in fo high an Office as hee under-went, either Nature had not given to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his businesse more formally than wisely, as a man of a second wir, fitter to assist, than command in chiefe. At the first entrance upon the stage, he called to accounsell all his friends, wherein for weighty considerations (as they who weighednot the contrary reasons held them) the Queene Olympias was revoked out of Epyrus into Macedon, that the presence of Alexanders mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For, the condition of the times requiring, that the Governours of Provinces abroad should keepe greater Armies, than were needfull or easie to be retained about the person of the King in Macedonia; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all Majesty, that might give authority to the Injunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awfull regard containe within the limited bounds of dutie such as could not by force have beene kept in order, being strong, and lying too farre off.

Such care was taken for prevention of imaginary dangers and out of fight, whileft present mischiefes lay unregarded in their bosomes. Cassander, the Sonne of Antipater, was not able to discover that great sufficiency in Polysperchon, for which his father had reposed in him so much considence : neither could he discerne such odds in the quality of himselfe and Polysperchon, as was in their fortune. He was left Captaine of one thousand; which Office by practice of those times was of more importance, than the title now feemesto imply. He should thereby have beene as Campe-master, or Lievtenant generall to the other: a place no way farisfying his ambition, that thought himfelse the better man. Therefore hee began to examine his owne power, and compare with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had relyed on his father, were his own affured, especially such as commanded the Garrisons bestowed in the principall Cities of Greece. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principall authority, in those Common-weales, whose formes had beene corrected by Antipater, that they would follow the fide, and draw-in many partakers: it concerned these men in their own particular to adhere unto the Captains, by whom their faction was up-held; and b whom the rascall multitude, covetous of re-gaining the tyrannous power which the had formerly exercised over the principall Citizens, were kept in order, obeying the betters perforce. Besides all these helpes, Cassander had the secret love of Queen

Eurydice, who had in private rendred him fuch curtefie, as was due onely to her husband. But neither the Queenes favour, norall his other possibilities, gave him considence to break out into open rebellion; because he saw Polysperchon much reverenced among the Macedonians, and strong enough to suppresse him, before he could have made head. Therefore he made shew of following his pleasures in the Countrie, and calling many of his friends about him, under pretence of hunting, advised with them upon the safest course, and most free from all suspicion. The necessitie was apparent of raising an Armie, before the businesse was set on foot; and to doethis, opportunitie presented him with fair means. Ptolomie had by fine force, without any commission, annexed Syria to his goto vernment of Egypt and Cyrene: this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. Antigonus upon the first newes of Antipaters death, began to lay hold upon all that he could get, in fuch fort, that he manifeltly discovered his intent of making himselfe Lord of all Asia. These two therefore stood in need of acivill war; which Cassander wel noted, & presumed withall, That the friendship which had passed between his father and them, would availe him somewhat. Whereupon he secretly dispatched messengers to them both; and within a little while conveyed himself on a sudden over the Hellespont, that he might in person advance the businesse with greater speed. Much perfwaffon is needleffe in winning a man to what he defireth. Antigonus coveteth nothing more, than to find Polysperchon work, by raising some commotion in Greece. Yet (as foromalities must not be neglected) Cass ander did very earnestly presse him, by the memorie offiis Father, and all requifite conjurations, to affift him in this enterprise; telling him, that Ptolomie was readie to declare for them, and urging him to a speedie dispatch. Antigonus on the other fide repaied him with the fame coine, faying, that for his own fake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearly loved, he would not faile to give him all mannerof fuccour. Having thus feasted one another with words, they were nothing slacke in preparing the common means, leading to their feverall ends.

§.XIV.

The unworthie courses held by Polysperchon, for the keeping down of Cassander.

Reat necessitie there was of timely provision. For, Polysperchon needed no other instructions to informe him of Cassanders drift, than the newes of his departure. He was not ignorant of the readie disposition, which might be found in Antiginus and Ptolomie, to the strengthening of rebellion; and well he knew that one prinapall hope of Caffander was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the Grecian Elate. Therefore (loving to work circumspectly) he called another Councell, wherehit was concluded, That the Popular forme of Government should be erected in all the Cities of Greece; the Garrisons withdrawn; and that all Magistrates and principall Men, inowhose hands Antipater had committed the supreme authoritie, should forthwith be ether slaine or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of Cassanders fiends, and to raise up many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an unthankefull nature in Polysperchon, and a factious malice in his adherents. For, how could he be excused of extreme ingratitude, that for hatred of the son went about to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose onely bountie had inabled him to doe it? Or what could be faid in their defence, who fought to destroy many worthiemen, friends to the State, by whom the Greekes were held restrained from stirring against the Macedonians? and in opposition to their private enemie, gave the rule of things to base Com-Panions, and fuch as naturally maligned the Empire: But as in mans bodie, through finews newly iffuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflammation of his next heighbour, than by any distemper in the contrarie hand: so in bodies politique, the himours of men, subdivided in faction, are more inraged by the disagreeable qualities of fuch as curbe them in their nearest purposes, than they are exasperated by the geneallopposition of such as are divided from them in the maine trunke. Hereby it comes to palle, that contrary religions are invited to helpe against neighbour Princes; bordeting enemies drawn-in, to the part in civill warres; and ancient hatred called to counfellagainst injurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guiltie; shee hath taught the ameto offer it selse unto manifest losse in desence of the head: They are depraved affections.

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affections, which render men sensible of their own particular, and forgetfull of the more generall good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the Greekes were presented with a vaine shew of libertie, ranun. der the Kings name; but fo, as one might eafily difcerne, that Polysperchon had guided his pen. For the maine point was, That they should follow such directions, as Polysperchan gave, and treat with him about all difficulties. In the rest it contained such a deale of kindneffe, as proceeding on a fudden from those who had kept them in hard subjection, might well appeare to have some other root than the pretended good will and was of it self too base and unfit for a King to use toward his conquered Subjects, and often-subdued Rebels.

6. X V.

Of the great commotions raised in Athens by Polysperchons decree. The death of

TEvertheless the Athenians with immoderate joy entertained this happy-seeming Proclamation, and fought how to put it in execution without further delay. But Nicanor, Captain of the Garrison, which kept one of their Havens, called My. nuchia, in the lower part of the Town, would needs take longer time of deliberation, than was pleafing to their haftie defires.

Nicanor, as a truftie follower of Caffander, was by him shifted into the place, and Menillus (that was Captain there before) discharged, when Antipater was newly dead. His comming to Athens was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who soone after hearing the newes of Antipaters death, cried out upon Phocion, faying, That he had fufficient intelligence of that accident, and might, by advertifing them indue time, have put into their hands a faire opportunitie of thrusting out the Macedonians. But these exclamations argued no more than a defire to shake off the Macedonian yoke. Farre more grievoully would they have beene offended had they knowne the inftructions which Call ander had given to Nicanor, & his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not onely retaine Munychia, any injunction to the contrary notwithstanding; but that hee 30 should finde meanes to thrust some companies into Piram, and fortifie that also, which was the principall haven against the high-town-How to accomplish this, he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good abilitie. But the Atherians were not longingiving him fufficient cause to do that, which he would have done without any cause siven. They defired him to come unto their councell, affembled in the Piram, there to confider of the Kings Proclamation: whither upon Phocione word and fafe conduct hecame, and earnefully preffed them to hold with Caffander in the war which was readie to break forth. Contrariwife, they urged him first of all, to make them masters of their own, which how to use, they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescend unto the others demand; the Athenians (who did alwayes measure justice by profit, yet seldom thrived by that course) practised with Dercillus, a Captain following Polyperchon, and then lying neare at hand, that he should enter into the Town, and take Niconor priloner. But Phocion, who then governed in Athens, a man very unlike to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleafed with fuch a tricke of politicke dishonestic, did quietly fuffer him to depart and fave him felfe.

Nicanor hereupon began to devise upon taking Piram; not as following now the project of Caffander, but profecuting his own just revenge. He levied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into Munychia, which done is the iffued into Pirams took it, and intrenched himselfe therein, to the exceeding discomfort of the Athenians, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Haven, faw him now Mafter of both. Alex-50 ander, the fon of Polysperchon, came thither shortly after with an Armie. Then were the Citizens ingreat hope of recovering all, and addressed themselves unto hims, who made faire shewes, intending meere mischiese, which they perceived not; being blinded with the vaine Epiftles of his Father, and of Olympias the old Queenc. Olympias, taking upon her to command, before the durst well adventure to terurne into Macedon, had peremptorily charged Nicanor to restore to the Athenians the places which hee held: but hee would first consider more of the matter. Polysperchin had further ordained, that the Isle of Sames should be rendred unto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power

and meaning. He was (indeed) fo farre from purposing to let them have Samos, that as vet he did not throughly intend to let them have themselves. The commoditie of their Havens was fuch, as he would rather get into his owne hands, than leave in theirs; yet rather wished in theirs, than in Cassanders. His Son Alexander, not ignorant of this, made fair shew to the Athenians, and spent much labour in communing with Nicanor, but suffored not them, for whom he seemed to labour, to intermeddle with the businesse. Hereupon the Citizens grew jealous, and the displeasure they conceived against him, they noured out upon Phocion, depriving him of his office. This was done with much tumult: hanished men and strangers thrusting themselves into the assembly of the Citizens, who distracted with sundrie passions, growing out of their present missortunes, thought every one that best could inveigh against things past, a most likely man to finde some remedie for the evill threatning them. In this hurly-burly was Alexander devising how he might come to some good point of composition with Nicanor, & held much privie conference with him; which he could not fo fecretly carry, but that his negotiation was discovered, whereby the uproare in the Town was so far increased, that Phocion with many of his friends, were accused, and driven to seek safeguard of their lives by slight. So they came to Alexander, who entertained them gently, and gave them his letters of commendation to his Father, defiring him to take them into his protection.

Polysperchon was in the Countrie of Phocis, readie to enter with an Armie into Attica. in Thither came Phocion with his companions, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their own deferts, (having alwayes been friends to the Macedonians, as far asthegood of their Countrie gave leave) should be enough to get patronage to their innocencie. Besides all this, Dinarchus a Corinthian, Polysperchons familiar friend, went along with them (in an evill houre) who promifed to himfelfeand them great favour, by meanes of his acquaintance. But Polysperchon was an unstable man, very earnest in what hetooke in hand, yet, either for want of judgement in following them, or of honeftie in holding the best of them, easily changing his intended courses, and doing things by the halves, which made him commonly faile of good fucceffe. For fear of Caffander he had offered wonderfull kindnesse to the Athenians; this had caused them to love him:out of otheir love he gathered hope of deceiving them, which made him to change his minde, and seeke how to get into his owne hands those keyes, with which Cassander held them fallockt up: finding himselfe disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a salse dishonourable man, he stood wavering betweene the contrarie allurements of profit and reputation. To keepe the Athenians perforce at his devotion, would indeed have done well: but the effecting of this began to grow desperate; and many Towns of importance in Greece began to cast their eyes upon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore hee thought it the wifest way to redeeme their good opinion, by giving all contentment unto the popular faction, which was then growne to be Master of that Citie. Andingood time for this purpose were the Athenian Embassadours come, treading (as one may fay) upon Phocions heeles, whom they were fent to accuse. These had solemne audience given to them in the Kings presence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for oftentations fake was glorified with all exteriour shewes of Majestie; yetalltoo little to change Aridaus into Alexander: for hee did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he faw others doe. For beginning of the businesse Polysperchons commanded that Dinarchus should bee tortured and slaine. This was enough to testifie his heartie affection to the Commonaltie of Athens, in that he spared not his old acquaintance for their sake; whose Embassadours he then bad to speake. When their errand was done, and answer to it made by the accused, who had no indifferent hearing, Phecion and the rest were pronounced guilty of treason; but to give sentence, ⁵⁰ and doe the execution upon them, was (for honours sake) referred unto the Citic of Athens, because they were Burgesses. Then were they sent away to Athens, where the raicall multitude, not fuffering them to speake for themselves, condemned them to dye. So they perished being innocent. But the death of Phocion being very conspicuous, made the fortune of the rest to bee of the lesse regard. Five and fortie times had hee beene chosen Governour of the Citie, never suing for the place, but sent for when hee was absent, so well was his integritic knowne, and so highly valued, even of fuch as were no pretenders to the same vertue. He was a good Commander in War, wherein though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance,

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and never unfortunate. Never did the Citie repent of having followed his counsell: nor any private man of having trusted his word. Philip of Macedon highly esteemed him; so, and much more did Alexander, who (besides other signes of his love) sent him two hundred talents of silver, and offered to bestow upon him of foure Cities in Asia any one which he would choose. But Phocion resulted these and other gifts, how soever importunately thrust upon him; resting well contented with his honest povertie: whereinhe lived above sourcescore years, and then was compelled by the unjust judgment of wicked men, to drink that poy son, which by just judgment of the righteous God, so infected the Citie of Athens, as from that day forwards it never brought forth any worthy man refembling the vertue of their Ancestors.

6. XVI.

Of Polysperchon his vain expedition against Cassander.

Ot long after these things were done, Cassader, with such forces as Antigonal lent him, entred into Piraus; which newes drew Polysperchon headlong into Attica, with a great Armie, but so il victualled, that he was sain to depart without any thing done. Only he had given some impediment to the enemie; who, not contented with desending what he held, began to looke out, and make new purchases abroad. Find-10 ing therefore himselfe unable to drive Cassader out of Athens, he left his son Alexander, with such number of men as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, to withstand his further incroaching. The greatest part of his Armie he carried into Peloponnessus, to make the Countrie sure to himselfe, wherein Cassader had many Friends.

His doings in Peloponnessa were fuch, as they had been in other parts of Greece. First, he began to fight with Edicts, restoring the Democracie, or Popular forme of government. He commanded that the principall Citizens, that had by Antipater been made Rulers, should be either slaine, or driven into exile. This decree tooke immediate effect in most places: The vulgar fort being very readie to seale the Charter of their freedome and authoritie, with the bloud of those who had kept them in subjection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chiefe Citizens; and many which wished well to Caffander, especially they of Megalopolis, on whom Polysperchon meant to inflict an exemplarie punishment of disobedience to him, which he termed Rebellion. Megalopolis had in it fifteen thousand serviceable men, well furnished of necessaries, and refolved to endure the worst. And need there was of such resolution. For Polysperchon comming thither with all his power, did so much, that he overthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall between them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the Macedonians which came up to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raifed up an inner wall, to be are out the next affault. The Affailants having failed to carry the Town at the first attempt, took much paine to cleare the ground, and make fair way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to overthrow all that came in their way. But the Towns-men perceiving their drift, prepared boords driven through with long nailes, which they used as gal-throps, bestowing them sleightly covered, with the points upwards, in the way by which the beafts were to passe. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certaine light-armed men to beateupon their fides with arrows and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the Afan Wars. Of these provisions they made happy use in the next affault. For, by them were the Elephants (wherein the enemie chiefly trufted) either forely hurt, or driven back upon the Macedonians, whom they trampled under feet. Polysperchon came as ill furnisht for long abode to Megalopolis as before to Athens. There-50 fore being neither able to dispatch the businesse quickly, nor to take such leasure as was requisite, he for sooke the fiege, with some losse, and much dishonour, leaving some part of his Armie to lye before the Town for his credit.

After this he sent Cliem, his Admirall, to Sea, to joyne with Aridem that was come out of Phrygia, and to cut of fall succour which might come to the enemie out of Asia. Cassander also sent his whole seet under Nicanor, who taking along with him some ships of Antigonus, came to the Propontis, where he fought with Cliem, and was beaten. But Antigonus hearing of the over-throw, gathered together the ships that were escaped,

and manning them very well, sent out *Nicanor* againe, affuring him of the victorie, as well he might. For he sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom he caused to be wasted over the streights in small Vessels by night; these before day-light setting upon *Clitus*, drave his men, that lay securely on the land, head-long into their ships; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriving did assalle them so lustily, that sew or none escaped him.

This losse at Sea, together with his bad successe by Land, brought Polysperchon into great contempt. He had a good facilitie in penning bloudie decrees, but when the execution was referred to his own sword, he could find the matter more difficult. Wherestore the Athenians, perceiving that he had lest them to shift for themselves, and was not able to give them protection against the enemie which lay in their bosomes, came to agreement with Cassander; accepting a governour of his appointment; and restoring allthings to the same state wherein Antipater had lest them. The like inclination to the partie of Cassander, was found in very many Ciries of Greece, which daily and willingly revolted unto him; as to an industrious man, and likely to prevaile in the end. Thus was the whole Countrie set in a combustion, uneasse to be quenched; which presented unto Antigonus an opportunitie, that he negle cted not, of making himselse Lord of Asia.

§. XVII.

Antigonus seeks to make himselfe an absolute Lord: and thereupon treats with Eumenes, who disappointeth him. Phrygia and Lydia won by Antigonus.

Artigonus had in Antipaters life time a firm resolution; to make unto himselse the utmost benefit that he might of the Armie committed to his charge. And in faire season for advancement of his purposes came the newes of Antipaters death; eventhen, when all the businesse in Pissaia was dispatched, and no more imployment for the Armie remaining, save onely the continuance of the siege of Nora, a small thing of it selfe, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. Eumenes lay in that Fort of Nora, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutabilitie, to which the present Estate was manifestly subject, would in continuance of some years (which he might abide) worke more for him, than his enemies in that space could worke against him. His most feare was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men & horses might grow sickly and unserviceable: which made him to practise many devices of keeping them in health and lustice. But when he had continued shut up in this manner about a yeare, his hopes sentent ogood passe, and he was eased of his cares by Antigonus himselse, whose forces heldhim besieged.

Amigonus knowing the great sufficiencie of Eumenes, & considering his sidelitie shewed uno Perdiceas, thought that he could not find in all the world a fitter man than him, to imploy in managing those high designes, wherein he doubted not that he should be withflood by the mightiest Princes of the Empire. He sent therefore to Eumenes by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a better Lord than ever he had bin, and the next man to himself, if things fel out shedefired:in regard whereof he required only his friendship, and thereupon sent him an Outh to take; which done, he might at his good pleasure issue safely out of Nora; and enjoy his perfect libertie. Eumenes peruling the form of the oath, did perceive the meaning of Antigonus; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the bloud, rather to keep the Decorum, othanupon any loyall intent; the binding words and fum of all were fuch, as tied him faft only to Antigonus, omitting all reservation of dutie to the King or any other. This heliked nor, holding it unfeemly to become a fworn man to him, with whom he had fought for the masterie; and being assured that his voluntarie assistance, which way soever he gave, would be more acceptable, and farre more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore breake off the negotiation, and wait for some berter occasion of inlargement, which might perhaps belong in comming: but seeming to be well agreed with Antigonus, he prepared to give up his Hold and depart. As for the bath it felfe, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemne

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enough for fuch personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in testifing their allegiance. The Macedonians which lay incamped before Nora, liked his words, and gave him leave to put in Olympias, and the children of Aiexander, binding himself to them and their adherents, as well as to Anrigonus; and so he departed.

Antigonia had taken upon him, as foone as he came downe to the Sea-fide, to remove fome of the Governours of the Provinces, behaving himselfe according to the authoritie which he had received of Antipater, to exercise in the time of war. Neither did he want sufficient pretence wherebyto justifie his proceedings. For if Polysperchou might lawfully hold the Protectorship, which the old man doting on his death-bed bequeathed unto him, as a legacie, without consent of the Princes or Souldiers; why might not the himselfe as well retaine the Lievtenantship of Asia, that was granted unto him for the generall good of the State, in presence of the whole Armie, by the King, and by Antipater, who had power to ordaine what should seem convenient whilst he lived, not to dispose of things that should happen after his death? To give a faire colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith satisfied, he had threescore thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and thirtie Elephants in a readinesse to answer them.

The first that perceived his drift, and provided to resist him, was Aridau Governor of Phrygia; who fortisted the Townes of his own Province, and sought to have won Cyzicus, a faire Haven Town, and seated very conveniently for him, but was faine to goe was away without it. Hereupon Antigonus took occasion to command him out of the countrie. Aridaus was so far from obeying him, that he sent forces to relieve Eumens. Neverthelesse sinds that he was unable of himselfe to make long resistance, he tooksuch companies as he could draw along with him, and so passed over into Europe, to compain at the Court. The like fortune had Clitus, who ruled in Lydia, and sought the like remedy of his fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vanished, and grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared.

§.XVIII.

Antigonus pursues Eumenes Eumenes having authoritie from the Court, raiseth great war against Antigonus in defence of the Royall house.

Arigonus having thus gotten into his hands all, or most of all Asia the lesse, was able to have entred Macedon, and seized upon the Court; which that he forbare to doe, it proceeded (as may seeme) from some of these reasons. It would have bred as much jealousie in Cassander, as seare in Polysperchon, which might have brought them to termes of reconciliation; It would aske more time than he could spare; and the envie which sollowed the Protectorship was such, as he that had power enough without the Office, ought rather to shun, than to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest that Eumenes would not only resuser to the part, but would make war upon him in defence of the Royall house, to which it was found that Antigonus did not stand well-affected. Against him therefore he bent his course, and with an Armie of twentie thousand soot, and source thousand horse, made great haste toward Cilicia, hoping to suppresse him before he should be able to make head.

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithfull to their dead master, which being well known in the Court, he had commission sent unto him from thencetoraise an Armie, and make war upon Antigonus, taking of the Kings treasure as much as he should need. Other letters also there were directed to all the Governours of Provinces, requiring them to give a shistance to Eumenes, and be ordered by his direction: especially to the Captaines of the old Souldiers, called the Argyraspides, or silver-shielded bands, commandement was given to be at his appointment. He had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, before this authoritie was given him: but now hee purposed with all the strength which he could make, to sight with Antigonus in desence of the Royall bloud. Olympias had written to him, desiring him to bring helpe to her and her Nephew the son of Alexander; and in the meane time to give her his advice in that which Polysperchon required of her: for shee was

defirous to returne into Macedon, but suspected his ambition, as not contained within lawfull bounds. Eumenes therefore counselled her to remaine in Epirus, till such time as he could bring the warre to a good issue, which done, he promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the seede of Alexander.

Strange it is to consider, that in all the Empire, scarce any one could be found among the Noble-men, in whom Alexanders mother; wives, and children, might repose firme considence, saving onely this Eumenes, a stranger to the Macedonian blond, borne at Cardia, a Citic of Thrace. His reputation was no more than his owne vertue had made it; his followers obeyed at their owne discretion; and compelled he was to travaile as farte as Persia, to gather together an Army sufficient to result the enemies that pursued his heeles.

How the Princes of Macedon stood affected mutually. Olympias takes Arideus and Eurydice, whom she cruelly puts to death.

Ow, forasmuch as in this present Warreall the Rulers of the Provinces did entermeddle; and great alterations happened, not onely in the parts of Asia, but Macedon it selfe, which brought a new face unto the State, by the extirpation of the Royall house of Philip and Alexander: I hold it convenient in this place, before wenter into the particulars of the Warre it selfe, to shew briefly how the great ones did mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were drawne into those courses, which over-threw most of them, and out of their ruines built the greatnesse of sew: as likewise to what extremity the faction brake out in Macedon it selfe, about the maine controversie of the title to the Crowne, whereupon all other quarrels were or should have been depending.

Aridam the King, being simple and fearefull, did onely what he was bidden.

Polysperchon, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to advance the sonne
of Alexander by Roxane to the Kingdome, and become Governour to a King of his own
making.

Eurydice the Queene discovering plainly this intent, and meaning nothing less than to let her husband serve as a Stale, keeping the throne warme till another were growne old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with Cassader, who hated the memory of Alexander, and was therefore the sitter for her turne.

Cassander held fresh in minde the danger wherein his family had been through Alexanders malice, together with the indignity offered to himselse by Alexander, who knoked his head against a wall for deriding one that adored him after the Persian maner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure which he tooke in the amorous Queene, made him to resolve, both to suppresse the image which he hated, and to maintaine his belowed mistresse, either by supporting her weake husband, or by taking her to be his owne wise.

The rest of the Lords steld it a thing indisserent who reigned over all, so as they might reigne in their severall Countries, & establish their authority in such wise, that immight to the taken from them.

Among these, Ptolomy and Antigonus were well enough already, if their ambition would have suffered them to see it.

Pith and Seleucus lying farre off, and being ftrong, had fome good hope to encroach from their neighbours. Against these, Peucestes, and some others, with much adoc hardly made resistance, untill such time as Eumenes came to them; who propounded to him-selfe great matters, which he lived not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queene (as it is common with step-dames) hated the children of her husband by his other wives. It was thought that she had given poisson to Aridaus, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his body and wits. Now the confidence, that Eumenes was too full of businesse to come home so soone as the wished take should; and that Cassander daily prevailed in Greece: thought it the best way to love with Polysperchon, & set up, as King, her Nephew Alexander, the son of Rowane, knowing Aridaus before Cassander were able to defend him. To this intent she protected men among her kindred in Epirus, and so tooke her way towards Polysperchon,

who joyning with her, entred into Macedon.

Eurydice hearing these newes, wrote very earnestly to Cassander, praying him to set afide all other businesse, & come to succour her. She her selfe by entreaty, gifts, and promifes, drew to her partie as many of the Macedonians as the could, untill the thought her owne fide ftrong enough; and then taking her husband with her, went boldly forth against Olympias, and the Traitor Polysperchon.

These two Queens met armed, as if the matter should have beene determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the revolt of those who followed Eurydice. For as foone as the Macedonians beheld Olympias; calling to minde her former Estate, and the victorious reignes of her husband and son, they refused to lift any to weapon against her. Eurydice finding her selfe thus forsaken, fled towards Amphipolis,

but was intercepted, and made prisoner with her husband. Olympias having obtained this victory without bloud, thought that all things would fucceed as eafily, and upon the same confiderations for which they had refused to beare Armes against her, the Macedonians would not Ricke to maintaine her, whatfoever her proceedings were. Having therefore that up Aridam and his wife in a close roome, where they could scarce turne round, she fed them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head (for feare left the people should have commiseration of him, that had reigned almost fixe yeeres and a halfe) to put them to death. So she delivered Aridam to some barbarous Thracians; who tooke away his life by cruell torments: to Eurydice W the fent a fword, a hakter, & a cup of poison, willing her to choose the instrument other own death, who praying that the like presents might one day be sent to Olympia, yeelded her necke to the halter, having frent her last curses not in vaine. Nicanor the brother of Caffander, and a hundred the chiefe of his friends, did Olympias then choose our, all whom the commanded to be flaine. His brother Iolaus that was already dead and buried, The accused of poison given to Alexander, & thereupon caused his Tombe to be thrown downe, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The Macedonians wondering at this fury, began to condemne themselves, and the folly of Polysperchon, who had, quite contrary to Antipaters charge given on his death-bed, called this outragious woman to the government of the Empire.

6. X X.

How Cassander was revenged upon Olympias.

The great expedition of Caffander. Olympias Souts her selfe into Pydna, where Caffander besiegedher. Æacides King of Epirus, comming to succour Olympias, is forsaken, and banished by his owne Subjects.

Assander at that time lay before Tegea, in Peloponnessu; whither when all these ill tidings were brought to him, he never staied to take the City, nor to give order for the State of things in that Countrie, (though Alexander the some of Polysperchon were there with an Armie) but compounding with them of Tegea, he willed his affociates to looke to themselves as well as they could, till his returne; and so in all haste he tooke his journey towards Macedon, carried headlong with the greedie defire of just revenge. The Aerolians had taken the Streights of Thermopyla, in favour of the Queene & Polysperchon, to hinder his paffage; but he, not willing to mif-spend any time in dealing with them, got together as many shippes as he could, great and small, with which he transported his Army into Theffaly. There he divided his companies, appointing some under Callas, a subtile Captaine, to hold Polysperchon busied, who then lay incamped neere to Perhabia; with the rest he marched directly against Olympias. She, having once prevailed by the respect given to her dignity , tooke more care how to appeare Maje fticall, than to make her selfe strong. To this end she made a solemne progresse to Pid. na, a Sea-towne, and well fenced, having in her company all the flowre of the Court, el pecially the great Ladies, among whom was Roxane, & her young fon Alexander, here to the great Alexander, by his grand-mothers defignement : who, during his minority kept the Soveraigne power in her own hands. But all this pompe ferved to little use, against the violence of the enemy, that soone presented himselfe before the walls; onely it fed the besieged with a vaine hope of succour, that would from all parts arrive, to rescue persons of their quality. And hereof there soone appeared saire likelihood, which as soone vanished, and went away in smoake.

For Aeacides King of Epirus, made great hafte to bring succour to Olympias, his cousen, with whom Deodamia his daughter was also shut up. Neverthelesse, his Subjects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certaine paffages taken in the way by Callanders men, they called upon him to retire, & quit the enterprise. The Kings importunitie urging them to proceede, and the obstinate refusal of the Army, brake out at length into fuch termes, that when he had raged in vaine against the multitude, his authority, with which he thought to have prevailed upon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forfake his Kingdome, and to wander up and down in forraine Countries a banished man, his people joyning with the enemy, against whom hee had kd them forth to war.

Pydna in the meane time was closed up streightly, both by Sea and Land, so that neither any could iffue out of the City, nor any reliefe be conveyed into it, but it held out as long as any food was left, no memorable fervice being done there, whilst great actions were managed abroad.

t. II.

A continuation of Olympias her story. Polysperchon defeated. Extreme famine in Pydna. Olympias yeeldes to Cassander.

 \mathbf{T} Ow, though order of time require it, that we should rehearse the doings of $E_{\mathbf{u}}$ menes & Antigonus in this place, leaving Olympias yet a whileto the houre of her destiny; which growes the faster upon her, because she may discerne it comming: yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the course of our narration, by infring her Tragedie in the midst of things not maniscally coherent with it; we will here (as elsewhere we have done, and elsewhere must) continue to an end one History, that we may not be therewith diffracted, when we shall come to the relation of another. All thehope of the befieged, remaining in Folysperchon, was in like manner disappointed, as their former trust had bin, which was reposed in the succours of the Epirot. For Callas, who was fent against him, found the meanes to corrupt the greatest part of his Army with money, leaving him within a little while fo flenderly accompanied, that hee was fit for no other businesse of warre, than a swift retrait. When famine had so farre prevailed in the City, that the horses were killed as a precious food, many men, feeding on the dead carcasses of their fellowes, and saw-dust being given to the Elephants for provender; some of the Souldiers obtaining the Queenes leave, (who could not denie it) others, without asking leave, yeelded themselves to the enemy, and were by him gently relieved, and fent abroad into the Country. The newes of the Queenes affaires, dispersed by these men, did so affright her well-willers, that such as had reserved themselves to the event, came in apace, and submitted them to Cassander. At length, when the mortalitie was so great in the Towne, that the living were even poyloned with the noy some sent of the dead; Olympias bethought her selse of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that she had: wherewith her successe was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Towne, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to be unto her as a house of torment, and a Jaile, out of which she should not bee delivered, but unto anevill death. Being therefore utterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her & the other Ladies, unaccustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she offered composition, & with much labor hardly obtained of Caffander (who having fetcht her Gally out of the Haven, accounted himselfe as good as master of her body) a grant of her ownlife. Immediatly uponher apprehension, Pella, the chiefe City of the Kingdome, was yeelded to Cass ander. Amphipolis did stand out : for Aristonias (to whom Olympias had given charge of fuch forces as were left abroad in the Country, taking courage from the fucteffeof some petty services wherein he had prevailed) began to promise himselfe great unlikelihoods. But Olympias, to win Cassanders favour, very earnestly required him up-Ecce 2

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on his faith to her, that he should give it up. He did so, and presently after was killed by his private enemies, that were set on by Cass and partly hated him upon oldrespects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seeke innovation.

†. III.

The death of Olympias, and her conditions.

Hen Olympias had now heard forrowfull tidings of all her friends, the her felf was called into question, & accused in an assembly of the Macedonians for the murthers (they were so stilled in her affliction, which in time of profperity (he called justice) by her committed. There was she (being not heard, nor called to fpeake) condemned to die. The fuite was commenced and profecuted against her, by the kindred of those whom she had slaine. But it was at Cassanders instigation, who (to haften the execution) fent her word, that he would furnish her with a ship, and other necessaries. to fave her felf by flight : which when she refused, saying, that she would plead forher felf, & tell her owne tale; he diffembled no longer, but fent unto her fuch men, as hated her most, who tooke away her miserable life. She was daughter, and sister, unto two Kings of Epirus; wife, & mother, unto two the mightiest Kings, of that, or many other ages ; a fout Lady , and of unreproveable chaftity ; but her ambition was boundleffe, her hatred unappeasable, and her furie in revenge most unwomanly. Her perverse con-10 ditions made her husband feeke other wives and Concubines, which caused her to hate both him, and them. She was thought privie to her husbands death; after which, very cruelly shee slew his late wife Cleopatra, having first murdered one of her two children in her armes, and with a beastly fury broiled the other alive in fire, in a copper bason. For these things, her some Alexander (otherwise loving her well) forbad her to meddle in the government of Macedon. But God, more severe unto cruell Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their wils, permitted her to live and fulfill the rest of her wickednesse. (which was his justice upon the adulteries of Philip, and the oppression done by him & others;) after all which, He rewarded her malice, by returning it upon her ownehead.

†. IV. Cassander celebrates the funerall of Aridaus and Eurydice; and seekes to make himselfe King of Macedon.

Fter her death, Cassander gave honourable buriall to Aridam & Eurydice, among their Progenitors, Kings of Macedon. And looking further into his own possibilities of greatnesse, he married the Lady Thessander, whom he had taken at Pydna, being the daughter of King Philip, by another of his wives; that by her he might have some title to the Crowne. For the same end he committed Roxane, & her young sont o close prison, removing thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to encrease his same, and purchase love, built a City, called by his own name Cassanderia, that some grew to be very great and powerfull. He re-edified likewise Thebes in Greece, & restored it unto the old inhabitants, after it had laine twenty yeeres waste, being utterly razed by Alexander. By these meanes, especially by the restauration of Thebes, whereunto all Greece voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong, that sew remained enemies unto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could resist him. Leaving him therefore daily prevailing in Greece, we will returne to them, who contended in Asia, for lesse titles, but larger Provinces, with greater forces.

CHAP.

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CHAP. IIII.

Of the great Lordship which ANTIGONUS got in Asia.

S. I.

The journey of Eumenes into Persia. His wise dealing with those that joyned with him.

UMENES, having joyned unto his company the Argyraspides. made haste into the Easterne parts, to take possession of those Countries, according to his commission, and strengthen himselfe against Antigonus. He tooke his journey through Cælosyria and Phænicia, hoping to reclaime those Provinces, usurped with the rest of Syria (as hath beene shewed) by Prolomy, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his haste of his passing forward was too great, his Army too little, and the readinesse of the people, to returne to their due obcdience, none at all. Besides all which impediments, one inconvenience troubled himin all his proceedings, making them the leffe effectuall. The Captaines of the Argyrafpides were so froward, that they scorned to repaire to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was fo unfleady, that he might more eafily have dealt with open traitors. It was not expedient, that he, being Generall, should weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keepe him in order by compulsion. Therefore he fained that Alexander had appointed unto him, in a dream, a place for their meeting, namly, in a rich pavilion, wherein an emprie throne was placed, as if Alexander himself had been present attheir consultations. Thus he freed himselfe from their vaine pride; but of their faith he could have no affurance. Yet when Ptolomy requested them, and Antigorus bribed them to forfake him, they continued (though not without confidering of the matter.) to take his part. So he marched on, fending before him the Kings warrant; which Pytho and Seleucus refused to obey; not as rejecting the Kings authority, but excepting the person of Eumenes, as a man condemned to die by the Macedonian Army, for the death of Craterus. Eumenes, knowing well that he was not to rely upon their affillance, who flood otherwise affected than his affaires required, and were not to be dealt with by perswafion, sought paffage by strong hand through the Country of Babylon, in such wife that Seleucus, having in vaine affaied to hinder him, by opening the fluces of Exphraces, was glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to Pencestes and the rest of the Easterne Lords, who were glad of his company, because of the differences betweene Pytho, Seleucus, and themselves. Yet the contention about superiority grew very hot among them, every one finding matter enough to feede his owne humour of selfe-worthinesse. But the former device of assembling in one pavilion, made all quiet; the conclusion ever being sure to follow that which Eumenes propounded, who was both wifeft in giving advice, and best able to reward, by meanes of the authority given him, to take what he pleased of the Kings treasures. By these meanes he won to himselfe many of those, who had most power to doe good or hurt.

6. II.

How Antigonus, comming to set upon Eumenes, was driven off with losse.

Ntigonus, hearing that Eumenes lay in the Province of Susa, had an earnest defire to follow him, and drive him further from the Kings treasures, which were kept there. To which end, as soone as he had made himselfe strong enough, hee removed out of Mesopotamia, where he had wintered; and taking to him Pytho and Selencus, with their men, he marched directly against the enemies, with intent to give them battell. Eumenes had sortified the Castle of Susa, and was retired back toward Persia, keeping the River of Tigris betweene him and his pursuers. The passages of the River were well guarded, & good espiall keptupon Antigonus, to observe which way he took.

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Before he came to Tigris it felfe, he was to passe over Coprates, a great River, and not foordable, which he sought to doe by small vessels, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his Army had gotten over, when Eumenes, who kept a bridge upon Tigris, came with a thousand horse, & soure thousand foot, to see their demeanour; and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and drave them headlong backe into Coprates, wherein most of them were drowned; very sew escaping with life, except soure thousand that yeelded themselves prisoners in sight of Antigonus, that was not able to relieve them. This loss made Antigonus glad to fall oss; and the heate of that Countrie in the dog-dayes, breeding diseases in his Army, by which many perished, caused him to remove as farre as into Media. So he tooke Python with him; (leaving Seconded him to remove as farre as into Media. So he tooke Python with him; (leaving Seconded him to remove as farre as into Media. So he tooke Python with him; shad through savage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his savage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before he could arrive in Media, with his troupes that were quite heart-broken.

6. III.

Of Eumenes his cumning. A battaile betweene him and Antigonus.

Fter his departure, Eumenes with his affociates fell into consultation, about the remainder of their businesse. Faine he would have had them to enter upon those Provinces, which Antigonus had left behinde him; to which also the Captaines to of the Argyraspides or Silver-spields were very inclinable, as desiring to draw necerto Greece. But Peucestes, and the rest, whose dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their owne particular Estates, and would needes march Eastward. These carried it; for the Army was not strong enough to divide it selfe into parts.

When they came into Perfia, Peuceftes, ruling there, feasted them royally, and sought by all meanes to winthe Souldiers love to himself. Eumenes perceiving whereuntothose doings tended, suffred him a while to keepe good cheare, till the time of war drew neere. Then did he faine an Epistle, directed, as from Orontes Governor of Armenia, to Peucestes himselfe: The purport whereof was; that Olympias had vanquished Cassander, & sentover a great Army under Polysperchon, to joyne with Eumenes. These newes, as they filled 3 the Campe with vaine joy, so they wrought in all mens mindes a great willing nesseto obey Eumenes, by whom was the likeliest appearance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wisely, he being farre the most sufficient Commander, as they found some after. Fot when Antigonus, comming out of Media, drew neere unto them, Eumenes by some mischance was fallen sicke, and faine to be carried in a Litter; the Army marched invery bad array, and was likely to have beene forced to take battaile in that diforder. But Esmenes, when the rest of the Captaines were amazed, was carried about the Army in his Litter, and upon the fodaine did cast his men into so good forme, that Antigonus, perceiving him a far off, could not refraine from giving him deserved commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to the Captaines, & all forts of men, if they would forfake Eumenes: which hopes deceiving him, he came to the triall of a battaile. Eumenes had more Elephants than Antigonus; otherwise, he was inferiour in number both of horse and soote by a third part. The battaile was fought with variable success, and great losse on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, & of the night following. Yet the victory was uncertaine. For Eumenes could not force his mento lyefare from their carriages: by which meanes Antigonus (who had a more absolute command over his) incamping on the ground whereon they fought, had in his power the dead bodies; which was accounted the figne of victory; for he buried his owne, & gave leave to his enemies craving it, to doe the like. But a greater figne of victory had Eumenes. For he abode still in the same place, & not only buried his men very honourably, at great leafure, but held the Countrie round about; whereas Antigonus was glad (having tarried but one day) to steale away by night, and returne into Media, from whence he came.

6. IIII.

Of divers stratagems prattifed by Antigonus, and Eumenes, one against the other.

Hus did the Warre continue doubtfull, and was protracted to a greater length. each part having four Souldiers, and skilfull Generalls: but the fide which had hitherto prevailed, being hindred by the equall authority of many, from purfuing all advantages to the best. Antigonus grew daily weaker, in men and reputation. so that to repaire himselfe he could finde no way fafer, than to put all to adventure. He to knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered far afunder, fo that if hee could fuddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distresse. Between him & them, the way was not long, being only nine daies journey, but very bad, through arough drie wildernesse, hardly passable. Another way, fairer and leading through a Country well peopled, but requiring 25 daies journy, he for fook, partly for the length, partly, and chiefly, because he would come undiscovered. So therefore taking his journy inthe dead of winter, he forbade unto his men the use of fire by night, because he would not have them descried a farre off. This commandement had beene well observed foure or five daies, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, & the cold 20 weather pinching them, they were bold to cherish themselves, being neer to their waies end. The light of these fires gave notice of their comming; which being reported to Peucelles, and other Captaines, they were fo aftonished with the sudden danger, that in all haste they betooke themselves to slight. But Eumenes, meeting with the newes, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promifing to make Antigonus march leifurely, and willing them to abide, and draw up their men together. They could fcarce beleeve him: yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He tooke with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith he occupied certaine tops of mountaines, looking toward the Campe of Antigonus: there he otholea convenient ground to incampe upon, and made great store of fires in fundry places, as if the whole Armie had beene present. This was a forrowfull spectacle to Antigonus, who thought himselfe prevented of his purpose; and began to feare lest he should becompelled to fight, whilest his men were tired with a long and painfull journy. Therfore he refolved to turne afide, and take the way to fuch places, as might better ferve to refresh his Army. This he did with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing howready Eumenes would be upon all advantages. But after a while, confidering that no enemy stirred about him, he began to pause, and think in himselfe, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the marter, he caused some inhabitants of that defart to bee taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had feene no other Army than his thereabout, but onely a few men that kept fires on the hill tops. It vexed him exceedingly to finde that he had beene fo deluded. Therefore he went against these troupes with great fury, meaning to take sharpe vengeance on them, for having so deceived him. But by this time, sufficient firength was arrived there, which could not be forced without much businesse, and long flay. All the Army was come, fave only Eudamus, Captaine of the Elephants, who, beides those beasts, had no more than foure hundred horsemen in his company. Antigonus hearing of this fupply comming to his enemies, fent above two thousand horse, and all his light-armed foot-men, to cut it off by the way. Eudamus being fallen into this danger, was faine to place his Elephants round about his carriages, & fo to defend himfelf a wellas he could; for his horsemen, overlaied with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driven to run away upon the spurre. Neither knew they, who sate upon the Ele-Phants, which way to turne them, for on all fides they received wounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremity there appeared brave troupes of horse and foot, that came unexpected to the rescue; and charging the assailants upon the backe, drave them to feeke their owne fafety by speedy flight. These were sent by Eumenes; who though he knew not what his adverfary meant to do, yet he knew very well what was fittelt for him to doe : and therefore, playing both games himselfe, provided the remedy.

6. V.

The conspiracie of Peucestes and others, against Eumenes his life.

Y these meanes Eumenes wonne great honour, and was by the whole Army acknowledged a most expert Generall, and well worthy of the chiese command. But Peucestes, and the other Captaines, guilty of their owne much insufficiency, were so transported with envie, that they could no longer contains their vile thoughts, but held communication, as upon a necessary point, how they might finde meanes to

murder him. Surely, it is great injuffice to impute the mischiefe contrived against worthy men, to 10 their own proud carriage, or some other ill deserving: For, though it often happen, that fmall vices do serve to counterpoise great vertues; (the sense of evill being more quick and lasting than of good) yet he shall bewray a very foolish malice, that, wanting other testimonie, will thinke it a part of wisedome, to finde good reason of the evills, done to vertuous men, which oftentimes have no other cause than vertue it selfe. Eumenes, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of fingular courtefie, of a very sweet conversation among his friends, and carefull by all gentle meanes to winne their love, that seemed to beare him any secret ill affection. It was his meere vertue that overthrew him, which even they that fought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he 10 should not be slaine, before the battaile were fought with Antigonus, wherein they confessed that it stood best with their safety, to be governed by his direction. Of this treason he was quickly advertised by Eudamus, to whom he had done many pleasures, andby fome others of whom hee used to borrow mony when hee needed not, to the endthat they should be carefull of his good, for feare of losing their owne. Considering therefore, and discoursing with himselfe of the villany intended against him, he made his last Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of fecret: which done, he revolved many things in his minde; being doubtfull what course he were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empires stood ill affected to the Royall bloud, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. How things at that time stoode in Macedon and Greece, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew no. 3 thing that might incourage him to feeke their helpe, that needed his. To make his owne peace with Antigonus, had beene against his faith to Olympias, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that he forbare either to lose the battaile willingly, or to flie into Cappadocia, and make shift for himselfe among his old friends. At length he resolved to do his best against the common enemy, and afterwards to looke to himselfe as well as he might.

6. VI.

The last battaile betweene Antigonus and Eumenes.

He Souldiers, especially those old bands of the silver-spields, finding Eumenest perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victory, but onely to bring them into the field, and set them in array; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacritie was generally sound in the common Souldiers faces; but the chiese Commanders were so misschievously bent against him, that they could not endure to thinke of being beholding to him for the victory. Yet he ordered the battaile so well, that, without their owne great fault, they could hardly saile of getting the upper hand.

Before the Armies came to joyning, a horse-man from the side of Eumenes, proclaimed with a loud voice unto the sollowers of Antigonus. That their wickednes in sighting against their own Fathers, would now be punished, as it well deserved. This was not spoken in vaine. For the Silver-spields were men of threescore or seventy yeeres old, and strengthened more by continual exercise than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as having passed through greater dangers, than any like to bee presented in that fight. Therefore Antigonus his men (who had often beene beaten by them, and were now to trie their last hope with these resolute warriours, the most Ancient and best regarded of

all Alexanders Souldiers) grew very penfive, and advanced heavily, suspecting their owne cause, and searing that the threatnings uttered would prove true.

Antigonia was now againe farre the stronger in horse, which gave him cause of great hope; the ground, on which they were to sight, being a plaine levelled field. Placing therefore himself and his son Demetrius in the right wing, and committing the left wing to Python, he did set forward couragiously against the Enemies, that were ready to give him a sharp entertainement.

Eumenes tooke unto him Peucestes, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the lest wing of his battaile, in the face of Antigoniu; meaning both to prevent the Traitors, his Companions, of all meanes to make head against him on the sudden; & (withall) to give proofe of his owne valour, which perhaps he should no more doe, in the face of all his Enemics. In the right wing, opposite unto Python, he bestowed the weakest of his horse and Elephants, under one Philip, an honest man, and (which was enough at such a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight, and make a reasonable retrait, expeding the event of the other side.

So they joyned very fiercely; Antigonus, labouring to make himselse master of all; Eumenes, to die an honourable death, or to win such a victory upon his open enemies, as might give him leisure and opportunity to deale with his false friends.

The footmen of Antigonus, being even in their owne opinions, far inferiour to those whom they must encounter, were at the first brunt presently deseated by the Silverssields, who slew above five thousand of them, losing of their owne not one man. But in Horse, Eumenes was so over-matched, that he could not repell Antigonus, who presed him very hard, but was faine to stand wholly upon desence. Yet his courage wrought so well by example, among his followers, that the Enemy could not win one foot of ground upon him, untill such time as Peucestes, with one thousand five hundred Horse, withdrew himselse our of the battell, leaving his companions fighting to desend his backe.

Then did Eumenes desperately rush amongst his Enemies, labouring to break open the way unto Antigonus himself. And though he failed of his purpose; yet with great slaughter he did so beat upon them which came in his way, that the victory hung a long time insuspense, uncertaine which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a flight fandie mould, through the trampling of horfes, men, and Elephants, did cast up such a cloud of dust, as hindred the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. Anigonus sinding this advantage, dispatched away some companies of horse, that passed undiscovered beyond Eumenes his battailes, and came to his carriages, which lay about halfe a mile from the place of fight, slenderly guarded, (for that the whole body of the Army lay betweene them and danger) and therefore casily taken. Had Peucestes retired himselse no further than unto the carriages, he might not onely have defended them, but peradventure have substituted those which came to surprise them, & so have done as good a piece of service as abetter man. But he was gotten somewhat surther, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the event: and Eumenes was so over-laboured both in body and minde, that he could not possibly give an eye to every place, being not well able to continue where he was.

It happened so, that the Elephants meeting together, those of Antigonus had the better hand; whereupon Eumenes, finding himselfe every way over-charged, beganne to give back, and withdrew himselfe and his companies in good order, to the other side of the battaile, where Philip (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from losse. The Antigonians had felt so much of Eumenes that day, that they were well content to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come againe; as saine he would have done.

The losse of the carriages was reported unto him, as soon as he had any leisure to heare how things went: whereupon he presently ordered his men for a fresh charge, and sent for Peucestes that was not far off, requesting him to bring in his men, & renew the fight, whereby he trusted, not only to recover their own goods, but to enrich themselves with the spoiles of the enemies. Peucestes not onely resulted to joyne with him, but immediately withdrew himselfe into a safer place, where he might be further from such dange-tous temptations.

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CHAP.4.5.8.

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By this the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were defirous to returne into their Campes. Yet Antigonus conceived hope of doing somewhat more. & therefore taking halfe his horsemen, he waited upon Eumenes a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other halfe he committed to Python. willing him to fet upon the Silver-shields in their retrait; which yet he forbare to doe, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battaile ended; wherein Antigonus had not fo much the better in horse, as the worse in foot: but the spoile which he got, by surprifing his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other loffes.

§. VII. How Eumenes was betrayed to Antigonus, and staine.

Tumenes, comming into his Campe, and finding the Silver-shields extremely difcontented with their misfortune, began to cheere them up, and put them inhove contented with their misrortune, began to their brave demeanour that day had for of recovering all with advantage. For their brave demeanour that day had for the brave demeanour t crushed the enemy, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much lesse able to draw their Carts after him, through that great wildernesse, over the high mountaines.

But these perswasions availed nothing. Pencestes was gone; the other Captaines would needes returne into the high Countries; and the Souldiers had no defire either to flie or 20 to fight, but onely to recover their goods. Wherefore Teutamus, one of the two Captaines of the Silver-shields, (who had in former times readily consented unto traiterous motions, in hope of gaine, but was letted hy bis partner Antigenes) finding, as he thought, a fit occasion of making himselfe great, & winning the love of those bands, dealt screetly with Antigonus, requesting him to restore unto those old Souldiers their goods, which hee had taken, being the onely reward of their services, in the warres of Philip and Alexander.

Antigonus, as a fubtile man, knew very well, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also with little entreatie, persorme a great deale more than they promised; and therefore he lovingly entertained the messengers, filling them 30 with hopes of farre greater matter than they defired, if they would put Eumenes into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make war against him. This answer pleased them fo well, that they forthwith devised how to deliver him alive. Wherefore comming about him, as at other times, to doe their dutie, & pretending more joy of their victory, than forrow of their loffe, which they faid they would redeeme by another fight; inthe middest of this goodly talke, they leaptupon him, caught hold of his fword, and bound him fast. So they haled him away; & stopping their cares against all perswasions, would not yeeld so far, as to loosen one of his hands, and let him kill himselfe, but brought him alive (that was their own Generall, under whom they had obtained many victories) as it had been eintriumph, into the Campe of their enemies.

The presse of men, running out of the Campe to see him, was sogreat, that Antigonus was faine to fend a guard of horse-men & Elephants, to keep him from being smothered; whom hee could not fuddenly refolve, either to kill or fave. Very few they were that fued for his life; but of these, Demetrius the son of Antigonus was one; the rest were defirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were faved, he would foone be the chiefe in reputation, for his great ability. So after long deliberation, Antigonus concluded, that it was the fafest way, to put him to death; which intending to have done by famine (perhaps because he would keepe it a while in his owne power, to reverse the fentence, as defiring, if it might be, to have him live his friend) hafte of other businesse made him doe it by the fword.

To this end came all the travailes of that worthy Generall Eumenes; who had with great wisedome, fidelity, & patience laboured in vaine, to uphold the family which God had purposed to cast down. Hee is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes murability, but more notable was his government of himselfe, in all her changes. Adversity never lessened his courage, nor prosperity his circumspection. But all his vertue, industrie, and wit, were cast away, in leading an Army, without full power, to keepe it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered by Gaspar de Coligny, Admirall of France in our daies, to one that foretold his death, which enfued foon after in the maffacre of Paris; That rather than to leade againe an Army of Voluntaries, he would die a thousand times.

Antigonus himselfe gave to the body of Eumenes honourable Funerall; and rewarded the Treafon, wrought against him, with deserved vengeance. One chiefe Captaine of the silver-spields he burnt alive; many of the other Captaines he slew; and to the whole multitude of the silver-shields, that had betraied so worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader that should carry them into farre Countries, under pretence of wars; but with aprivie charge, to confume them all, as perjured wretches, letting none of them returne aliveunto his friends and kindred, or formuch as once behold the Seas that beate upon the shores of Greece and Macedon.

6. VIII.

How Antigonus flew Python , and occupied Media . How he removed Governours of Provinces, and made himselfe Lord of Persia, carrying away Peucestes.

He two Armies being joyned thus in one, were carried into Media, where they spent the rest of the Winter: the common Souldier idly; the principall men intentively bent unto the businesse ensuing. Python began to consider his owne deservings; for that the whole warre had beene chiefly maintained by the strength and to riches of his Province. Besides, he thought himselfe as good a man as Antigonus, unlesse itwere in the Souldiers opinion, which he judged easie to be purchased with gifts, and therefore spared not to assay them with great liberality. But in following this course he was driven by necessity to trust many, of whom hee stumbled upon some, that were unsecret, and others, bearing him no fincere affection. Thus was his purpose discoveredto Antigonus, who (nothing like to Python) diffembled his indignation, and rebuked theinformers, as breeders of diffention betweene him, and his honourable friend, unto whom he meant to commit the Government of all those Countries: his owne bufinesse calling him into the lower Afia. These reports, comming daily to his eares, did finely 30 delude Python. By his greatnesse with Alexander; his authority in that Province where they lay, whereof he was Governour; & the love of the Souldiers which hee had bought with money; he was strong enough to maintaine, even an offensive war. But what need hadhe to use the sword, when he was likely without contention, to obtaine more than his owne asking? Therefore he came as foone as he was fent for, to take his farewell of Antigonus, and to divide the Provinces with him, that meant nothing leffe than to yeeld to any fuch division. As soone as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to die, and flaine out of hand. For Antigonus, having begun with Eumenes his ancient friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting downe indifferently all that stood in his way: but swamme carelesly through the bloud, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this businesse was ended, he appointed a new Governour in Media, to order the Province, and a Captaine, to suppresse all commotions: thinking belike, that the power and authority, so divided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were derived.

After this he marched into Persia, where he was entertained as absolute Lord of Asia. There began he to shew how well he understood his owne mightinesse. For hee placed and displaced at his owne pleasure, Governors in all Provinces, leaving none in Office, that were not his owne creatures, except fuch as lay too farre off to bee diflodged

Peucestes, who ruled in Persia, thought with good cheere to redeeme old offences, but was deceived, having to doe with one that could not be taken with fuch baites: he was carried away, and feasted with goodly words of promise, that never after tooke effeet. Thus he, that envied the vertue of his friend, was driven to flatter (in vaine) the fortune of his enemie, after which he led a most contemptible life, till he died obscurely a man forgotten.

CHAP. 5. S. 2.

 $\{v_1, v_2\} \in T$, which is

6. IX.

How Selcucus was chafed out of Babylon by Antigonus. The great riches of Antigonus.

Eleucus was the next in this vifitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good will to Antigonia, and now gave proofe of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Captaine of the Castle of Susa to meete him on the way, rendring unto him that strong Peece, and all the treasures therein beflowed. This offer was so great, that Antigonus (though having in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly believe it; but used him with excessive kindnesse, for seare so good a mood should change. In that Castle he found all the treasures of Alexander, with the Jewels of the Perfian Kings, which, added to his former store of mony, made up 25. thousand talents. Having all this, he might well account himselfe a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happinesse. But large dominion was the marke at which he aimed: therefore he proceeded, with intent to leave no Country behinde his backe, that should not acknowledge him for Soveraigne Lord. Comming to Babylon, he was entertained by Seleucus with all possible demonstration of love, and honoured with presents befeeming the Majestic of a King. All this he accepted with great gravitie, as being due to him; and began to require an account of the revenues of that Province. This demand Seleuens held unreasonable; saying, That it was not needfull for him to render unto any man an 10 account of that Province, which was given unto him, in respect of his many good services to the State. But whether hee spake reason or no, it sufficed, that Antigonus waspowerfull; who urged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessity, moved Antigonus to presse him thus, but onely the defire to picke matter of quarrell against him, whereof it was likely that he should finde fuch iffue, as Python and Peucestes had done. Therefore taking with him only fifty horse, he conveyed himselfe away, & fled into Ptolomies Dominions; defiring him to proted him from such a man as went about to oppresse all, that in former times had beene his betters, or at least his equalls. Antigonus was glad of his flight; for now all those Comtries were yeelded unto him without battaile, whereas to fight with Seleucus for them, he ? wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his defire, having received many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any injuries. Yet it is reported, that the Chald aans brought a strange Prophesie to Antigonus, bidding him looke well to himselfe, and know, that if seleucm did escape his hands, he should recover Babylon, yea, winne all Asia, & kill Antigonus inbattaile. Easie beleevers may give credit to this tale. Had it beene true, me thinkes, Antigonus rather should have hanged those Chaldeans, for giving him no warning till it was too late, than fent pursuers (as they say that he did)after him, whom the destinies preserved for so great purposes. When he had fetled things at Babylon, he tooke his journie into Cilicia, where he wintered. There he tooke up ten thousand talents more of the Kings treasures, & casting his accounts, found his yearely in-come to amount unto eleven thousand Talents.

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CHAP. V.

Of the great Warre betweene ALEXANDERS Captaines: and how they assumed the name and state of Kings.

6. I

The combination of Ptolomy, Cassander, and others against Antigonus. Their demands, and his answer.

His great riches, and the rest of his power, made Antigonus dreaded envied, and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new Warre. Prolomic, Cassander, and Lysimachus, had privily combined themselves together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason than of his owne accord he seemed like to yeeld unto. Of their practices he had some notice; the

good entertainment given unto Seleucus, giving him sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent Embassadors to them severally, entreating them to continue firme in their love toward him, that would bee ready to requite them with the like. The cold answers which they made, occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was Ptolomy, it being likely that a good army should prevaile more than a faire message. Therefore, as soone as the season of the yeare would permit, he tooke the way toward Syria, & was encountred by Embaffage from them all. These told him, that their Lords did much rejoyce at his victory, obtained against Eumenes their common enemy, and the honour that he had thereby gotten. In which warre, for a fruch as they being his Confederates, must have endured great losse, with hazzard of their whole Estates, if the 10 mitrary faction had prevailed; they held it very just, that all should be partakers in the fuits of that voyage, wherein they had beene all adventurers. Wherefore they defired him, that making betweene them all an equall division of the treasures that were in his hands, (a thing easie to be done) he would also take some convenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best be to everyones liking, if he would make over Cappadocia, with Lycia, to Callander; and Phrygia, bordering upon the Hellespont, to Lysimachus: for whereas his own Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late victory, he might well spare some of those Western Provinces, to those that were feated in the West. As for Ptolomy, he would not crave any new addition, but rest contented within his own Territories. Provided al waies, that Seleneus their common friend, and partner in the late warre, might be restored to his owne, out of which he had beene driven so injuriously, that all of them were forced to ake it deeply to heart - requiring amends, with his friendly confent unto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtaine with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses received, hee should yet be able to redeeme pace when soever he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was heefo weake, to give away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad fiends, for feare only, left it should be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that helhould be able to finde them worke, more than enough to defend their owne. Therefor the roundly answered the Embassadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victory, which he alone without other mens helpe had obtained. Though indeed they had already fufficiently gained by him, if they could fee it, having by his meanes kept their governments, whereof they were like to be dispossessed by Polysperchon; and the councell of estate in Macedon. But what marvell wasit, if they confidered not how he had faved them, feeing one of them had forgotten thetime, when comming to him as a fugitive, and begging fuccour, he was by his meere bounty relieved, and enabled to get all that he now held - Cassander did not (faid he) in those dayes command me to surrender Provinces, and give him his equall share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers sake) defired me to pitty him, and helpe him against his othermies: which I did; by lending him an Army, and Fleet, on confidence whereof hee now prefumes to threatenme. As for seleucus, how can he complaine of wrong, that durft not fray to plead his right ? I did use him well; but his conscience told him that he haddeferved it; effe he would not have fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, confider well their owne, which some of them can hardly justifie. I am now in the way to Spria, meaning to examine Ptolomies proceedings, and after him to deale with others, if they continue to provokeme.

9. II.

The preparation and beginnings of the warres.

Hen the Embaffadors were difinisfed with this answer, nothing was thought upon but Warre. Antigonus perceiving that he should be invaded from Europe, as soone as he was entred into Syria; left his Nephew Prolony to guard the Sea-cost, and hinder Cassander from landing in Asia; giving him also in
charge, to drive out of Cappadocia some that were already sent over to molest him. Likewise he dispatched Messengers into Greece and Cyprus, not unsurrissed of money; to
draw friends to his side, and raise up troubles to his sent nices. Especially, he laboured to

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make himself the strongest by Sea; to which purpose he rather hastened, than foreslowed his journy into *Syria*, that he might get possession of Mount *Libanus*, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a Navie. Therfore, having erected Beacons, & laid post-horses throughout all *Asia*, to give swift advertisement of all occurrences, he invaded *Syria*, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to maintain the field.

and honoured of the people as their naturall Lord: his other Provinces he kept with a few Garrisons, better serving to containe the people within obedience, than to confront a forraine enemy. So Antigonus tooke many Cities and Places of that Country, and began to set great numbers of Artisfeers on worke in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these businesses he consumed a yeare and three moneths; not idly. For hee tooke Joppe, and Gaza, which were yeelded unto his discretion, and well used. The strong city of Tyrus held out long, but was compelled in the end by famine, to render it selfe upon composition, that Ptolomies Souldiers might depart with their Amnes; which was permitted.

Ptolomy was not asleep, whilest these things were in doing, though he kept himselfe within the bounds of Egypt, as indeed it behooved him to doe. His forces were not able to stand against Antigonus in plaine field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Neverthelesse by Sea (where his enemy was as yet unready) he sent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof Seleucus had the chiefe command.

Seleucus passed with an hundred saile along the coast of Syria, in the full view of Antigonus, and his Army, to their no little discomfort. He landed in Cyprus, which was then
governed by many petty Lords; of whom the greatest adhered to Prolomy, the rest were
by the Factors of Antigonus, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the

Egyptian with sharp steele.

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The same commodity of aide by Sea encouraged the President of Caria (called also Cassader, but not the son of Antipater, how soever by the painfull and learned writer Reinerus Reineccius, he is, by some oversight, counted for the same) to declare for Ptolomy and his Confederates, and busily imploy in their quarrell all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enjoyed rest; but now he threw himself 30 into dangerous war, choosing rather to undergoe trouble at hand, than to fall under certaine ruine, though somewhat surther distant, which would have overwhelmed him, if Antigonus had beaten all the rest.

6. III.

How each party fought to minne the affiftance of Greece. Antigonus his declaration against Cassander. Alexander the some of Polysperchon revolveth from Antigonus who had set him up.

N the meane season all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure unto them the 40 people of Greece, whose aide, which way soever it inclined, was of great importance. Herein at the first, Antigonus sped so well by large essusion of his treasure, that he drew to him the Lacedamonians, and other Peloponnessans, of whom he waged eight thousand, and caused Polysperchon (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rowse himselfe againe, and taking upon him the title of Captain of Peloponnessan, to make head

against Cassander.

These hopefull beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kinde. Wherefore to make Cassander the more odious, he called together both his owne Souldiers, and all the Greeks & Macedonians that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, that Cassander had very cruelly slain Olympias, mother to the great Alexander, stand not herewith contented, had shut up in close prison the poore Lady Roxane, Alexanders wife, and his sonne begotten on her body. That all this proceeded from a defire to make himselfe King over the Macedonians; which well appeared by his enforcing the Lady Thessander, Daughter to King Philip, a match unsit for a man of no greater pagintage than he, to joyne with him in marriage. That in meere despight of those dead Princes, Philip and Alexander, he had planted the Olynthians, rooted out by Philip, in a new City by him built, and called by his own name Cassandra, and had re-edified the City of Thebes, which for the great treason of the inhabitants, was levelled with the ground

by the victorious hand of Alexander. For these reasons he required them to make a decree, that Cassander should restore to absolute liberty the Lady Roxane, and her son; & should yeeld obe dience to the Lord Lievtenant Generall of the Empire, (by which name mie to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of Greece should be restored into freedome: this hee did, not because he was careful of their good, but for the end of their assistance.

These things being decreed, Antigonus was perswaded, that not onely the Greekes would adhere unto him, as to their loving Patron, and fall off from Coffander; but that there is of Provinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardfull of nothing buthis owne benefit, would correct their opinion, and think him the most faithfull of all others to the Royall bloud. But concerning his loyalty to the young Prince, the world was too wise to be deceived with vaine shewes. His undertaking for the liberty of the Greekes was more effectuall, and got easie beliese, in regard of his present hatred to Cashopeto win to himselfe that valiant Nation, which afforded men farre more serviceable inwar, than were to bee found in any Province of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point at which both fides aimed. Wherein Antigonus thinking tomake all fure, deceived himselfe, not without great cost. For he gave to Alexander whe so of Polysperchon five hundred talents, willing him to set the war on foot in Peloponnesus, whereby it might appeare, that on his side was meant nothing else, that what

was openly pretended.

In Peloponnesus, Cassanders men had with much bloud-shed, grievously afflicted the contrary faction, and he himselfe perceiving, that they were more easily spoiled as enemies than retained as friends, thought it the best way to make what use he could of them. that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiving that Alexander came furnifedwith plentie of gold, wherewith hee was able, not onely to win the doubtfull, but ocorrupt fuch as might feeme best assured the thought it a part of wisedome, to surrender upon faire conditions, that which he could not affure himselfe to hold any long time by force. Therefore he fent one to deale with Alexander about the matters in controversestelling him, that Antigonus was very skilfull in setting men together by the eares. not caring who prevailed, but only defiring to have them weary themselves, whilest hee was busied elsewhere; that so at length he might find opportunity to set upon the stronget. If therefore Alexander were so wise, as to keep in his purse the five hundred talents which he had, and without stroke striken, to receive the whole Lordship of Peloponnesius; it should be freely put into his hands by Cassander. Provided, that he should from thenceforthrenounce all confederacy made with Antigonus, and enter into a fure and faithfull legue with Ptolomy, Caffander, and the rest of the Consederates. Otherwise he might will perswade himselfe, that the Country which his Father could not keepe, when hee ws indeed the Lievtenant of the Empire, should not in haste bee won by him, that was onely the Factor of a proud injurious man, fo stilling himselfe, but not acknowledged by

Alexander had lived a while with Antigonut fince the beginning of these wars; among whose followers it was not hard to discover the intent, (which he did not carry very secure) of making himselfe absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was soone entreated to accept logood an offer; and did not sticke to enter into that league, whereby he was to be-

comea free Lord, and subject unto no mans controll.

Howbeit, this his honour continued not long, ere he lost both it and his life together, bytrasion of the Sicyonians; who thinking thereby to have made themselves free, were some after vanquished in battaile by Cratesipolis, Alexanders wise, a discreet and valiant Lady. Shee in revenge of her husbands death, crucified thirty of the Citizens taken in sight; and having by severity raught them obedience, did afterwards continue her Army mgood order, and governed those places that shee held, with the commendation of her Subjects and Neighbours.

CHAP. 5. 5.5.

6. IIII.

The AEtolians rife against Cassander in favour of Antigonus, and are beaten. Afleet and land-army of Antigonus utterly defeated by Ptolomies Lievtenant. In what termes the warre flood at this time. Antigonus drawes neerer to Greece.

Ntigonus, when he found, that with fo much money he had only bought an ene. my, began to raise troubles to Cassander and his other adversaries in Greece, by ftirring up the Ætolians against them: Likewise he laboured to winne to his party the Ilands in the Greek Seas, by whose affishance he might be the better able to deale 16 with Ptolomy, that greatly prevailed by reason of his strong Fleet. But neither of these attempts had the successe which he expected. The Ætolians, a factious Nation, & alwaies envying the greatnesse of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but so, that commonly their gaines equalled not their losses. Cassander wan some of their owne Country, fortified the Acarnanians against them, & compelled Glaucias, King of the Illvrians, whom he vanquished in battaile, to forsake their side, and binde himselfe to beare no

Armes against Cassanders friends.

On the other side, as many petty Ilands were drawne to joyne with Antigonus: forther Fleet of the Rhodians under Theodatus, who was Admirall to Antigonus, paffing alono the coast of Asia towards Cyprus, with an Army under conduct of Perilaus marching on the shore for mutuall affistance, was quite overthrowne by Ptolomies Navie. Polyclytus. who in Ptolomies behalfe had been fent into Peloponnesus against Alexander, finding no need of his service in that Country, because Alexander was come over to their side returned homewards, and by the way heard of the course which these Antigonians held. whom he very cunningly furprised. He rode with his Fleet behinde a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambush, whereinto Perilam falling was taken prisoner, with many of his men, & many were staine, making little relistance. Theodatus the Admirall perceiving this, made all haste to helpe his fellowes that were on Land; but whilest he with all his Fleet were intentive onely to that businesse. Polyclytus appeared at their backs; who as foon as he perceived their diforder, haftened about a the Cape, and charging them behinde , suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings caused Antigonus to deale with Ptolomy about some composition. First, he sent Embassadors; afterwards they met in person. But Antigonus would not yeeld unto the demands of Ptolomy: fo the parley was vaine.

Hitherto each part seemed to have indifferently sped in the warre, & thereby to have equall cause of hope and seare. This late victory, with the good successe of his affaires in Cyprus, did seeme to make amends to Ptolomy for his losses in Syria, Likewise the revolt of Alexander from Antigonus did equall the confederacy, made between the Atolians & him; as also those petty skirmishes, that had been in Asia the lesse, to Antigonuhisadvantage, were sufficiently recompensed by others of like regard, but adverse to him, and by the troubles brought upon his estates in those parts by the two Cassanders.

Contrariwife, Antigonus valued the losse of his men, mony, and ships, no otherwise than as the paring of his nailes, that were left long enough, and would eafily grow againe, but the enlargement of his Tertitory by addition of Syria, he prized at a higher rate; as if thereby he had fed upon a limbe of Ptolomy his enemy, and strengthened the body of his owne Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to counterpoize the bad, hee meant to proceed as occasion should direct,

which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no mony.

That which most molested him, was the attempts of his enemies upon Asia the lesse, wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to fear, lest the people, beingtied unto him by no bond of allegeance, might upon small occasion revolt from him, to men of as honourable reputation as he himselfe. To prevent this, and to be neerer to Greece, he held it expedient for him to be there in person, where his affaires did seeme to prosper the worse, by reason of his absence. Therefore he left part of his Army in Syria under his fon Demetrius, to whom, being then but two & twenty yeers old, be appointed many ancient Captaines as affishants, or rather as Directors: the rest he carried with him into Phrygia, where he meant to winter.

How Lysimachus and Cassander vanquished some enemies, raised against them by Antigonus. The good successe of Antigonus in Asia and Greece: with the rebellion of many Cities against Cassander.

He comming of Antigonus into those parts, wrought a great alteration in the processe of his businesse thereabouts. For his enemies had short leisure to thinke upon molesting him in Asia: they themselves were held over-hardly to their owne worke on Europe side. Seuthes a King of the Thracians, joyning with some To Townes that rebelled against Lysimachus, brought also the bordering Scythians into the quarrell. All these relied upon Antigonus, who was to help them with mony and other aide. The Ætolians likewise tooke courage, and rose against Cassander, having Aeacides, lately restored to the Kingdome of Epirus, their assistant. But Lysimachus gave unto his Rebells no time to confirme themselves. Hee suddainly presented himselfe before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by feare to returne unto their former duty. Hee fought a battaile with the Scythians, and wilde Thracians, and drave them out of the Country. Finally, hee overcame Seuthes; and following the heate of his victory, flew Paufanias in battaile, whom Antigonus had fent over with an Army; and all his men hee did either put to ransome, or fill up with them his owne Bands. The like successe had Philip, Cassanders Lievtenant, against the Etolians. For hee wasted their Countrey; fought with the Epirotes, that came to helpe them : and after the victory, fought againe with their forces joyned in one, overthrowing them, &killing Aeacides that unfortunate King. Finally, he drave the Ætolians out of most of their Country, and forced them to feeke their fafety among the wilde Mountaines. Of the Epirotes he fent as prisoners to Cassander, the principall authors of the Kings restitu-

tion, and of the present War. Yetthese actions required some time, and wearied Antigonus his adversaries with painfull travaile; after which they remained onely favers. Antigonus himselfe at faire kilure wan all Caria the whilest, and sent Armies into Peloponnesus, and other parts of Greece, bestowing liberty upon all the Cities he tooke out of Cassanders hands. The whole Country of Peloponnesus (excepting Sicyon and Corinth) with the Isle of Eubea, and many places of the firme Land, were by those means won to bee his in true and vehement affection, ready to doe or fuffer any thing for him that had made so evident a demonstration of his readinesse, to give them the liberty in deed, which others had promiled in idle words. Many States defirous of the fame benefit, would faine have thewed their good will; but they were kept in by Caffanders Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore Antigonus made shew as if hee would passe over into Macedon: by which terrour he forced Caffander to repaire thither in all haste, with the best of his strength, leaving many good Townsof Greece so weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themselves, if any forraine succour appeared. The aide which they defired was not long wanting. The Lievtenant of Antigonus, taking the advantage of Cassanders departure, entred the Country; drave his Garrisons out of divers Cities: forced the Governour of Athens to enter into league with their Lord; wanne the Citidell of Thebes; and fet the people at liberty. This last action was somewhat remarkeble. For Thebes had not long before bin raised out of her old ruines by the meere power of Cassander; of which act he was accused by Antigonus, as if it had beene some hanous crime. Yet now the same Antigonus winneth the City, and the love of the Inhibitants, onely by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thanke the Increaser, than the Author of their good; and rather to looke forward upon those hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all measure, than backward upon their miscable nullity, that held them uncapable of being any thing.

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CHAP. 5. S. 7.

6. VI

Victories of Ptolomy by Sea. Agreat battaile at Gaza, which Ptolomy and Seleucus wan, against Demetrius the sonne of Antigonus.

S the presence or neernesse of Antigonus gave life to his affaires in the lower A. fia and Greece; so the designes of his enemies, taking advantage of his absence. La ruined the very foundations of those great workes in the Easterne parts, wherewith in the yeare preceding he had over-topped them. The Isle of Cyprus, whose Princes wavered betweene contrary affections, inclining one while to Antigonus, another, while faintly regarding their covenant with Ptolomy, was visited by an Egyptian Fleet, wherewith Ptolomy, in his owne person easily reduced them to a more settled order, purting some to death, carrying others away prisoners, & leaving a Lievtenant of his owne appointment, Governour of the whole Country. With the same Fleet he ran alongst the Sea-coasts, wasting agreat part of Caria & Cilicia, with the spoiles of which heenriched his followers, and returned loaden to Cyprus. Demetrius the sonne of Antigonu. hearing frequent reports of the miseries, wherewith his Fathers subjects were oppressed, made all haste out of Syria to the rescue, taking only his Horse and light-armed Foore with him , because the businesse required expedition. But in vaine did hee tire himselfe and his followers, in hasty seeking of one, that by lanching out into the deep, coulding to few minutes delude the labour of so many dayes, if need had so required. Answerable to the vanity of this expedition was the successe. For Ptolomy was gone, before Demetrius came into Cilicia. Neither was it certain, whether having lightned his ships of their burthen in Cyprus, hee would return upon those maritime Countries, or make towards Syria, where his comming was expected. He was indeed gone into Egypt, and there with Seleucus was describing a Royall Army, which he levied with all convenient speed, for the recovery of Syria. This was more than Demetrius knew. Therefore he was faine to choose out of uncertainties the most likelihood, and returne the way that he came, with all his companies, which were fitter for service in the open field, than to be bestowed in Garrisons among the Cilicians. He had scarce refreshed his men and Horses in Syna, 30 when the newes arrived of Ptolomies comming with a puissant Army, to give himbartaile. Hereupon hee called to counfaile his principall friends, who advised him to give way to the time, and expect some better opportunity in the future: being a young man, and weakly furnished with meanes to refift such ancient and famous Generalls, as Ptolomy & Seleucus. This counfaile feemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of those aged men that gave it, than from any necessity growing out of the present businesse. For Demetrius considering him selfe to be the son of Antigonus, and now General of his Fathers Army, thought his own title weightie enough to belaid in ballance against the bare names of those two great Commanders. Neither found hee much reason that should move him to distrust his forces, as insufficient. His men were better exercised than the 40 enemies, & promised as much as could be required. Therefore perswading himselfe, that fuch oddes of number, and of great fame, would rather ferve to adorne his victory, than hinder him in obtaining it, herefolved to put the matter to triall, without expecting the advantage of more helpe. So animating his Souldiers with hope of spoile and rewards, he abode the comming of the Enemies at Gaza, with purpose to encounter them, as foone as they had finished their wearisome journy over the Desarts of Arabia.

Ptolomy and Seleucus issuing out of so rich a Province as Egypt, came so well provided of all necessaries, that their Army selt not any great grievance of the evill way, when battaile was presented them, which considently they undertooke. In all things else they had the ods of Demetrius; of Elephants they were utterly unprovided. But how todeals with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kinde of Palisado, sattened strongly together with chaines, and sharpened in such a manner, that the Elephants could not seeke to breake upon it, without receiving much hurt. The rest of their forces (which (besides that they had advantage in multitude) were heartened with many fortunate services, by them performed that yeere, whilest the enemies had warried themselves, either with vaine journies, or long and dulling expectation,) they diposed in such order, as best answered to the forme, wherein Demetrius was embattailed. The sight began, and was maintained with equal courage, for a long time, each part

Arriving more to win honour, than to fatisfie any other passion, as having little cause of hatred, or revenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better our the errour of Demetrius, who upon no necessity would needes fight a battaile with difadvantage, began to appeare by his losses. He had committed himselfe to Fortune, having more to lose by her than he could get: but in this fight shee was idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; unlesse it may be said, that the terror brought upon his men, by the losse of his Elephants, was bad lucke. Those beasts were in that kinde of warre hardly to bee refisted on plaine ground; and therefore at the first they made great fooile amongst Ptolomies men. Afterward feeking to breake throught he Palisado, they were forely hurt, and every one of them taken. This difaster caused the Horse-men of To Demetrius to faint. They had laboured hard, & prevailed little, till now perceiving that all must lye upon their hands, who were ill able to make their owne places good, they began to shrinke, and many of them to provide for their safety by timely flight, which example the rest quickly followed. When Demetrius had stroven so long in vaine to make his men abide, that he himselfe was likely to be lost; he was faine to give place to the stronger, making a violent retrait as far as to Azotus, which was about thirty miles from the place of battaile. A great part of his carriages was in Gaza, whither fome of his company turned afide, hoping to fave fuch goods, as in hafte they could pack up. This foolish covetousnesse was their destruction, and the losse of the Towne. For whilest they forgetfull of the danger, had filled the streets with sumpter-Horses, and cloyed up the gates, thronging, some to get in and fetch; others, to carry out what they had already loaden, Ptolomies Army brake in without resistance, taking them with their goods and the City altogether.

This victory restored unto Ptolomy the best part of Syria, a Province more easie in those times to get, than to keepe; and opened the way unto all the greatnesse of Selencus. For between Gaza & Phœnicia no place offered resistance. In Cœlosyria & Phœnicia, some Townes held out a while, but were soon taken in by Ptolomy. Among these were the great Cities of Tyrus and Sidon; of which Sidon was given up by the inhabitants:

Tyrus by the Garrison, falling to mutiny against their Captaine, who trusting to the strength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by Ptolomy, and honourably

entertained in respect of his fidelity.

§. VII.

How Scleucus recovered Babylon, and made himselfe Lord of many Countries in the highest Asia. The Exa of the Kingdome of the Greekes, which began with the Dominion of Scleucus.

Hile Ptolony followed this bufineffe with fuch prosperity, Seleucus tooke leave of him, and went up to Babylon, to try his owne fortune; which he found so favourable, that recovering first his owne Province, he became at

length master of the better part of Alexanders purchases.

This expedition of Seleucus was very strange, and full of unlikelihoods. His trainconfilted of no more than eight hundred foot, and two hundred horse, a number too small to have been placed as Garrison, in some one of those maine great Cities, against which hecarried it into the higher Asia. But little force is needfull, to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwell within the wals. The name of Seleucus was enough; whom the Baby lonians had found so good a Governour, that none of them would finde courage to resist him; but left that worke to Anti108 mus his owne men, wishing them ill to speed. Some of the Macedonians that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of warre, which by, casse compulsion they left off, and followed new Ensignes. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselves joyfully to Seleucus. In a defection of generall, it was not a safe course for the Antigonians, to thrust themselves into the Townes of most importance: for every man of them should have been troubled with daily enemies in his owne lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight. But the treason of one principall man, who revolted to the enemy, with more than a thousand Souldiers following him, so dissinged the rest.

that they did no more than feeke to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that Antigonus held for his security inthose quarters. This Ca-Ale, belike, they had not fortified in times of leifure, against dangers, that were not then apparent. Seleucus quickly tooke it; and so got the entire possession of Mesopotamia and Babylon.

Antionnus had bestowed in Media and Persia, forces convenient for defence of those Provinces, that were the utmost of his Dominion. In the Countries about Euphrates he had not done the like: for his owne great Army lay between them & all enemies. Therefore when the victory at Gaza had opened unto Seleucus the way into those parts; hee found little impediment in the rest of his businesse. Having now gotten what he sought, to it behooved him to seeke how hee might keepe his gettings: for his owne forces were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not doe for him, his enemies did. Nicanor, to whom Antigonus had committed his Army in Media, joyning unto him selfe, out of Persia and other Countries, all needfull helpe, came, with ten thousand Foot, and seaven thousand Horse, either to save all from being loft, or to drive Seleucus out of that which he had won.

Against this power, Seleucus had onely foure hundred Horse, and somewhat above three thousand Foote, wherewith to oppose himselfe: his large Conquest of unwarlike Nations having yeelded him many loving Subjects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were neere to the River of Tigris, he withdrew himselffrom the place where 10 his resistance was expected, into certaine marishes not farre off; where he lay secretive waiting for some advantage. Nicanor thought that he had been fled, and was the leffe carefull in fortifying his Campe. In recompence of this vaine fecurity, his Campe was taken by furprife, the first night of his arrivall; the Satrapa, or Lievtenant of Persia. together with fundry of the Captaines, were flaine; hee himselfe was driven to flee for his life into the defarts, and the whole Army yeelded unto Seleucus: whose gentledemeanour, after the victory, drew all Media, Susiana, and the Neighbour Provinces, to

acknowledge him their Lord without any further stroke stricken.

This victory of Seleucus gave beginning unto the new stile, of The Kingdome of the Greekes, an accompt much used by the Jewes, Chaldwans, Syrians, and other Nations 10 in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first yeere of this Aera. The authority of that great Astrologer Ptolomy, from which there is no appeale, makes Pul Almeg. W it plaine, that the five hundred and nineteenth yeare of Nabonassar, was the fourescore and two yeare of this accompt. Other inference hereupon is needlesse, than that note of the learned Gauricus, That the first of these yeers was reckoned compleat, at Babylon, together with the end of four hundred thirty and eight yeers after Nabonassar. With the observation of the Saturne, recorded by Ptolomy, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of Bunting; finding the same Planet to have beene so placed in the signe of Virgo, as the Chaldrans had observed it , in the same yeere ; which was from Nabonassar the five hundred and nineteenth; from Selencus the fourescore and two yeer; & the last of the hundred thirty 40 and feaventh Olympiad. These observations of the celestiall bodies are the surest marks of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcufable. As for fuch occurrences in History, and the yeeres of succeeding Princes (that are not seldome ambiguous, by reason of unremembred fractions) if they seeme to be here-against, it is not greatly materiall. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that these yeares of the Greekes were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one yeer, that is found between actions, related by the severall Authors of the two Books of the Macchabees, who follow divers accompts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by Ptolomy, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a years distance.

6. VIII.

How Ptolomy lost all he wonne in Syria. What the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed unto the Macedonians, by those that had beene subject unto the Persian Empire. Of divers petty enterprizes, taken in hand by Antigonus and Demetrius, with ill successe.

N a happy houredid Seleucas adventure to goe up to Babylon, with fo few men as his friend could then well spare: for had he staied longer upon hope of getting more 10 Souldiers, Ptolomy could have spared him none at all. Demetrius the son of Antigonus, having lost the battaile at Gaza, received from Ptolomy all his owne goods, his Pages, and Servants, in free gift, and therewithall a courteous meffage, to his effect: That no personall harred was the ground of this Warre, which he and his Confederates held with Antigonas; but only termes of honour, wherein they would feeke to right themselves after such maner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrell,

should not be forgotten.

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This Noble dealing of Ptolomy, did kindle in Demetrius an earnest defire of requiring him, with some as brave liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troupes; drew as many as could be spared, out of the Garrisons in Cilicia, or other Provinces thereabouts, and advertifing his Father of his misfortune, befought him to fend a new supply, wherewith he might redeeme his honour lost. Anticonus upon the first newes of this overthrow, had faid, That the victory which Ptolomy wan upon a beardlesse Boy, should be taken from him by bearded men: yet upon desire that his fon, whom he tenderly loved, should amend his owne reputation, he was content to make a stand in Phrygia. Ptolomy hearing of Demetrius his preparations, did nevertheleffe follow his own businesse in Coelosyria; thinking it enough to spend part of his Army under Cilles his Lievtenant, against the remnant of those, that had been already vanquished, when Cilles too much undervalued the power of such an Enemy. Hee o thought that this young Gallant, having lately faved his life by flight, would now bee more carefull of having a faire way at his backe, than adventurous in fetting further forward, than urgent reason should provoke him. In this considence he passed on without all feare; as one that were already Master of the field, and should meet with none, that would iffue out of their places of strength, to make refistance. When Demetrius was informed of this carelesse march; he tooke the lightestofhis Army, and made his journey with fuch diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came upon Cilles unexpected, and was on the suddaine, without any battaile, Master of his Campe: taking himalive, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit served not only to repaire the credit of Demetrius, which his losse at Gapahadalmost ruined: but further it enabled him, to recompence the bounty of Ptolomy, with equall favour, in reftoring to him Cilles, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich presents. But neither was Ptolomy so weakened by this losse, nor Demetrius fo emboldened by his victory, that any matter of consequence thereupon ensued. For Demetrius feared the comming of Ptolomy; & therefore he fortified himselfe in places of advantage: Ptolomy on the other fide was loth to engage himselfe in an enterprise, wherein he might perceive, that if the comming of Antigonus found him entangled, hee hould either bee driven to make a shamefull retrait, or a dangerous adventure of his

whole estate, in hope of not much more than already he possessed.

Antigonus, indeede, was nothing flow in his way towards Syria; whither hee made loal hafte, not so much to relieve his sonne, as to embrace him. For he rejoyced exceedingly, that the young man had so well acquitted himselfe, and being left to his owne advice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increase the re-Putation of this late victory, he brought fuch forces, as might ferve to re-conquer all Syria: meaning, that the honour of all should bee referred unto the good foundation, laied by his son; whom from this time forwards, he imploied in matters of greatest im-

Ptolomy had now leffe reason to encounter with Antigonus, than before his comming to have affailed the Campe of Demetrius. Yet he made it a matter of consultation; as if

6.VIII.How

he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captaines advised him to retire into Egypt; alledging many good arguments to that purpose: which they might well perceive to be agreeable to his own intent, by his propounding that course; not without remembrance of the good successed against *Perdiccas*, in the like defensive warre. So he departed out of Syria, preserving his honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any suddaine passion of sear: and he departed at faire lessure, not onely carrying his treasures along with him, but staying to dismantle some principall Cities, that he thought most likely to trouble him in the suture. All the Country that he left at his backe, fell presently to Antigonus, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: so easie ly to Antigonus, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: so easie was it in those times, for the Captain of a strong Army, to make himselse Lord of a great to Province.

We may justly wonder, that these Kingdomes of Syria, Media, Babylon, and many other Nations, (which the victory of Alexander had over-run, with so hasty a course, as other Nations, (which the victory of Alexander had over-run, with so hasty a course, as gave him not leisure to take any good view of them) were so easily held not onely by himselfe, but by the Captaines of his Army after him. The hot contentions for superiority betweene the King of Israel, and those of Damascus; betweene Egypt, and Babylon; Babylon and Nineve; the Persians and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to have once beene in those people; which are now so patient of a forraigne temper, to have once beene in those people; which are now so patient of a forraigne tyoke, that like Sheepe or Oxen, they suffer themselves to be distributed, sought for, won, lost, and againe recovered by contentious Masters; as if they had no title to their owne to heads, but were borne to follow the fortune of the Macedonians. This will appear the more strange, if we shall consider, how the severall States of Greece (many of which had never possessing the sum of their spirits to swell beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occasions of liberty: and how these proud Conquerous were glad to offer it, desiring to have them rather friends than servants, for sea re of surther inconvenience.

It must therefore bee noted, that most of these Countries had alwayes been subject unto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom the Babylonians and Persians long since had rooted out, and held them in such bondage, that sew of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraigne Masters. This had utterly taken from them all remembrance of home-borne Princes, & incorporated them into the great body of the Persian Empire: so that wanting within themselves all soveraigne power, or high authority, the life and spirit of every Estate; they lay as dead, and were bereaved of motion, when that

Kingdome fell, whereof they lately had beene members.

Why the Persian Satrapa, or Princes of that Empire, did not when Darius was taken from them, as the Macedonian Captains, after the death of Alexander, strive to lay hold upon those Provinces, which had many ages bin subject unto them, & scarce source years in quiet possession of their enemies; or why at least they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did cease to affright them) to get their shares among his followers, if not wholly to dispossessing them of their new purchases: it is a question wherein, who is not satisfied, may finde no lesse reason to suspect the History, that thority to confirme it. For wee seldome reade, that any small kingdome, prevailing against a farre greater, hath made so entire a conquest, in the compasse of ten yeares, as less unto the vanquished no hope of recovery, nor meanes to rebell; especially when such disorders, or rather utter consussion hath ensued, by the sury of civill warre among the Victors.

The cause why the Macedonians held so quietly the Persian Empire, is well set down by Machiavell; and concernes all other Kingdomes, that are subject unto the like forme of Government: the summe whereof is this; Wheresover the Prince doth hold all his Subjects under the condition of slaves, there is the conquest easie, and some assured: Where ancient Nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to winne all, and harder to keepe that which is won. Examples of this are the Turkish Empire, and the Kingdome of France. If any invader should prevaile so farre upon Turkie, that the great Sultan and his Children (for Brethren he users not to suffer alive) were taken or slained the whole Empire would quickly bee wonne, and easily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the Bassas, how great soever they may seeme, are meere flaves; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose personal regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, wherein hope of private gaine should not countervaile.

countervaile all apparent matter of feare. Contrariwise, in France, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though he further got the better part of the Country, and were by farre the strongest in the field. For, besides the Princes of the Royall bloud, there are in that Kingdom store of great men; who are mighty in their feverall Countries, and having certaine Royalties and Principalities of their owne, are able to raise Warre in all quarters of the Realme; whereunto the remembrance of their owne ancient Families, and long continued Nobility, will alwayes stirre up and inflame them: fo that untill every one piece were won. andevery one (an endlesse worke) of the chiefe Nobility brought under or destroyed. the wettory were not compleat, nor well affured. It is true, that fuch power of the Nobility doth often-times make way for an Invader; to whom the discontentments of a few can eafily make a faire entrance. But fuch affiftants are not fo eafily kept, as they are gotten; for they looke to be fatisfied at full, in all their demands; and having what they would, they foone returne to their old allegeance, upon condition to keepe what they have unlesse they be daily hired with new rewards: wherein it is hard to please one man. without offending another as good as himselfe. The Turke, on the other side, needs not to fear any peril, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principall men. The greatest mischiefe that any of them could worke against him, were the betraying of some frontier Towne, or the wilfull losse of a battaile: which done, the Traitor hath spent his sting, and must either flye to the enemy, whereby he loseth all that hee formerly did hold; or else, in hope of doing some further harme, he must adventure to excuse himselse unto his Master, who seldome forgives the Captaine, that hath not striwdby desperate valour against missortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great Sultan, and so joyning themselves unto any Invader; it is a marternot to be doubted: for none of them have any followers or dependants at all, other than fuch as are subject unto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principall men, doth leave unto them no meanes, whereby tooppose themselves against the flourishing estate of their Prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giving him affillance, if adverfity should make him hand in need of them. For there is fcarce any one among the Turks Baffaes, or Provinciall Governours, that knowes either from whence he was brought, or from whom descended nor any one among them, that by the losse & utter ruine of the Turkish Empire, can lose any foote of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the fubject, which is also a Kingdom unto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conquerer, who hath no other device painted on his Enfigne, than the pidure of flavery.

Asin the Turkish Empire, so was the Persian, voide of liberty in the Subjects, and uterly destitute of other Nobility, than such as depended upon meere favour of the Prince. Some indeede there were of the Royall bloud, and others, descended from the Princes that joyned with Darius, the Sonne of Hystaspes, in oppressing the Magi thesewere men of reputation in Persia, but their reputation consisted onely in their Pedigree, and their fafery in not medling with affaires of State, which made them little effeemed. In what small account these Persian Princes were held, it may appeare by this, that the Kings Uncles, Cousin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, Their Slaves, and fo did ftile themselves, in speaking unto these great Monarchs. That moneyery light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaves, it is easie to bee derned, in that example of cruelty, practifed by Xerxes upon his owne brother Maffles, which hath beene formerly noted, in place more convenient. As for the Satrape, or Governours of the Provinces, it is heedlesse to cite examples, proving them otohave beene meer flaves : it may fuffice , that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will ; that is , at the will of those Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was governed.

To this want of Nobility in *Perfia*, may be added the generall want of liberty convenient among the people: a matter no leffe availeable, in making case and sure the conquest of a Nation, than is the cause assigned by *Machiavell*. For as *Aesope* his Asse did not care to run from the enemies, because it was not possible, that they should load him with heavier burthens, than his Master caused him daily to beare: so the Nations, that endure the worst under their owne Princes, are not greatly scarfull of a forraigne yoke;

Nor will be hasty to shake it off, if by experience they finde it more light, than was that whereunto they had been long accustomed. This was it that made the Gascoignes beare such faithfull affection to the Kings of England; for that they governed more mildely than the French: this enlarged the Venetian jurisdiction in Lombardy; for the Townes that they wan, they wan out of the hands of Tyrannous oppressors: & this did cause the Macedonians, with other Nations; that had been subject unto the posterity of Alexanders followers, to serve the Romans patiently; if not willingly; for that by them they were eased of many burthers, which had been imposed upon them by their own Kings.

So that of this tameneffe, which we finde in those that had been subjects of the Perfian Kings, the reasons are apparent. Yet some of these there were, that could not so eafily be contained in good order by the Macedonians: for they had not indeed been abfolutely conquered by the Persian. Such were the Sogdians, Bastrians, and other Nations about the Caspian Sea. Such also were the Arabians bordering upon Syria: against whom Antigonus fent part of his Army; thinking therewith to bring them under, or rather to get a rich booty. The Captains that he fent, fell upon the Nabatheans, at fuch time as they were busied in a great Mart; wherein they traded with the more remote Arabians, for Myrre, Frankincense, & other such commodities. All or most of these rich wares, together with five hundred talents of filver, and many prisoners, the Macedonians laid hold upon: for their comming was sudden & unexpected. But ere they could recover Syria, the Nabathaans overtook them, & finding them weary with long marches, 20 made fuch a flaughter, that of foure thousand foote, and fixe hundred horse, onely fifty horse escaped. To revenge this losse, Demetrius was set out with a great power: vet all in vaine; for hee was not refifted by any Army, but by the naturall defence of avaite Wildernesse, lacke of water, and of all things necessary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein hee lost not much honour: for they craved it, and gavehim presents. Returning from the Nabatheans, he viewed the Lake Asphaltites, whence hee conceived hope of great profit that might bee raifed, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandry of his fon, Antigonus was well pleased, and appointed men to the worke: but they were flaine by the Arabians, and so that hope vanished.

These petty enterprises, with the ill successe accompanying them, had much impaired 30 the good advantage against Ptolomy: when the newes of Seleucus his victories in the high Countries, marredall together. For neither was the losse of those great and wealthy Provinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it safe to transport the warre into the parts beyond Euphrates, whereby Syria and the lower Asia should have beene exposed, to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle course was thought the best; and Demetrins with fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, was sent against Seleucus. These forces being sent away, Antigonus did nothing, and his sonnedid lesse. For Seleucus was then in Media; his Lievtenants about Babylon withdrew themselves from necessity of fight; some places they fortified and kept; Demetrius could hold nothing that hegot, without setting in Garrison more menthan hee could foare, neither did he get much; & therefore was faineto set out the bravery of his expedition, by burning and spoiling the Country; which he did thereby the more alienate, & as it were acknowledge to belong unto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his owne assured.

Antigonus had laid upon his fon a peremptory commandement, to returne unto him at a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as may seeme) that in such an unsettled state of things, either the Warre might be ended, by the fury of the first brunt; or else it would be vaine to strive against all difficulties likely to arise, where want of necessaries should frustrate the valour, that by strength of time was like to become less terrible to the Enemy. Demetrius therefore leaving behinde him five thousand soot, and a thousand horse, rather to make shew of continuing the warre, than to effect much, where himselfe, with 5

greater forces could doe little more than nothing, for fooke the enterprise, and went backe to his Father.

6. IX. . janto de

A generall peace made and broken. How all the house of Alexander was destroyed.

Hese ambitious heads, having thus wearied themselves with uneffectuall travelly in seeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded; that each of them but meere desire of Empire, had moved them to enter into the war; so was it no friendly to reconciliation, but only a dulinesse growing upon the flow advancement of their severall hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, til occasion might better serve to fight

Besides that maine point, Of retaining the Provinces which every man held, there were two Articles of the peace, that gave a faire, but a salfe colour, to the businesse; That the son of Alexander by Roxane, should be made King when he came to sull age; and, That all the Estates of Greece should be set at libertie. The advancement of young Alexander to his Fathers kindome, seems to have bin a matter forceably extorted from Antigonus; in whom was discovered a purpose, to make himselse Lord of all. But this, indeed, more neerly touched Cassander. For in his custodie was the young Prince and his Mothermeitherdid he keepe them in fort answerable to their degree; but as close prisoners, taken in that warre, wherein they had seene the old Queene Olympia taken and murdered; that sought to put them in possessing the Empire. The muruall hatred and seare betweene shen, rooted in these grounds, of injuries done, and revenge expected; upon this conclusion of peace, grew up faster than any time before, in the heart of Cassander: who saw the Macedonians turne their savourable expectation, towards the son of their late renowated King.

All this either little concerned Antigonus; or tended greatly to his good. The young Prince must first have possession of Macedon: whereby Cassander should be reduced to his poor office, of Captain over a thousand men, if not left in worse case. As for them that to held Provinces abroad, they might either doe as they had done under Aridamisor better, as being better acquainted with their owne strength. He in the meane time, by his readinisses acknowledge the true Heire, had freed himselfe from that ill favoured imputation, offeeking to make himselfe Lord of all that Alexander had gotten.

The like advantage had he in that Article, of reforing the Greeks to their libertie. This libertie had hitherto beene the subject of much idle discourse: but it never tooke effect. Anisonau held scarce any Towne of theirs, Cassander occupied most of the Countrie: which if he should set free, he must be a poore Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrell against him, as against a Disturber of the common peace.

In the meane season, the Countries lying between Euphrates and the Greek seas, together with a great Armie, and mony enough to entertaine a greater, might serve to hold with credit of Antigonm, and to raise his hopes as high as ever they had beene.

With much disadvantage doe many men contend against one that is equall to them all in puissance. Cassanders friends had left him in an ill case; but he could not doe withall: for where every one mans helpe is necessarie to the warre, there may any one make his own peace; but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are wearie. The best was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no such end as the becomming Subsects unto any man, much lesse to the son of an Assatique woman, of whom they had long fince refused to heare mention. Therefore he tooke a short course, and caused both the child and his Mother to be flaine: freeing thereby himselfe in a trice, from the dangerous necessitie of yeelding up his government, which he must have done when the childe had'come to age. Roxane was a Ladie of fingular beautie, which was perhaps the cause, why Perdiccas defired to have her sonne, being as yet unborne, proclaimed Heire to the great Alexander. Immediatly upon the death of Alexander, the had used the favour (if it were not love) of Perdiccas, to the fatisfying of her owne bloudie malice, upon Statira, the Daughter of King Darius; whom Alexander had likewise married, according to the custome of those Countries, wherein pluralitie of wives is held no crime. For, having by a counterfeit letter, in Alexanders name, gotten this poore Ladie into her hands, she did, by affistance of Perdiceas, murder her and her Sister, and threw their Gggg

bodies into a Well, causing it to be filled up with earth. But now, by Gods just vengeance, were she and her son made away, in the like secret fashion; even at such time as the near approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wear slome imprisonment grow dearer unto her than it was before.

The fourth Booke of the first part

The fact of Cassander was not so much detested in outward shew; as inwardly itwas pleasing unto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords of all pleasing unto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselves free Lords of all that they had under them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might that they had under them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of warre; wherein every one persuaded himselfe of success, that had work cer than worse. Hereupon all of them (except Lysimachin and selenem, that had work enough at home) began to rowze themselves; as if now the time were come, for each to man to improve his own stocke. Antigonum his Lievtenants were buse in Peloponness, and about Hellespont: while their Master was carefull in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the libertie of Greece: yet did the same argument ministerium of Prolomic matter of quarrell, against both him yet did the same argument ministerium of Prolomic matter deeply to hearthat and Cassander: Prolomic complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to hearthat and Cassander: Prolomic complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to hearthat and Cassander: Prolomic complaining this enormatic, he sent an Armie into Cilicia, where he won source Townes, and soon after lost them, without much labour of his owne or his

After this, putting to Sea with a strong Fleet, he ran along the coast of Asia, winning an After this, putting to Sea with a strong Fleet, he ran along the coast of Asia, winning an many places: and in that voyage allured unto him a nephew of Antigonus (a good Commander, but discontented with the ill requitall of his services) whom sinding shortly, as sall to himselfe as he had been to his own Uncle, he was fain to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the Greekes at libertie, appeared not so plaine, as he wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered by his molesting Antigonus Asia. Therefore to get the love of that valuant Nation, he made at the last an expeditionino Greece it selfe: where having set free some little Ilands, and landed in Pelopumes sur, he raised so great an expectation of sinshing the long desired work, that Cratespolis, the Widow of Alexander, Polyspenchons son, gave up into his hands the Towns of Sicyon and Corinth.

and Corine.

Ptolomie had conceived a vain beliefe that the Greeks, emboldened by his countenance and affiltance, would all of them take heart and rife up in armes; whereby with little labour their libertie might be gotten; and he be acknowledged as Author of this immortall benefit. But long fervitude had wel-neare extinguished the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recover freedome, had so their spirits, that they would no more stir in pursuit thereof; but sate idly still, as wishing it to fall into their mouthes.

The Laced amonians, about these times, began to fortissie their Town with wals; trusting no longer in their vertue (for both it, and the discipline that upheld it were too much impaired) that had been a wall to their Town and Territorie.

The Athenians were become as humble servants, as they had been in times past insolent Masters: erecting as many statuaes in honour of Demetrius Phalereus, as there were daies in the year. This Demetrius was now their Governour; and he governed them with much moderation: but in spight of their hearts, as being set over them by Cassader. By this base temper of the principall Cities, it is easie to gather, how the rest of the County stood affected. Ptolomie could not get them to set their helping hands to their owngood, and to surnish him with the promised supplies of mony and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliver them from thrasdome; as judging the commodite that would arise by annexing them to his partie, a matter of more weight than the losse that Cassader should receive thereby, who could hardly retaine them, if once Antigonus took state worke in hand. But when he found such difficultie in the businesse, he changed his purpose: and renewing his former friendship with Cassader, he retained Sieyon and Corinth in his own possession.

Before the comming of Ptolomie into Greece, Cassander had beene held occupied with very much worke. For (besides his paines taken in warres among barbarous Princes) hee sound meanes to allure unto himselse the Lieutenants of Antigonus, that werein Peloponness, and about Hellespont: making his owne advantage of their discontentments. By the like skilfull practice he freed himselse from a greater danger, and made those

those murthers which he had committed seeme the lesse odious by teaching his enemies to doe the like. Old Polysperchon, that had made so great a stir in the reign of Aridam, did after the death of Roxano and her childe, enter agains upon the Stage: leading in his hand another some of the great Alexander, and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this young Prince was Heroules: he was begotten on Barfine the daughter of Artabazma Persian; but had been lesse esteemed than the some of Roxane, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or else perhaps, in regard of the favour which Perdicens, and after him Olympias, did beare unto Roxane. At this time the death of his brother had moved fuch compassion, and regard of his being Alexanders onely living childe, had procured unto him fuch good will, that the demand which Po-Inferction made in his behalfe, was deemed very just and honourable. There were indeed more hearts than hands, that joyned with this young Prince: yet wanted he not sufficient frength of hands, if the heart of him that least ought, had not been most false. Callander had raifed an Armie to withstand his entrie into Macedon: but little trust could he repose in that Armie, whose wishes he perceived to be with Hercules. Therefore he assailed Pohisperchon himselfe with gifts and promises; wherewith at length he prevailed so far, that the old Villaine was contented to murder his Pupill; chooling rather with many curfes and foule dishonour, to take the offered Lordship of Peloponnessus, and Commander of nan Armie; than to purchase a noble same with dangerous travell, in maintaining his faith, unto both his dead and living Soveraignes.

Antigonus had not all this while bin afleep; though his loffes were hitherto the chiefe wimefles, of his having beene a stirrer in these commotions. Hethought it enough for him at the present to retaine his owne: and therefore tooke order for the recoverie of those places which Ptolomie had taken paines to winne. As for the reft, it no way grievedhim to fee Caffander incur the general hatred of men by committing those murders of which the profit was like to redound unto him that was the most powerfull, or to fee Polisperchon and Ptolomie sweat in a busie warre against Cassander. If they would have continued their quarrels, he could well have affoorded them leafure, and have thought thetime well spent in beholding their contentions. For he was throughly perswaded that when the rest had wearied themselves in vaine with long strife, his armies and treafires, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all under. According to these haughthe conceits, he demeaned himselfe among his followers; looking big upon them and likea King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them to revolt from him: but was no great loffe to be for faken by those that looked with envious eyes upon that forume whereon their owne should have depended. Against this envie of his men, and the malice of others, Antigonus bufily fought a remedie, fuch as was like to give him goodly title to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra, Sister unto the great Alexander, lay for the most part in Sardes: whom he had a great desire to take to wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for how-fover she discovered much unwillingnesse thereunto, yet was she in his power; and might therefore be entreated, were it only for feare of being enforced. But it was not his purpose to get her by compulsive meanes: either because his sancie; being an old man, was not over-violent; or rather because his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could have made small use of her, by doing such apparent wrong. She had been married unto Alexander King of Epirm, after whose death she came to her brother in Asia; hoping belike to finde a new husband in his Campe. But neither any of those brave Captaines, that were, in times following, so hot in love with her, durst then assignment of her marriage: nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himselfe with fostire to prevaile against her honour, that she supplied the want of an husband by entertainment of Paramours. Alexander hearing of this, turned it to a jest: saying, That she was his sister, and must be allowed this libertie, as her portion of the Empire.

When by his death the Empire lay in a manner voide, and the portion due to her thereingrew, in mens opinion, greater than it had beene: then did many feeke to obtain the her felfe defired onely a proper man, with whom shee might lade a merrie life. To this purpose did she invite Leonatus unto her; who made great laste, but was cut off by deathere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long

Gggg 2 tarrying

tarrying, the had her choice of all the great Commanders: Antigonus, Ptolomie, Lyfimachus, and Caffander, being all her earnest wooers. All these (Antigonus excepted) had wives alreadie; Ptolomie had many wives, and many Concubines, whom he respected as much as his wives, being noted of too much dotage in that kind. This hindred not his fuire: peradventure it advanced it, by giving to Cleopatra some hope of mutuall toleration. To him therefore she bequeathed her felf, and was taking her journie from Sandes towards him; when Antigonus his Deputic in that Citie, made her to stay, untill his Ma. sters further pleasure should be known. Antigonus had now a Wolfe by the eares: he neither could well hold her, nor durft let her goe. She would not be his wife; he had no honest pretence to force her; and to keepe her prisoner, had bin the way, by which to he might have incurred a generall harred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by Callander against Roxane (a Ladie leffe respected than Alexanders ownsister) did well testifie. Therefore he thought it the wifest way to procure her death: for toler any other enjoy the commoditie of so faire a title to the kingdome, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Governour of Sardes, willing him in any case to doe it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certain women about her put in trust with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as milchievous conspirers against the life of that good Ladie. So was Antigonus freed from blame. at the least, in his owne opinion : but the world was lesse foolish, than to be so deluded. How the murther was detected, we need not aske: for feldome is that bloudie crimeun- 10 revealed, and never so ill smothered, as when great persons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of *Rhilip* and *Alexander* the great extinguished, and it was extinguished by the hands of such as thought upon nothing lesse than the execution of Gods justice, due unto the crueltie of these powerfull, but mercilesse Princes. Wherefore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, upon so wicked foundations of innocent bloud, were soon after cast down, over-whelming themselves or their children, with the ruines, as the sequell will declare.

6. X.

How Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, gave libertie to Athens, expelling the Garrisons of Cassander out of those parts. The immoderate honour decreed by the Athenians to Antigonus and Demetrius.

One being left alive that had any title to the Kingdome; it stood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Provinces, acknowledging no Superiour, should freely prosesse themselves Kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name it beseemed the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbeare it: neither seemed it convenient in the judgement of Anigona, to crowne his last action with such a title, as if he had attained unto greatnesse by that soule murder, the infamic whereof he was carefull how to discharge from his own head. He purposed therefore to undertake a plausible enterprise, even the libertie of Greece: whereby it was apparent, that he might get such honour as would not only drown all bad reports, but make him be thought equall to any name of royaltie, whereof in seeming modessie, he was not covetous. To this purpose he delivered a strong armie, with a Navie of two hundred and siftie saile, and five thousand talents of silver, unto Demetrius his son: willing him to begin at Athens, and thence to proceed, in setting all the Countrie free.

Demetrius came to Athens before he was expected: so that without resistance he entred the Haven; it being thought that a fleet of Ptolomie, Cassanders good friend, had bing arrived. But when it was known, both who he was, & what was the cause of his commings the joy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations: Demetrius Phalereus for soke the town, and withdrew himself to Thebes under safe conduct; only the Garrison in Munychia strove to make good that piece, which after a while was won upon them by sorce. During the siege of Munychia, Demetrius went to Megara; whence he expelled the Garrison of Cassander, and so restored the Citie to libertie.

I thinke it not impertinent, fometimes to relate such accidents, as may seeme no better than meere trifles: for even by trifles are the qualities of great Persons as well disclosed

disclosed, as by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they commonly fraine themselves, to the observance of generall commended rules; in lesser things they follow the current of their owne Natures. The Lady Cratespolis lay in Patras, and hada oreat defire to fee Demetrius; hoping, belike, that she might by his meanes better her effate, and recover her Townes of Sycion and Corinth, detained by Ptolomie; to whose Lievtenant, in those places, Demetrins before his departure out of Greece, offered mony for the surrender of them. Yet the onely businesse pretended was love. He being adverrifed hereof, left his forces in the Country of Megara, and taking a company of his lightell armed, for guard of his person, made a long journey to meet with her. This troupe allo, he caused to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might see her when shee came. As closely as the businesse was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceived good hope, that the diligence of a very few men might overthrow all the great preparations of Antigonus; and bring him to any termes ofreason, by taking his deare some prisoner. Their project fell but a little short of the effect. For they came so suddenly upon him, that he had no better shift, than to mussle himselse in an old cloake, and creepe away disguisted; leaving them to ransacke his Tent. There was in this Prince a strange medly of conditions; especially an extreme dissolutenessein wanton pleasures, and a painefull industry in matter of Warre. He was of a most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in devising Engines of Warre, and curious in working them with his owne hands. He knew better how to reformehis bad fortune, than how to rule his good. For adversitie made his valour more adive: prosperity puffed him with over-weening, wherein he thought that he might do what he lifted. His fortune was changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her wheele, till she had wound up the threed of his life, in such manner as followeth to be shewed.

Returning to his Campe, and finishing his businesse at Megara; he resolved no longer to attend the issue of a siege, to assail Munychia by force, that so he might accomplish the liberty of Athens: which, untill it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the Citie. Munychia was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the assault, the multitude without, through help of their Engines that scoured the walles, prevailed upon the resolution of those that lay within it, and wan the place in two dayes. The wals, and all the defences of that piece against the Citie, were levelled with the ground, and so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom with all was given their liberty, with promise to aide them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victory, gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill and industry. For the *Athenians*, having forgotten how to imploy their hands, laboured to make up that defect with their tongues: converting to base skittery, that eloquence of theirs which the vertues of their Ancestors had suted unto more manly arguments.

They decreed unto Antigonus and Demetrius the name of Kings; they confecrated the place in which Demetrius leaped from his Chariot, when he entred their Citie, and built there an Altar, calling it of Demetrius the a-lighter; they called them by the names of the gods; their Saviours, ordaining that every yeare, there should be chosen a Priest of these gods; and further, that such as were imployed by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Embassadours, but Theori, or Consulters with the gods; like as were they, whom they sent unto the Oracle of Jupiter or Apollo.

It were a frivolous diligence to rehearse all their flatteries, these being so grosse. Herebythey not onely corrupted the young Prince; but made that acclamation, which best would have pleased the old man, to be of no use. For he could not handsomely take uponlim the name of King, as imposed by the Athenians; unlesse he would seeme to approve their vanity, in loading him with more than humane honours. Yet was he so tickledwith this their fine handling him, that when their Theorier Consulters came shortly after, desiring him to relieve them with Corne and Timber to build ships; he gave them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheate, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first Oracle: or rather so weake is great power in resisting the affaults of flattery.

CHAP.5. S.II.

6. X I

The great victorie of Demetrius against Ptolomie in Cyprus. How Antigonus and Demetrius tooke upon them the stile of Kings; wherein others followed their example.

Rom this glorious worke, Antigonus called away Demetrius, unto a businesse of greater difficultie; meaning to imploy his service against Ptolomie, in Cyprus. Before his departure out of Greece, he was willed to establish a general Counsell, that should treat of matters concerning the common good of the Countrie. About the same time Antigonus withdrew his owne Garrison out of Imbros, committing their libertie entire, into the peoples hands; whereby it might appeare, that as he would not permit any other to oppresse the Greekes, so would he be farre from doing it himselfe. This was enough to hold his reputation high, among these new purchased Friends: it followed, that hee should convert his forces, to the winning of ground upon his Enemaise.

A pittifull Tragedie had lately hapned in Cyprus, through the indifcretion of Menelaus, Ptolomies brother, and his lieutenant in that Isle. Nicocles, King of Paphos, was entred into some practice with Antigonus: yet not so far that he thought himselfe pastexcuse; by which considence, he was perhaps the more easily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the salfe-hearted King of Paphos at one blow, Menelaus was fent thither: 20 who surrounding Nicocles his house with Souldiers, required in Ptolomies name, to have him yeelded to the death. Nicocles offered to cleare himselfe; but Menelaus told him, that dye he must, and bad him come forth quietly. This desperate necessitie caused the unhappie King to rid himselfe of life: and his death strooke such an impression into his wise, that she not onely slew her selfe, but perswaded the wives of her husbands brethen to doe the like. Also those brethen of Nicocles, unto whom Ptolomie had intended noill, being amazed with the suddennesse of this calamitie, did shut up the Palace, and setting it on fire consumed it, with all that was in it, and themselves together.

What soever the crime objected was; Nicoles perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his answer. Of this sad accident, though Menelaus deserved the blame, for his rigorous proceeding: yet is it to be thought, that much dislike fellals up on Ptolomie: as men that are grieved, cast an ill affection even upon those that gave the farthest removed occasion.

Not long after this, Demetrius came into Cyprus, with a power sufficient, against any opposition that Ptolomie was like to make. The Cypriots did little or nothing against him: either because they had final strength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being sure that they should not themselves have the rule of their owne Countrie. Menelaus therefore, out of his Garrisons, drew forth an Armie, and sought with Demetrius. But he was beaten, and driven to save himself within the walls of Salamis, where he was so hardly besieged, that without strong succour, he had no likelihood to make good the place, much lesse to retain possession of the whole Iland. His greatest helpe at the present was the fidelitie of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could win from him, nor good usage (when any of them were taken prisoner, and involled in the enemies bands) keepe from returning to him, with the first opportunitie. Most of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in Egypt, which was enough to keepe them saithfull. Yet could not this their resolution have stood long against the ods of number, which Demetrius had of men as resolute, and against his terrible Engines of batterie, if Ptolomie had not hasted to the rescue.

Ptolonie brought with him a hundred and fortie Gallies, befides two hundred flips of burden, for transporting his Armie and Carriages. This Fleet made a terrible flew, 50 when it was described afarre; though more than halfe of it was unfit for service in fight at Sea. Wherefore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadful, Ptolonie sent unto Demetrius a threatning message: willing him to be gone, unlesse he would be overwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this young gallant repaired him with words of as much braverie, promising to let him escape, upon condition, that he should withdraw his Garrisons out of Sycion and Corinth.

Demetrius had no more than one hundred and eighteene Gallies; but they were, for the most part, greater than those of Ptolomie; better stored with weapons fit for that service.

vice; and very well furnished with Engines in the prows, to beat upon the enemie. Nevertheless he stood ingreat doubt of threescore gallies that lay in the Haven of Salamis, less Menelam with them should fet upon his back: in which case, it was very likely that all would goe very ill with him. Against this mischise, he bestowed ten of his own Gallies in the mouth of that Haven, to keepe Menelam from issuing forth, and setting his horsemen on the shore, to give what affistance they could, he with the rest of his Fleet, puts to Sea against Ptolomie.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtfull successe. The Generals were not ranged opposite one to the other; but held each of them the left owing of his owne fleet. Each of them prevailed against the squadron wherewith he encountred; but the successe of Demetrius was to better purpose. For his victorie in one part was such, as caused others to fall out of order, and finally drave all to betake themselves unto speedie slight. As for Ptolomie, he was faine to leave his advantage upon the memic in one part of the fight, that he might relieve and animate those of his own which needed him in another: wherein he found his losse over-great to be repaired, by contending any longer against the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured onely to save himselfe, in hope of better event, that might follow some other time.

There fell out in this battell no unufuall accident; yet was the victorie greater than could have been expected. The occasions whereof were, partly the great skill in Sea-services, which the Greekes and Phenicians, that were with Demetrius, had, above those which followed Ptolomie: partly the good furniture of the Ships, wherein confisted no less, than in the qualitie of those with whom they were manned. Further, we may reafonably judge, that the two hundred ships of burthen, carrying the strength of Ptolomies. Armie, did not more encourage his own men, and terrefie his enemies the day before the fight, than breed in each part the contrarie affections, when in the beginning of the fight they fell off, and stood aloofe. For though it were fitting that they should so doe; yet a multitude, preposses abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation that Menelaus, issuing with his steet out of Salamio, should charge the enemies in sterne, was utterly frustrate. He was kept-in perforce, by the ten ships appointed to bar up the mouth of the Haven: which they manfully performed, as great necessitie required.

Such disappointment of expectation dothmuch abate the courage of men in Fight; the the affailants: whereas on the contrarie, they that finde some part of their fares vaine, doe easily gather hopefull spirits, and conceive an opinion of their own abilitie, to doe more than they thought upon, out of their not suffering the harm that they ladimagined.

Whatfoever the causes of this victorie were, the fruit was very great. For Ptolomie had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flightfall the rest of his sleet was either taken or sunk. Neither did Menelaus any longer strive against the violence of fortone, but yeelded up all that he held in Cyprus, together with his Armie, consisting of twelve thousand foot, and a thousand and two hundred horse, and those Gallies in the slaven of Salamis. The same dejection of spirit was found in the common Souldier, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had served the Egyptian by Land; none of them reposing any more considence in Ptolomie, but willingly becomming followers of a new Lord, whose Armie they now increased.

It was generally believed, that much more depended on the event of this fight, than the Isle of Cyprin; for which they contended. Wherefore the common expectation was gear; especially Antigonus, whom it most concerned, was deeply perplexed with eares, thinking every day a year, till he were advertised of the issue. In this mood Aristodemus found him, a noble flatterer, whom Demetrius had honoured with the Message of these good newes. Aristodemus had bethought himselfe of a tricke, whereby to double the welcome of his joyfull errand: He caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore: he himselse landed in a Cock-boat, which he sent immediately back to the ship; and foals alone he went forward, looking very sally that no part of his tidings might appeare in his countenance. Report of his arrivall (for it was not known where he had bin) came presently to Antigonus, who sent Messagerafter Messager to meet him on the way, and bring speedie word how all went. But neither any answer, nor so much of a looke, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could be won from this

demure

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demure Gentleman. Thus marched he faire and softly forward with a great throng at his heeles (that served well to set out his Pageant) untill be came in fight of Antigonus; who could not containe himselfe, but went downe to meet him at the Gate, and heare the newes. Then did Aristodemus, upon the sudden, with a high voyce salute Antigonus by the name of King; uttering the greatnesse of the victorie (with as much pomp, as before he had covered it with silence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loud acclamations, gave that name of King, both to Antigonus and his son Demetrius. Antigonus, in requitall of the long suspence, wherein Aristodemus had held him, sayd, That it should also be long ere he received his reward. But the Title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did set on his head, he could not wish a fairer occasion to assume where-to fore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his son.

When it was once noyled abroad, that Antigonus and Demetrius called themselves When it was not long ere their fellowes were readie to follow the good example. Ptolomie his friends would by no meanes endure, that their Lord should be thought a mandenie his friends would by no meanes endure, that their Lord should be thought a mandenie his friends would by no meanes endure, that their Lord should be thought a mandenie his friends would by no meanes endure, that their Lord should be thought a mandenie had boldnesse enough to put the Diademe about his own head. Seleucus had, before this time, among the barbarous people, taken upon him as King: but now he used the stile indisferently, as well among the Greeks and Macedonians, as in dealing with others. Only Cassader held himselfe contented with his own name: whereby howsoever he might shadow his pride, he no way lessened with sown name: whereby howsoever he might shadow his pride, he no way lessened the fame of his crueltie against his Mastershouse, as the name which he forbore, his sons after him were bold to usurpe, though withill successe, as will appeare, when they shall enter upon the Stage, whereon these old Tragedians, under new habits, as no longer now the same persons, begin to play their parts, with bigger lookes, and more boisterous actions, not with greater grace and judgement, than in the Scenes alreadie past.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Warres betweene the Kings of Egypt, Asia, Macedon, 30
Thrace, and others: until all Alexanders Princes
were consumed.

§. I.

The Expedition of Antigonus against Egypt, with ill successe.



Ll the rest of these Kings had taken that name upon them, in imitation of Antigonus himselse, as beseeming his greatness: which was such as gave him hope to swallow them up, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his own strength, he resolved to single out Ptolomie, and make him an example to others: who should hardly beable to stand, when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose he prepared an armie of eighteen thousand foot, & eight thousand horse,

with fourfcore and three Elephants: as likewise a sleet of a hundred and fiftie Gallies, and a hundred ships of burthen. The Land forces he commanded in person: of the Navie Demetrius was Admirall.

When all was readie for the journey, the Sea-men advised him to stay yet eight dayes of longer, and expect the setting of the Pleiades. But his hastie desire to prevent all preparations for resistance that Ptolomie should make, rejected this counsell; imputing it rather to their seare than skill: wherefore he departed from Antigonia (a Town which he had built in Syria, and called after his ownename, that was soon changed into Seleucia, by his mortall enemie) and came to Gaza, where he met with his Fleet. The neares that he drew to Egypt, the more haste he made: thinking by celeritie to prevaile more than by his great power. He caused his Souldiers to carrie tenne dayes provision of Victuals; and had many Camels loaden with all necessaries for passing the Desarts,

over which he marched with no fmall toile, though he met with no refiftance. At Mount Cassing, which is neare adjoyning to Nilus, he saw his Fleet riding at Anchor, not farre from the shore, in ill case, and many Shippes wanting. It had been forely beaten with foule weather, wherein some were lost, others driven backe to Gaza, or scattered elsewhere into fuch creekes as they could recover: Demetrius himselfe, with the best and frongest vessels, did so long beat it up against the wind, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremity, he and all his must have perished, had not the tempest ceased when it did, and Antigonus appeared in fight, from whom these over-wearied, thirsty and Seaheaten Souldiers received reliefe. After these painfull travels, there followed a Warre no leffe painfull than to little purpose; for Prolomie had so fortified all the paffages upon the River of Nelus, as hee affured himfelfe either to end the warre there, or if his guards should happen to be forc't, yet could it not be done but so much to the weakning of the Affailants, as he should afterward, with a second Army (which he held entire) entertain the Invader upon advantage enough. All that Antigonus fought, was to come to blowes feedily : Ptolomie on the contrary, to beat Antigonus by the belly. It is true that Nilus gave him water enough, but wood he had none to warme it, and while Antigonus affaulted the Rampiers raised upon the River in vaine, Ptolomicassaid the faith of his souldiers with good fuccesse; for with great gifts, and greater promises, he ferried them over so fall; as had not Antigonus thrust some affured Regiments, upon the passages next the to enemy, and in the mean while taken a resolution to returne, Psolomie had turned him out of Egypt ill attended.

Some of them indeed he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those he put to death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the same ill successe that Perdical had formerly done, when he invaded Egypt: had he not readily removed his Army surther off, from the noyse of their entertainment, that had already been won from him. To prevent therfore as well the present danger of his stay, as the shame following a force retail, he secretly practised the advice of his Councell, upon whom the burther must be

laid of his entrance, and leaving Egypt.

Itis indeed leffe prejudiciall in fuch like cases, that errours, dishonours, and losses be be laid on Counsellors and Captains, than on Kings; on the Directed, than on the Director for the honour and reputation of a Prince is farre more precious than that of a Vasfall. Charles the fift, as many other Princes have done, layd the losse and dishonour he received in the invasion of France, by the way of Provence, to Antonie de Leva, whether justly one, I know not, but how soever, all the Historians of that time agree, that the sorrow thereof cost that brave Captaine his life. Certainly to give any violent advice in doubt-till enterprises is rather a testimony of love, than of wisdome, in the giver; for the ill successes alwaies cast upon the Councell, the good never wants a Father, though a salse one, to acknowledge it. Yet I have sometime known it, that great Commanders, who are for the present in place of Kings, have not onely been disswaded, but held, in a kind, by strong hand, from hazzarding their own persons, and yet have those kind of Mutiners never been called to a Marshals Court.

§. II.

How the Citie of Rhodes was befieged by Demetrius.

His departure of Antigonus, left behind it many dead carcasses, and a great deale of joy in Egypt. Ptolomy held a solemne Feast, and sent Messengers abroad, loaden with glad newes, to Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander, his Consederates: strongly encouraging all that side, with the report of this his late selicity, though it appeared but in a defensive Warre. Antigonus on the contrary, stattered himselfe with another interpretation, calling the joyes of his enemies for witnesses of his owne great-nesses, seeing they arose but from so little things: his enemies being but bare savers by the last bargaine, and himselfe, as he supposed, having lost but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retrait. Howsever it were, yet he meant to follow his affaires henceforth in another sashion; for that which he could not cleave a-sunder by great blowes, he purposed by little and little to pare off, by cutting off the branches first, to fell the

and board a bad

the Tree it selfe with the more facility. To effect which, he resolved (leaving the great ones to grow awhile) to roote up the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, whom the fore-named Confederates should be fore't either to relieve, or to sole; and hereby he doubted not to draw them into the field, where the advantage of power, and of all other warlike provision promised him victory.

At this time the Citie of *Rhodes* was very mighty, being well governed, and having long held it selfe in good Neutrality; it drew the better part of all the trade of those parts, and therein a great deale of riches to it selfe; to maintain which, and to increase it, it furnished and kept on the Seasa Fleet of well armed Shipps, by which it not onely beate off all Pyrates and petty Theeves, but the reputation of their strength was to thereby so much encreased, as all the neighbour Princes sought their alliance and con-

federacy.

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In this fo dangerous a time (in which they must either refuse all that sought them, and fo ftand friendlesse and apart; or joyne themselves to some one, and thereby forgoe the peace, by which their greatnesse had growne) their affections carryed them to the Egyp. tian: both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that Anties. nus his dispessition, greatnesse, and neighbourhood was fearfull unto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages more apparent, gave argument of quarrell to Anieg. nus, who began to declare himself against them by petty injuries, of taking some of their thips, with fuch other grievances, while he made a more weighty preparation, to purfue 10 the War against them openly and strongly. All things soon after ordered according to the greatnesse of the enterprise, he employed his Sonne Demetrius against them in their owne Iland, who brought fuch terrour upon the Citizens, that laying afide all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their assistance and service against whomsoever. Demetrius, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perfwaded by feare, and not by love; raifed his demands to an intolerable height, requiring a hundred Hostages to be delivered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many ships of War as himselfe pleased. These conditions more properly to bee imposed upon a State already conquered, than on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained affiftance, restored unto the Rhodians their lost courage, and made them resolvetode- 20 fend their liberty to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able bond-men, and wifely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themselves sellowflaves with them.

Demetrius having refused the faire conditions offered (as the Rhodians the fearfull ones pro pounded unto them) makes preparation for a long siege, and finding no appearance to carry the place in surie, he set in hand with his Engines of battery; in the invention and use of which, he did never shew himselfe a greater Artisan, than in this War. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had sustained all the affaults given them for a wholeyear, after many brave fallies out of the Town, and the samine which they endured within the Towne, which had proved farre more extreme, if Ptolomy had not with many hazzards a relieved them, Demetrius by mediation of the Grecian Embassadors, gave over the siege; a hundred hostages they gave him for performance of the peace made, but with excepti-

on of all the Magistrates and Officers of the Citie.

Hereunco Demetrius was brought by the usuall policie of War, and state: for while with the flower of all his fathers forces he lay before Rhodes, Cassander recovered many of those places in Greece, which Demetrius had formerly taken from him; neither did Cassander make the War as in former times, by practice and surprise, but by a strong and well compounded army, which he himselfe led as far as into Attica, and therewith greatly distressed and endangered Athens it self. On the other side (though with lesse since Athenians and Peloponnesus. These dangerous undertakings upon Greece, advised the Athenians and Etolians to dispatch their Embassadors towards Demetrius, and advised Demetrius rather to abandon the enterprise of Rhodes, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten by setting all Greece at liberty.

Denetrius was no sooner out of the Hand, than that the Rhodi ans erected statues in honour of Lysimachus and Cassander; but for Prolomy, whom they most affected, and from whom they received their most relief, they consulted with the Oracle of Jupiter, whether it were not lawfull to call him agod. The Priests which attended in the Temple of Hammon, gave the same sair answer for Prolomy, which they had formerly done for Alexander

his Master; for as Alexander consulted the Oracle with an Army at his heeles, so was piolony at this time Lord of the soile: and yet was this a far more cleanly creation than that done by the Athenians, who Deisied Antigonus and Demetrius by decree of the people. Amadage it was, when so many of Alexanders Captaines could not content themselves with the stile of Kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

§. III.

10 How Demetrius prevailed in Greece. Cassander desires peace of Antigonus, and cannot ob-

Emetrius comming with a strong Fleete and Army into Greece, quickly drave Cassander out of Attica; and pursuing his fortune, chased him beyond the straits of Thermopyla. Herein his reputation did much availe him; which was fo great, that fixe thousand of his enemies Souldiers revolted unto him. So, partly by the greatneffeo his name, partly by force, he recovered in short space all that Cassander held inthose fraits, and giving liberty unto the people, he bestowed upon the Athenians those peeces, which had been fortified against them, to blocke them up. Then went he into Peloponnesus, where he found the like, or more casie successe: for he suddenly tooke Argos, Corinth, Sicyon, and the most of the Country, bestowing liberty upon such as neededit. The Town of Sicyon he translated by consent of the Citizens, from the old sear into another place, and called it after his owne name, Demetrius. This done, he betooke himselse to his pleasure. At the 1sthman games, he caused himselse to be proclaimed Captaine Generall of Greece, as Philip and Alexander had been in former times: whereupon (as if he were now become asgreat as Alexander) he despised all others, making ita matter of jest, that any, save himselse or his father, should usurpe the name of King. But in his behaviour he was fo farre unlike to a King, that in all the time of his leafure, hedeferved none other name than of a drunken Palliard. Yet were the Athenians as readyas ever to devise new honours for him: among which they made one Decree, That whatfoever King Demetrius should command, ought to be held facred with the gods? and just with men.

All Greece being now at the disposition of Antigonus, Cassander stood in great seare, letthe war should fall heavily upon him in Macedon: which to avoyd, he knew no better way than to make peace with his enemies betimes. And to that purpose he sent Embushadors; but had no better answer from Antigonus, than that he should submit his whole state to his discretion. This proud demand made him looke about him, and labour hard in solliciting his friends, both to affist him, and take heed to themselves, neither sound he them slow in apprehending the common danger: for Lysimachus knew that stone Cassander had lost Macedon, Demetrius would soon be Master of Thrace. Neither were Ptolomy and Seleucus ignorant of that which was like to befall them, if Antigonus were suffered to put himselse in quiet possession of those Provinces in Europe. Wherefore it was agreed, that with joynt forces they should all together set upon the common

enemy.

Hereof Antigonus had notice: but scorned all their preparations, saying, That he would ascassify scatter them, as a stock of birds are driven away with astone. With these conceins he pleased himselfe, and no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemies. He lay at that time in his Towne of Antigonia (a name that it must shortly lose) where he was carefully providing to set out some stately game and Pageants, in oftentation of his glory. But thinker was brought unto him the tumultuous newes of Lysimachus his victories about Hulespont. For Cassander had committed unto Lysimachus part of his forces, where with to passe over into Asia, while he himself with the rest should oppose Demetrius on Europe side. So Lysimachus passing the Hellespont, began to make hor War upon the subjects of Anigonus; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to joyne with him by saire means: winning others by force, and wasting the Country round about.

To represse this unexpected boldnesse, Antigonus made hasty journies, and came some enough to recover his losses, but not strong enough to drive Lysimachus home, or compell him to come to battell. Lysimachus waited for the comming of Seleucus; kec-

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ping himselfe the whilest from necessity of fighting. But Babylon was far off; and Seleum his preparations were too great to bee soon in a readinesse. The Winter also did hinder his journy: which inforced them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrell in open field, held all those Nations in a great suspense, & bred much expectation. Yet might all have come to nothing, had not Antigonus bin so forward, that he resulted to yeeld upon any peaceable conditions. At length Seleucus drew neare with a mighty Army of his owne (for he had gathered strength in that long time of leasure, which Antigonus had given him) and with great aid from Prolomie, that was joyned with his forces.

To helpe in this needfull case, Demetrius was called over into Asa by his Fathers let. 10 ters: which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of Greece, he made peace with Cassander, upon reasonable termes: to the end he might not be driven to leave any part of his Army for desence of the Country; and that his journy might be without any such blemish of reputation, as if shee had abandoned his Dependants: for one Article of the peace was, That all the Cities of Greece should be at liberty. Cassander was glad to be so rid of an Enemy that was too strong for him. Yet would this league have done him little good, if things had fallen our contrariwise than they did in Asis; seeing the ratification thereof was referred unto Antigonus. It sufficed, that for the present, every one found meanes to cleare himselfe of all incumbrances else-where, to the end that each of them might freely apply himselfe to the tryall of the maine controversie in Asia.

6. IIII.

How Antigonas was flaine in a great battell at Ipfut, neare unto Ephefus; wherein humbole eftate was loft.

Eleucus, with his Sonne Antiochus, joyning with Lysimachus, compounded a great Army, which was (all confidered) not inferiour to that of the Enemy. In greatnesse of name (that helpeth much in all Warres, but especially inthe Civill) they were rather unanswerable than unequall to their adversaries: for Antigonus had of long time kept them under with a mastering spirit, and had been reputed a King indeed, when the rest were held but Usurpers of the Title. Likewise Demetrius was generally acknowledged a brave Commander, having given proofe of his worthin many great services of all kinds, and enriched the art of war with many inventions, which even his enemies, and particularly Lysimachus, did much admire. Seleucus, who had some times flattered Ansigonus, and fearfully stolne away from him to fave his life, with young Antischus, a Prince not heard of before this journy; and Lysimachus, that had lived long in a corner, hardly keeping his owne from the wilde Thracians; wanted much in reputation, of that which was yeelded to their opposites: yet so, that as ancient Captains un- 4 der Philip and Alexander, two of them were held worthy enough to receive any benefit that fortune might give, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now cameto make experience.

The Souldiers, on both fides, were for the most part hardy and well exercised: many of them having served under Alexander; though of those old Companies, the long space of two and twenty years had consumed the greatest number. But concerning their affections, the followers of Seleuus were easily persuaded, that in this battell they must either get the upper hand, or put in extreme danger all that belonged unto the Confederate Princes; whereas Antigonus his men could discerne no other necessity of fighting, than the obstinate quality of their Lord, that needes would be Master of all. Antigonus had about threescore and ten thousand foot, 'ten thousand horse, and threescore and fifteene Elephants. His enemies were fixe thousand short of him in number of their foot; in horse they had the oddes of five hundred; of Elephants they had soure hundred, and an hundred and twenty armed Chariots of War: which helpes, though they little had availed the Persuns, yet were they not to be despised, in the hands of a good Captaine.

Antigonus himselfe, either troubled with the unexpected greatnesse of his enemies forces, or presaging little good like to ensue, grew very pensive, communing much in private

private with his fonne whom hee commended to the Army as his Succeffor: whereas in former times he had never been fo jocund; as towards the houre of battaile; nor had been accustomed to make his son, or any other, private to his counsaile; before it required execution. Other tokens of bad lucke, either foregoing the fight; or afterwards devised, I hold it needlesses to recount. Diana of Ephesus dwelt neere to the place of battell, a busine goddesse in many great fights; and therefore likely to have beene thrust into the sable, if any matter, nearly resembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is easie to believe, that these two so gallant Armies, containing well neere all the ftrength of Alexanders whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by fuch worthe Commanders, and whom the iffue thereof did highly concerne. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an easie losse in regard of the much variety, wherewith every storyaboundeth in this kinde. The most memorable things in the battaile, were these: Demetrius with his best force of horse, charged valiantly upon young Antiochus; whom when he had broken, and put to flight, hee was so transported with the heat of his good fuccesse, that he never gave over his purfuit, but left his Father naked, and loft thereby both him, and the victory. For when Seleucus perceived this advantage, hee enterposed his Elephants, betweene Demetrius and the Phalanx of Antigonus; and with many troupes of horse offering to breake upon the enemies battaile, wheresoever it lay most open, he did so terrefie the Antigonians, that a great part of them rather chose to revolt from their Lord, whilst they were fairely invited, than to sustaine the surv of so dangerous an impression. This cowardize, or rather treason of some, discouraged others; and finally, cast them all into slight; exposing their Generall to the last end of his destinies. Antigonus was then fourescore yeares old, very fat and unwieldy, so that heewas unapt for flight, if his high spirit could have entertained any thought thereof. Hehad about him some of his most trusty followers, & as many others as he could hold together. When one that perceived a great troupemaking towards his person, told him, Sir King, yonder company meanes to charge you; He answered, well may they; for who defends me ? but anon Demetrius will relieve w. Thus expecting to the very last, that his for should come to the rescue, he received so many Darts into his body, as tooke away hislately ambitious, but then fearfull hopes, together with his troublesome life.

His great ability in matter of Armes, together with his unfatiable defire of Empire, have sufficiently appeared in the whole Volume, of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loved by his friends; as one that could not moderate his fortune, but used infolence towards all alike, as if it had bim some vertue neerest representing a Kingly Majesty. This was the cause that so many of his followers revolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Army sorsooke him in his last necessity. For those kings and Princes that call all the carefull indeavours of their Vassalls, onely duty and debt; and are more apt to punish the least offences, than to reward the greatest services: still sindethemselves upon the first change of fortune, (seeing it is love onely that staies by adversity) not only the most friendlesse, but even the most contemptible, and despisad of all other. This Antigonus sound true in part, while he lived; in part he less tit to be verified upon his son.

6. V.

How Demetrius, for saken by the Athenians after his overthrow, was reconciled to Seleucus and Ptolomy, beginning a new fortune, and shortly entring into quarrels.

Or Demetrius, at his returne from the idle pursuit of young Aniochm, finding all quite lost, was glad to save himselfe, with source thousand horse ad five thousand foor, by a speedy retrait unto Ephesm, whence hee made great haste unto Athens, as to the place; that for his sake would suffer any extremity. But whilest hee was in the middest of his course thicker, the Athenian Embassadurs met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings should bee admitted into their Citie. These were Embassadurs, not Theori, or Consulters with the Oracle. It was a shamelesse ingratitude in the Athenians, to reward their Benefactor, in his misery, with such a decree: neither did any part of his calamity more afflict the unfortunate Hhhh

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Prince than to fee his adverfity despifed by those whom hee had thought his furest friends. Yet was he faine to give good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Haven of which he now stood in great need; & therefore was faine to speak them faire that fomtims had grofly flattered him. But he shall live to teach them their old language, & fpeake unto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships, he sailed to the 18th. where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrisons were every where broken up; the Souldiers having betaken themselves to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a small Army and Fleet, without money or meanes wherewith to suffaine him & his followers any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in dividing among the Conquerers, and those few places which to as yet held for him (having not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieve: for to put himselfe into the field on that side of the Sea hee had no power; and to inclose himselfe in any of them, how strong soever, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeede to bury himselfe and his estare. He therefore creeping thorow those bushes that had fewest briers, fell upon a conner of Lysimachushis Kingdome, whereof he gave all the spoile that was gotten, to his Souldiers, his owne losses having beene too great to be repaied againe by small prizes.

In the meane while the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to busie themselves. in the partition of those Provinces, of which their late victory had made them Lords: wherein Seleucus had a notable advantage by being present, and Master of the field; 20 for neither Prolomy nor Caffander were at the overthrow given, having onely sentcertaine troupes to re-inforce the Army which Selencus led, who tooke hold of a pare of Affa the leffe, and all Syria, being no otherwife divided from his owne Territory. than by the River of Euphrates. For there had not any order beene taken by the Confederates, for the division of all those Lands : because they did not expect so profierous an iffue of that warre, which they made onely in their owne common defence. It was therefore lawfull for Seleucus, to make the best benefit that hee could of the victory, at which neverthelesse others did repine, and though they neither could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for the present, yet seeing the over-greatnesse of Seleucus brought no leffe danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of Antigonus had done, 30 they confulted upon the fame reason of State as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was Seleucini ignorant of what they had determined for he read it in the Lawupiverfall of Kingdomes and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendships on all sides, and cure themselves of all unprofitable passion, the hatred of each to other, and their loves being laid on the one fide, against their profits on the other were found fo far too light, as Seleucus, who had to day flaine Antigonus the father, and driven Demetrius the sonne out of Asia, sought to morrow how to match himselfe with Stratonica, Demetrius his Daughter, and fo by Demetrius to ferve his turne against Lylimachus.

The story of this Stratonica, with whom young Antiochus, the forme of Seleuciu A fell so passionately in love, and so distempered, as Seleucus his father, to fave his sonnes life, gave her (though shee were his wife) unto him; and how his passion was discovered by his pulse, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this alliance between Seleucus and Demetrius; betweene Ptolomy and Lysimachus; betweene Demetrius and Caffander; betweene Demetrius and Ptolomy; though for the present it brought him againe into the ranke of Kings; otherwifetye any of them to each other, than the marriages between Christian Kings have done in latter times, namely between the Au-Brians, the Aragonians, the French, & other Princes ineither have the Leagues of those elder times beene found more faithfull, than those of the same latter times have beene; asin the stories of Charles the eighth of France, & of Charles the Emperour, of Frances 5 the first, and of the Kings of Naples, Dukes of Millan, and others, the Reader may of ferve: betweene whom from the yeer of our Lord, One thou fand foure hundred ninety and five, when Charles the eighth underrooke the Conquelt of Naples, to the yeer One thousand five hundred fifty and eight, when Henry the second died; the Histories of those times tell us, that all the bonds, either by the Bedde or by the Booke, either by Weddings, or Sacramentall Oaths, had neither faithfull purpose nor performance Yet did Demetrius reap this profit by giving his daughter to his enemy Seleucm, that he recovered Cilicia from Plistarchin, the brother of Caffander, who had gotten it as

his share in the division of Antigonus his possessions: for the Intruder was not strong enough to hold it by his proper forces from him, that entred upon it as a lawfull Heire, neither would Seleucus lend him any helpe, as by the rule of Consederacy hee should have done against the common enemy. So Plistarchus with very angry complaint, as well against Seleucus as Demetrius, went unto Cassander; whither Philastheir sister, followed him shortly, to pacifie them both, & keep all quiet; being fent for that purpose by some profee glad to make use of that bond of aliance betwith them, whereof in his owne profeering, he never tooke notice to the others good. About the same time hee tooke to Wise a daughter of Ptolomy (plurality of Wives being samiliar with these Macedonians, that had learned it in their Eastern conquests) & so was he by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, than strengthened with two friends; for neither of them wished him any good, otherwise than might seeme to advance their owne ambitious desires.

Seleucus and Ptolomy could both of them have been contented better, that Demetriat, with helpe of their countenance, should feeke his fortune somewhat farther off, than fertle his estate under their noses. Particularly, Seleucus thought that Cilicia lay very fitly for himfelfe : and Ptolomy had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Ile of Crorus. Now whether it were fo, that Seleucus would faine have fet his new father-in-law upon the necke of Lysimachus; or whether hee were indeede greedy of the bargaine; he offered to buy of Demetrius for ready money, his late purchase of Cilicia. Hereunto Demetrius would not haerken, but meant to keep as much land as he could having already found in Cilicia twelve thousand talents of his fathers treasure, that would ferve him to make fport a while. This refufall fo displeased Seleucus, that in angry terms hedemanded the Cities of Tyre and Sidon, to be furrendred unto him; which were the only places in Syria, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battaile. In flead of giving them up, Demetrius tooke present order to have them better manned: & pake it stoutly, That were hee overcome a thousand times, yet would he not hire Seleucus to become his Son-in-law. In this quarrell Seleucus was generally reprehended. ame of a malignant disposition, that would breake friendship with his Father-in-law fortwo Townes, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to govene. But the fire confumed it felfe in words, which had it fastened upon armes, like it is that the weaker should have found friends out of envie to the stronger.

% V I.

How Demerius wanthe City of Athens, and prevailed in Greece, but lost in Asia.

Of troubles in Macedon following the death of Cassander.

Nthe meane while, the Athenians not knowing how to use the liberty which Demetrius had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition, under the tyranny of Lachares. Through which alteration their differenced City was so weakened, that it seemed ill able to keepe off the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This advantage hastened him, whom they had one ecalled their God and Saviour, to present himselfe unterm, in the habit of a revenging stry. He brought against them all the force that hee tould well spare from other employments; which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtfull Easterne friends, were unwilling to give impediment to any businesse, that might entangle him Greece. His first enterptise in Athens had ill successes agreet part of his sleet perishing in a tempest. But he soone repaired the losse; and (after some victories in Pelopannesse, where hee wan divers Towns that had fallen from him) the City, both by Land and Sea.

Athers was not able to feed the great multitude within it, any long time: for it flood in abarren foile, and wanted now the command of those Ilands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be flored with victuals; being also destitute of means to keep such a Navie, as might bring in supply, or dare to do any thing at Sea, against that of Demetrial. Yet was there some hope of succour from Ptolomy, who (trusting thereby to win the love of Greece) had loaden a hundred and fifty ships with corne, and sent them to relieve the hundred. But these hundred and fifty were unable to deale with three hundred

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See VII.

CHAP. 6. \$. 7.

good fighting ships, which Demetrius had, rather they feared to become a prey to him. & therefore hafted them away betimes, as having done enough, in adventuring to come fo neere that they might be descried. This brake the heart of the people, among whom the famine was so extreme, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead Mouse, which dropped downe betweene them from the house top. Wherefore they sent Embassadors to yeeld up the Towne, and crave pardon, having so farre offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capitall offence to propose any motion of peace. Yet were they fain to abolish this decree : rather because they knew not what else to do, than because they hoped to be forgiven.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the victory, did not only forbeare to take away the lives of these unthankfull men, which they had submitted unto his mercy; but out of his liberality gave them food, & placed in Office amongst them such as were most acceptable to the people. Nevertheleffe he was growne wifer than to trust them fo far as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Havens, and dispose of them at his pleasure; hee was ready to lay hold upon the word, & leave a fure Garrison within their walls, to keep them honest perforce. After this hee went into Peloponnesw, vanquished the Lacedamonians in two battailes, and was in very faire possibility to take their City: when the dangerous newes of Lysimachus and Ptolomy, that prevailed faster upon him elsewhere, than himselfedid upon his enemies in Greece, called him in all haste. Lysimachus had won many Towns 20 in Alia; Ptolomy had gotten all the Isle of Cyprus, except the City of Salamis, wherein Demetrius had left his Children & Mother, that were straightly besieged. Whilst he was bethinking himselfe which way to turne his face, a notable piece of businesse offeredir felfe, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

Caffander was lately dead in Macedon, and foon after him, Philip his eldeft fon, whose two yongerbrethren, Antipater & Alexander, Sought for the Kingdom. In this quarrell Theffalonica the Daughter of King Philip, whom Caffander had married, feemed better affected to Alexander, than to her elder son: who thereupon grew so enraged, that most barbarously he slew his owne Mother. The odiousnesse of this fact gave a faire lustreto Alexanders cause: drawing the generality of the Macedons to take his part, as in revenge 30 of the Queens death, upon that wicked particide Antipater. But Antipater was fo ftrongly backed by Lysimachus, whose daughter he had married; that Alexander could not hope to make his party good without some forraigne aide. For which cause he called inboth Purhus & Demetrius; who how they dealt with him, it will foon appeare in the following Tragedy, of him and his brother. Their Father Caffander had been one that shifted well for himselfe, at such time as every man sought how to get somewhat, in the ill ordered division of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, & a good Souldier: one of more open dealing than were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely killing those, whom others would more wisely have made away. He deeply hated the memory of Alexander, that had knocked his head against a wall, upon some opinion of contempt. 4 With Olympias he had an hereditary quarrell, derived from his father, whom she could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him, by cruelty that she used against his friends, both alive and dead; as it made him adventure upon shedding the Royall bloud: wherewith, when once he had stained his hands, he did not care how farre he proceeded in that course of murder. His carefulnesse to destroy those women and children, whose lives hindred his purpose, argues him to have beene rather skilfull in matters of Armes, than a valiant man; such cruelty being a true marke of cowardize, which feares a far off the dangers, that may quietly passe away : and seeks to avoide them by base & wicked meanes, as never thinking it felf fafe enough, untill there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of Olympias & Roxane it may be faid, that they had well deserved the bloudy end which over-tooke them; yet ill beseemed it Cassander to doe the office of a Hang-man. But Alexanders children had by no law of men, deserved to die for the tyranny of their Father. Wherefore, though Caffander died in his bed, vet the divine Justice brought fwords upon his wife and children, that well revenged the cruelty of this bloudy man, by destroying his whole house, as he had done his Masters. The state of the s

6. VII.

of Pyrrhus and his doings in Macedon. The death of Cassanders children. Demetrius gets the Kingdome of Macedon; prevailes in warre against the Greeks; Loseth reputation in his warre against Pyrrhus, and in his civill Covernment, and prepares to win Asia. How all conspire against Demetrius. Pyrrhus and Lysimachus invade him, his Army yeelds to Pyrrhus, who shares the Kingdome of Macedon with Lyfimachus.

Drrhm, the Sonne of that unfortunate Prince Aeacides, which perished in warre against Cassander, was hardly preserved, being a suckling Insant, from the sury of his Farhers enemies. When his Fosterers had conveighed him to Glaucias King of Illyria; the deadly hatred of Caff ander would have bought his life with the price of two hundred Talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his heire. Glaucias was so farre from betraying Pyrrhus, that he restored him by force to his Fathers Kingdome, when he was but twelve yeeres of age. Within the compasse of sixe yeers, either the indiscretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subjects, drave him out of his Kingdome, and left him to trie the world anew. Then went he to Demetrius (who married his fifter) became his Page, followed him a while in his warres, was with him in the great battell of Ipfus, whence he fled with him to Ephefus; & was content to be hoftage forhim, in his reconciliation with Ptolomy. In Egypt he to behaved himfelfe, that he got the favour of Berenice, Ptolomies principall wife, fo that he married her Daughter, & was thereupon sent home, with mony & men, into Epirus; more beholding now to Ptolomy, than to Demetrius. When he had fully recovered the Kingdome of Epirus, and was fettled in it, then fell out that busines between the children of Cassander, which drew both himand Demetrius into Macedon.

Antipater, the elder of Cassanders sons, was so farre too weake for Pyrrhus, that he hadno desire to attend the comming of Demetrius, but made an hasty agreement, and dwided the Kingdome with his younger brother Alexander; who likewise felt the aide of Pyrhus fo trouble some, that he was more willing to send him away, than to call in such another helper. For Pyrrhus had the audacity to request, or take as granted, by strong hand, Ambracia, Acarnania, & much more of the Country, as the reward of his pains: leaving the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessity enfored the brethren to composition: but their composition would not satisfie Demetrius, who tooke the matter hainoufly, that he was fent for, and made a foole, to come fo farre with an Army, and finde no worke for it. This was a frivolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that Demetrius had a purpose to doe as Pyrrhus had done, and somuch more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to Alexander a wise course, to remove this over-diligent friend, by murdering him upon some advantage. Thus Deinetrius reported the story, and it might bee true; though the greatest part, and perhaps the wifest, beleeved it not. But the issue was, that Alexander himselfe was feasted and laine by Demetrius; who tooke his part of the Kingdome, as a reward of the murder; exculing the fact fowell, by telling his owne danger, and what a naughty man Cassanderhad beene, that all the Macedonians grew glad enough to acknowledge him their king. It fell out happily, that about the same time Lysimachus was busied in warre with aking of the wilde Thracians: for thereby he was compelled to seek peace of Demerriw, which to obtaine he caused the remainder of Masedon to bee given up; that is, the Antipater, his Son-in-law. At this ill bargaine Antipater grievously homed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet fill he stormed; untill his Father-11-law, to fave the labour of making many excuses, tooke away his troublesome life. Thus in hafte, with a kinde of neglect, and as it were to avoide moleftation, were flaine the children of Caffander: of Caffander that had flain his owne Masters children, in a wise course of policy, with carefull meditation (so much the more wicked as the more long) fludying how to erect his owne house, that fell downe upon his grave, ere the earth on it Was throughly settled.

It might be thought, that such an accesse of Dominion, added much to the greatnesse of Demetrius. But indeed it shewed his infirmity ; and thereby made him neglected by hany, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art ofcivill Government: but thought or hewed by his actions that he thought) the use and fruit of a Kingdome, to be none

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other, than to doe what a King lifted. He gave himselfe over to Women and Wine, laughing openly at those which offered to trouble him with supplications, and the tedious discourse of doing justice. He had more skill in getting a Kingdome, than in ruling it : warre being his recreation, and luxury his nature. By long rest (as fixe years reigne is long to him, that knowes not how to reigne one yeare) he discovered so much of his worst conditions, as made the people both weary of his idlenesse; and the Souldiers of his vanity. He was freed from care of matters in Afia, by hearing that all was lost: though more especially, by hearing that Ptolomy had with great honour, entertained & dismissed his mother and children. This affoorded him the better leisure, of making war in Greece: where hee vanquished the Thebans, and won their City twice in short 10 space, but used his victory with mercy. Against Lysimachus he would faine have done fomewhat (the peace betweene them notwithstanding) at such time as he was taken by the Thracians; but Lysimachus was freely dismissed, and in good case to make resistance ere Demetrius came; fo as this journey purchased nothing but enmity. Another expedition he took in hand against Pyrrhus, with no better, or rather with worse event. Pyrrhus held fomewhat belonging to Macedon, which he had indeed as honeftly gotten, as Demetrius the whole Kingdome; he had also made excursions into Thessay. But there needed not any handsome pretence of quarrell, seeing Demetrius thought himselfe strong enough, to over-run his enemies Countrey, with two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, whom they have knowne raw Novices in 20 that faculty, wherein themselves are noted as extraordinary. Pyrrhus was a Captaine, whom latter ages, & particularly the great Hannibal, placed higher in the ranke of Generals, than either Demetrius, or any of Alexanders followers. At this time, he miffed that part of the Army, which Demetrius led, and fell upon the other halfe: which hee overthrew, not with more commendations of his good conduct, than of his privatevalour, shewed in single combat against Pantauchus, Demetrius his Lievtenant; who being a strong man of body, challenged this young Prince to fight hand to hand, and was utterly beaten. The losse of this battaile did not so much offend the Macedomians, as the gallant behaviour of Pyrrhus delighted them. For in him they feemed to behold

a Captaine. These rumours were not more nourished by the vertue of the Epirot, than by dislike of their owne King; whom they began to diffesteeme, not so much in regard of his unprofitable journey into Epirus (for he had wasted much of the Country, and brought home his Army in good case) as of his insolence, that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparrell seemed, in the eyes of the Macedons, not onely too sumptuous and new-fangled, but very unmanly 3 and ferving chiefly to bee a daily witnesse, how much he contemned them and their good opinions. Of his Souldiers lives he was retchlesse: 40 & suffered unwisely this un-princely sentence to escape out of his mouth; That the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay. He made a mockery of justice; and (as it were, to publish unto all his Subjects, how little hee esteemed it or them) having by a shew of Popularity invited Petitioners, and with a gratious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poore sucres after him in great hope, till comming to a bridge, he threw all their writings into a River; pleafing himselfe, in that he could so easily and fo boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courses hee grew so odious, that Pyrrhus gathered audacity, and invading Macedon, had almost wonne it all with little refistance. Demetrius lay then ficke in his bed: who recovering health, and taking the field, had such great oddes of strength, as made Pyrrhus glad to forfake his winnings and be gone,

the lively figure of Alexander in his best quality. Other Kings did imitate, in a coun- 30

terfeit manner, some of Alexanders graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely ve-

flures: but (faid they) none, fave Pyrrhus, is like him in deed, in performing the office of

At length he began to have some feeling of the generall hate; which to redresse, he did not (for hee could not) alter his owne conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on worke in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appeare; that is, in a great Warre His intent was to invade Afra, with a Royall Army: wherein the fortune of one battaile might give him as much, as the fortime of another had taken from him. To this end, he first made peace with Pyrrhus, that so hee might leave all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mighty Army,

of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horses with a Navie of five hundred faile, wherein were many thips, farre exceeding the greatnesse of any that had hin seen before; yet so swift and usefull withall, that the greatnesse was least part of their

The terrible fame of these preparations, made Seleucus & Ptolomy suspect their owner forces, and labour hard with Lyfimachus & Pyrrhus, to joyne against this ambitious for of Antigonus, that was like to prove more dangerous to them all, than ever was his father. It was easily discerned, that if Demetrius once prevailed in Asia, there could be no fecurity for his friends in Europe, what league foever were of old concluded. Therefore they resolved to begin with him betimes, & each to invade that quarter of Macedon, that launext his owne Kingdome. Lysimachus came first, and against him went Demetrius with a great part of his Army: but whilst he was yet on the way, newes were brought into his Camp, that Pyrrhus had won Berrhæa. The matter was not over great: were it not, that minds prepared with long discontent, are ready to lay hold upon small occasions of diflike. All the campe was in uproare: some wept, others raged, few or none did forbeare to utter feditious words, and many defired leave of Demetrius, to goe to their

owne houses, meaning indeed to have gone to Lysimachus.

When Demetrius perceived the bad affection of his Army, he thought it the wifest way to lead the Macedonians further off from Lyfimachus their own countriman, against Pyrhus that was a stranger: hoping by victory against the Epirot, to recover the love of his followers, in fuch fort that he might afterwards at leifure deale with the other. But berein his wisedome beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as hasty as he, to meet with Pyrhus; not intending to hurt him, but longing to fee that noble Prince, of whom they willy heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his valour; some enquired, others anfwered, of his person, his armour, and other tokens whereby hee might be knowne; as particularly, by a paire of Goats hornes, that he wore on his crest. It was not likely, that these men should hurt him. Divers of them stole away, and ran over into Pyrrhus his campe: where the newes that they brought, were better welcome than their persons. Forthey faid, and it was true, that if the Macedonians might once get fight of Pyrrhus, they would all falute him King. To trie this, Pyrrhus rode forth, and prefented him felfe bareheaded in view of the campe, whither fome were fent before to prepare his wellome. The newes of his arrivall found a generall applause, and every one began to looke out, with defire to fet eye on him. His face was not fo well known as his Helmet therefore he was admonished to put it on: which done, all came about him, and profferedtheir fervice: neither were there any, that spake for Demetrius; only some (& they the most moderate of tongue) bad him be gone betimes, and shift for himselfe. So Demetrius threw afide his maskers habit, and attyring himselfe poorly, did fearfully steale away out of his owne campe, deferving well this calamity: whether it were fo, that hee would not hearken to the good counfaile of his friends or whether his behaviour depriwedhim of fuch friends, as would dare to let him heare the unpleafant found of necessary truth.

Whilest Pyrrhus was making this triumphant entry into the Kingdome of Macedon; Lylimachus came upon him very unseasonably, and would needs have halfe: saying, that he had done as much as Pyrrhus in the warre; and therefore had reason to challenge his priof the gaine. The bargaine was quickly made, and the divifion agreed upon: each of them being rather defirous to take his part quietly, than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them, to worke his fellow quite out of all, upon better opportunity.

6. VIII.

How Demetrius gathering forces, enterprised many things will ill successe, in Greece and Asia. How he was driven upon Seleucus, and compelled to yeeld himselfe. His imprisonment and death.

He Athenians were as unthankfull to Demetrius in this his adverfity, as they had beene in former times. For they prefently for fooke his friendship, and called Pyrrhus out of Macedon to bee their Patron. Demetrius, when hee went against Lysimachus, had lest a great part of his forces in Greece, under his sonne Antigonus. Therefore it is like, that he had soone gotten an Army, though Phila his wife (who is highly commended for a wife and vertuous Lady) did poyfon her felfe, upon desperate griefe for his misfortune. The first, upon whom he attempted to shew his anger, were the Athenians that had well deserved it. He began to lay siege to their Towne: but was pacified by Crates the Philosopher, whom they had made their spokef-man; and taking faire words in stead of satisfaction, passed over into Asia, with eleven thousand Souldiers, meaning to trie his fortune against Lysimachus, for the Provinces of Lydia

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At his first comming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile upon him. For many good Townes, willingly, or by compulfion, yeelded to his obedience. There were also fome Captaines that fell from Lysimachus to him, with their companies and treasures. But it was not longer ere Agathocles the son of Lysimachus, came upon him with an Army fo strong, that it was not for Demetrius his good, to hazzard his last stocke against ir. Wherefore, he resolved to passe through Phrygia & Armenia, into Media, & the Provinces of the higher Asia; trusting to finde a Kingdome somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counfaile was grievously impeached by Agathocles: who pursued him close, and cut off all his provisions, driving him to take which wayes hee could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes Demetrius vanquished this troublesome Enemy : neverthelesse, he could not be shaken off, but continued affi-Ging the poore titulary King, with extreme famine. At length, in passing the river Lyeus. fo many of Demetrius his men were loft, that the rest could no longer make resistance: but were driven to travaile with fuch speed as might well be called a plain flight. Sothat with famine, pettilent diseases following famine, and other accidents of warre, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest, with their Captaine, escaped into Cilia. Seleucus had gotten possession of Cilicia, whilest Demetrius was occupied in Greece; vet was it no part of Demetrius his errand, to lay claime to the Country; but with vehement & humble letters he befought his Son-in-law, to call to mind their alliance, & to pirty him in his great mifery. These letters, at the first wrought well with Seleucus, and he condescended to the request; yet considering further how Demetrius had carried himselse, when he recovered strength after the battell at Ipsus, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an Army.

Many treaties were held between them; of which none tooke effect, through the jealousie of Seleucus. Therefore, meere desperation enforced Demetrius to fight like amad man, and his furies got him fome victories, though of small importance. At lengthsicknesse tooke and held him forty dayes, in which time, a great number of his few men, ran to the enemy. This notwithstanding he still held out, and once had like to have taken Seleucus in his bed, had not his comming beene discovered by fugitives, that gave alarme. Finally, when all his Army had for faken him, and left him with a few of his friends to shift for himself, he was compelled by the last of those adherents (for even some of those

few forsooke him) to yeeld unto Seleucus.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, and fent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his owne humanity, by his followers, was such, as renewed his jealous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting Demetrius to his presence, though otherwise he used him with as much favour, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept under sure guard in a demy-Iland, wherein were goodly Walkes, Orchards, and Parkes for hunting. He had all that he asked royally, & friends allowed to vifit him, at his, and their pleasure. Only his liberty was reserved unto the comming of young Antiochus and Stratonica, out of the high Countries. In this fort he spent three years, living merily all the while (as one that now enjoyed the happinesse, which with so much travaile and bloud-shed, he had sought in vaine) and then dyed, leaving to his sonne Antigonus, the fame which his father had left unto himselfe; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in Corinth; his qualities have appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his House will shew it selfe hereafter, in times and places convenient.

6. I X.

The death of Ptolomy, of Lysimachus, and of Seleucus, that was last of Alexander Captaines: with other occurrences.

Bout the fame time that Demetrius died, died also Ptolomy King of Egypt, a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountifull, & (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. He had, by many Wives and Concubines, many children, out of whom he felected Ptolomy Philadelphus, and caused him to reigne together with himselfe, two or three yeares before he died, that so he might confirme to him in the inheritance of the Kingdome. At this, Ptolomy Ceraunus (for all of that house assigned the name of Ptolomy) was grievously incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to Seleucus, who gave him loving entertainement. There were now only two of Alexanders Captaines left, Selencus & Lysimachus. These two needs would fight for it, who should be the longest liver of that brave Company. The true ground of their quarrell, was their neere equality of strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which Lysimachus had committed upon many of his Nobles, together with his poyfoning Agathoeles his eldeft fon: whose wife and children fled un-

The Macedons after seven Moneths pause , having spent their first heat of admiration, began to harken so well to Lysimathus, their naturall Country-man, that they for sooke Pyrhus, upon none other ground than because hee was an Alien. This they had knowne well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, that hey lightly gave him. Lysimachus had reigned about five yeares alone, when the City fissimachia (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earth-quake, appeard, by events, to have foreshewed the fall of his house. His owne jealousie, and the instigaion of a Mother-in-law, caused him to poyson his Son Agathocles; which drew upohim that War, wherein (after the loffe of all his fifteen children that were taken away

by divers accidents) he perished himselfe.

Solenem was encountred by Lyfimachus on Asia side, where one battell concluded the warre, with Lysimachus his death. It pleased Seleucus more than the victory, that he was the last of all the great Heroes that followed Alexander. For now he seemed to himself sLord and Heire of all the conquered World. So he passed over into Macedon, to take position of Europe, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his days, and within feaven Moneths followed Lysimachus, and other of his fellowes, by a bouldy death, being treacherously slaine by Prolomy Ceraunus, whose friend and Patron khad bin. Seventy & feven year old he was, when he fought with Lysimachus, and Lymaching was seventy and source. With them ended the generation of old Captaines, that had feen the daies as it were of another World under the Persian : yet was there left one equal to any of them in the Art of Warre: even Pyrrhus the Epirot, of whom we spake before; that is now ready to enter into warre with the Romans, a more warlike people the Alexander himselfedid ever encounter. Of which warre, and of which people, it steedfull that wee here make mention, as of a flory more important, than any likely bensue in Greece, or in the great Kingdomes that were held by Alexanders Succesburs, with leffe (and still decreasing) vertue, than was that, by which they were first puchaled.

乯菧嵏**銿**蒅蔛蘃雗雗雗雗 CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome: and fettling of the Easterne Kingdomes.

How the Romanes enlarged their Dominions in Italy, from the death of Tullus Hostilius, unto such time as they were assailed by Pyrrhus.



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Ow Rome was founded by Romulus; settled in good order by Numa Pompilius; and by many, though small, victories, it gathered strength, unto such time as it became the head of Latium, by the conquest of Alba, in the raigne of Tullus Hostilius: it hath beene already noted, in due order of time. But whereas now the Roman greatnesse beginneth to encounter the power of Greece; and extending it selse out of Italy, to overwhelme the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it convenient (as in like cases I have done)

briefly to fet downe the growth of this mighty City, in a compendious relation of those to many actions, which could not have beene delivered in the ages, wherein they were feverally performed, without much interruption of the History, that was then occupied

in matter more important.

After the death of Tullus Hostilius (who when he had reigned two and thirty years, was burnt together with his house by lightning) Ancus Martius, Grand-childe to Numa Pompilim by his daughter, & not much unlike him in disposition, succeeded in the Kingdome of Rome. He walled the City about ; enlarged it with the hill Aventine, whichhe enclosed; built a bridge over Tybris, and the City of Oftia upon the Sea, fixteenemiles distant from Rome. Finally, having reigned foure and twenty years, he died, and byhis last Will hee left his children in charge with one Lucumon, the son of Damaratus, a Co. ! rinthian, who avoiding Cypfelm King of Corinth his tyranny, had fled into Hetruris, and dwelt in Tarquinii, by the name of which Towne he was afterwards called Tarquinus. From that City in Hetruria comming to Rome, & encouraged by some ominous occurrents, together with his wife Tanaquils prophecy, he grew a favorite of Ancus Marius; by his Grecian withumouring the factions of the Romane Court, infomuch that afterhis decease, he became not only Protector to the children, but Governour to the City. He doubled the number of Senatours, and enlarged the Centurions of Horsemen: neither was he leffe eminent in warre, than in peace: for he prevailed often against the Tuscant, and from his victories, the chiefest ornaments of triumph tooke their originall. When this, Lucius Tarquinius had reigned eight and thirty yeers, hee was flaine by the fors of Ancus Martius, to whom he had been left Guardian. But Tanaquil his wife, perceiving what was done, enformed the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husbandwas wounded, and sicke, but not dangerously. And withall signified unto them, that in the interim of his ficknes, one Servius Tullius, whom from his birth she alwaies prophecied to be borne to great hopes (the sonne of P. Cornicularm and Ocrifia, a well descended but captive woman) brought up in her house, and husband unto her daughter, should supply her husbands place, in governing the State, untill his recovery: which government, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards usurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subfidies, and valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourescore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; and by diffinction of Dignitics, Ages, Trades, and Offices, he managed the Kingdome in as good fort, as if it had beene a private household. At length, having two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outragious: and finding also that the two sonnes of Tarquinius Prisem, Sextus and Aruns, which had beene committed unto his tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his daughters; he (willing to adde water, not oyle, to fire) gave the milde daughter to Sextus the hot-headed fon, & the violent, to Aruns the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended courses, or by accident, it hapned; the two milde one

being made away, the furious natures were readily joyned in marriage:who foon concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claime to the Kingdome. Upon this tumult, Servius Tullius hastning to the Senate, (where hee thought by authority to have bridled infolency)was thrown down the staires, & going home fore bruised, was slain by the way, when he had reigned forty & foure yeares. Then Tullia his daughter, first procliming her husband Tarquinius Superbus King; returning home, enforced her Coachmanto drive his Chariot over her fathers corpes; whereupon the street had the denomination of wicked street. This Tarquine, exercising cruelty without justice, & tyranny without mercy, upon the people & Senators; having tired himselfe & them at home, used the famerage of treachery upon his borders. He tooke Ocriculum, Sueffa, Pometia, and the Gabit. The issue of besieging Ardea, a towne eighteene miles distant from Rome, was of had successe. In the heat of which warre, his some Sextus Tarquinius violently ravished that chafte Lady Lucretia, his kisman Collarines wife: who in way of expiation for so unchafte a deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamy with her owne bloud; 6 (having first bequeathed the revenge unto her father Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus, her hisband Collatine, and Junius Brutus) she kill'd her selfe: whereupon (chiefly by Junius Brutus his resolution) Tarquinius Superbus, with his wife & children, was deposed and bailhed; & fled to Forfenna King of Hetruria for succour, in the five & twentieth year of his reigne, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their City: in which space Rome had scarce gotten possession of fifteene miles round about her.

Junius Brutus by the helpe of Collatine, having expelled Tarquine, & freed his Countrey from that heavie yoke of bondage, inforced the people by folemne oath, never to amitany government by Kingsamong it them : whereupon they ranfacked their Kings goods, consecrated their fields to Mars, & conserved the government of the State upon Brus and Collatine. But became the name of King was odious in their cares, they maged the manner of their government, from perpetuall to annuall, and from a fingle governour to a double; lest perpetuall or sole dominion might be some motive to usurpation; & in stead of Kings they called them Consuls, signifying, as it may be interprettd, Providers: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to bee awayes mindefull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard settling of troubled waters, that the people, after this innovation of State, fearce daring to affure themselves officirowne fecurity, enforced Tarquinius Collatine to refigne up his authority, fearing hattylanny would bee hereditary, and supposing that the very name and affinity with thebouse of Tarquine, savoured already of their condition. In his roome was substiund Talerius Pablicola, who that he might (as his name importeth) be gracious in the proples eyes, gave liberty, in matters of controversie, to appeale from the Confuls to the people: and that hee might as well in goods as in person, avoide occasion of suspiriaduled his owne house to be pulled downe, because it was built in a place defencible, affir had beene a Cittadell. Neither was Brutus any wayes deficient in matter of guter moment; which concerned as well the peoples fafety, as their favour: for hawegot intelligence, that some greener wits; and in the first ranke his owne sonnes, were itching after innovations, hoping to restore the banished Kings; see caused them, blkely in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to be brought all unpartially to the

Hitherto the Romans, having by the unblemished integrity of Brutus, well appealed dinbred quarrels at home, now hereafter imploy their military defignements against brainers: first, for their liberty; fecondly, for enlarging of their possessions; & lastly, landefending their confederate Provinces, & extending their Empire. For Rome, lituated siwere in the mid-way betweene Latium and the Tuscans, having as yet but narrow bonds, being in her minority, could not but give occasion of offence to her neighbours; by maine opposition, having prevailed against her borderers, shee used them as innments, whereby to obtaine the rest.

Their first war, in the first years of Confuls, was against Porfenna King of Herruria: ho being over-perswaded by Tarquines lamentation, came to Rome, rogether with ebanished King, and with great forces, to seate him againe in his Kingdome.

In the first conflict, Horatius Cocles, having long time born the maine brunt of his eneo, on the bridge over Tibris; at length, feeling himselfe too faint to stand against so any, caused the bridge behinde him to be broken downe, and with his armour, leaping

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having

into the River, like a hunted Stagge, refreshed his hot spirits, and returned safe to his sellowes, with the like resolution to sustaine a new charge. Porsenna, although by this he had well-nigh wonthe hill Janiculus, which is the very entrance into the City, found the victory, in a maner, assuredly his owne: yet admiring their valour, terressed by the constant resolution of Mutius Scavola (who having by errour slaine Porsenna his Secretary, in stead of the King himselfe, did in scorne of torments threatned, burne off his own hand) he thought it not any whit prejudiciall, either to his safety, or credit, to enter league with them at the worst hand. And yet the edge of Tarquinius his spleen was not quite abated, though Aruns his sonne, & Brutus his enemy, in single combat, had slaine each other. And here the Romans, although they lost Brutus, got the field; and their Ladies, so whose Champion he was, for their chastity, not for beauty, mourned the loss of him one whole yeare. Into his place, for the residue of his yeare, was subrogated Sp. Lucreius Tricipitinus, father to Lucreia: and in his roome (deceasing naturally before the yeare expired) Horatius Pulvillus.

Tarquine, upon his overthrow, feeling the fates difastrous, thought it no boot to strive against the streame, but spent the residue of his time, which was about sourteeneyears, privately at Tusculum. Yet his Son-in-law Mamilius Tusculanus, stomaching a-freshat those old repulses, because Porfenna had made peace with the Romans, and denied further fuccour unto the Tarquines, mustered up his Latines, & gave battell to the Romans. at the Lake Regillum; where the conflict was fierce, & the iffue uncertaine, untill Aulus 20 Posthumus, the Roman Dictator, (for they had created this Magistracy greater than Confuls, purposely for this Warre, when first it was expected) to exasperate his Souldiers courage, threw their owne Enfignes amidst the Enemies; & Cossus or Spurius Cassus, (Master of the Horse-men, an affistant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might run with free violence, to recover againe their Enfignes. This fight was so well performed, that a report went of Castor and Pollux, two gods. who came on milke-white Steeds, to be eye-witnesses of their valour, and fellow-helpers of their victory; for the Generall consecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their paines. After this the Romans fierce spirits, having no object of valour abroad, reflected upon themselves at home; and the fixteenth yeare after the Kings expulsion,upor infligation of some desperate banckrouts, thinking themselves wrongfully oppresfed by the Senate and Confuls, they made an uproare in the holy Mount; untill by Meventus Agrippa, his discreet allusion, of the inconvenience in the head and bellies discord, to that present occasion, they were reconciled to the Senate : with condition, that they might have some new Magistrates created, to whom they might appealein cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in all their controversies, the Confuls authority notwithstanding. This was enacted, and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attonement among themselves, they had continuall Warre with the Latines, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Among these, the Volsei and Aequi held them longest; who made Warre of themfelves upon the Romans: whereby they loft the best City in their whole jurisdiction,

In this conquest, T. Martius got the furname of Coriolanus: a name honorable then, as derived from a great victory; although, by reason of the poverty of the Towne, a RomanGeneral, in after times, would have bin ashamed of that title. But yet these graces had bin no occasion of disparagement, had he not afterwards in a great time of dearth, advifed to fell corne, which they procured from Sicil, at too high a rate, to the people, whereupon, Decius Mus, their Tribune, in their behalfe, accused him, & after judgement baniflied him Coriolanus flying to the rolfei, whom lately before he had vanquished, incenfed them to renue their forces againe; which being committed unto him, and to Assius Tullus, he prevailed in field, fo far forth, that he was come within foure or five miles of the City. Incamping there, he made fo sharp warre, and was at such defiance with his Country, that he would not relent by any supplication of Embassadors, untill his Mother Veturia, & Volumnia his wife, with a pittifull tune of deprecation, shewing themselves better Subjects to their Country, than friends to their Son and Husband were more availed able to Rome, than was any force of Armes. Hercupon Coriolanus difmiffing his Army was after put to death among the Volfei, as a Traitor, for neglecting fuch opportunity or (as others furmise) living with them untill old age, he died naturally.

Not long after this the Veii in Hetruria, provoked the Romans; against whom the Fabii, three hundred and sixe in number, all of one Familie, intreated and obtained, that they only might be employed, as it had bin in a private quarrell. These Fabii, after some good services, lying incamped at Cremera, were circumvented, and all slaine: one only of that whole house had bin lest, by reason of infancie, at home; from whom afterward sprang Fabius Maximus, who vanquished Hannibal.

In processe of time, the Romans were also troubled with the Volsei, at the hill of Algidum, two miles from Rome; where Lucius Minutius their Consul, with his whole armie, had bindiscomfited, had not L. Quintius Cincinatus chosen Dictator, and taken from the ploughto the highest honour in Rome, with successe answerable to his expedition, dispersed his enemies, and freed his Countrie in the space of fixeen dayes. In the continuance of this Volscian war it was that Appius Claudius, one of the ten men, whom they had two years before chosen Governors of the State, and Inactors of Solons lawes amongst them, procured from Athens (abrogating in the mean while the Consuls, and all other Maginesallying then in a Campe at Algidum. Hereupon the people in an uproare tooke the Hill Aventine, and after much variance, enforced the ten men to resign up their authority spaint onew Consuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or defire to revenge old losses, drew the Romans into a new war against the Veientes and their adherents, upon whom, having tried their forces with diversitie of Captaines, and varietie of event, they vanquished the Falisi; and the Fidenates, and utterly subdued the Veientes. In conquering the Falisi, Furing Camillus shewed no less integritie than fortitude. For when a Schoolemaster, by traying forth into the Roman campe, many children of the principall Citizens, thought to betray the Towne, yeelding them all up as Hostages: Camillus delivered this Traitor bound unto his Schollers, willing them to whip him backe into the Citie; which forthwith yeelded mothin in reverence of his justice. The steep of Veil was ten years, and so troublesome, that the Romans were there first enforced to winter abroad under beasts skins (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they received pay) and to make were never to return without victorie.

At length winning the Citie by a Mine, they got fo large spoils, that they consecrated their tenths to Apollo Pythins: and the whole people in generall were called to the ranacking of the Citie. But yet they were no less unthankful to Camillus for his service, than before they had been to Coriolanus; for they banished him the Citie, upon some occafonofinequalitie in dividing the spoiles: yet he requited their unkindnesse with a new precoffervice against the furie of the Gaules; who being a populous Countrie, and very healthfull, the fathers (as sometimes now) lived so long, that the sons, destinate ofmeanes, were enforced to roave abroad, seeking some place where to set up their rest: and withall being a Nation vaste in bodie, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, wandred as Rovers over many Countries. Some of them lighting on Italie, fet upon Chifum a Towne in Hetruria: whereof Rome having information, (and being carefull other Confederate Townes) fent Embassadours, warning them to defist from such inmious enterprises. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, upon some inme offered by the Romane Embassadours, converted their forces from Chilium to-Wilds Rome; and giving a great overthrow unto the Romans, by the River Allia, upon the fixteenth day before the Calends of August (which day was after branded for unluc-& called Allienfis in the Roman Kalendar) they haftned towards the Citie. Then was Romethe true map of miserie and desolation. For some leaving the Citie 3 some cree-Ping into holes; Priests hiding their reliques; and every one shifting for himselfe ere the farmiccame; Romewas abandoned as indefensible. The Vestall Virgins, in this tumult, were fafely conveyed away; the Ancients of the Citie, gathering boldneffe out of desperate sear, did put on their Robes, and taking their leave of the world, did seat themelves in Thrones, in their feverall houses, hourely expecting the messengers of death, and meaning to dye, as they had lived, in State. The younger fort, with M. Manlius their Captime, took upon them to make good the Capitoll.

By this the Gaules were entred the Citie, who seeing all quiet, at first suspected some abush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoyle, committing all so the fire ad sword. As for the old Senatours, they sate in their Majestie with a grave resolutions

having first reverenced them as gods, anonthey tried whether they would die likemen. When the Citie was throughly rifled, they attempted the Capitoll: which held them work for the space of seven moneths. Once they were like to have surprised it by night, but being descried by the gagling of Geese, M. Manlius did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed upon: the Gaules being weary, and the Romans hungry. The bargaine was, that the Gaules should take a thousand pound weight ingold, to desist from their siege. Whilest the gold was inweighing, the Gaules, with open insolencie, made their weights too heavie: Brennus their Captaine, casting his fword into the ballance, and with a proud exprobration, faying, that the vanquished must be patient perforce. But in the middest of this cavilling came Furius Camillus with an Army from Ardea, (where he had lived in his banishment) and fell upon the Gaules, with such violence, that he dispersed their troupes, quenched the fire of the Citie with their bloud, forcing them to restore the spoyles with advantage, and forbeare the gold, in accepting which they had lately been so nice. Further, having rid the City of them, he fo hotly purfued them through a great part of Italie, that the remainder of their Army which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the Gaules, which followed this first, had the like ill successe. They were often beaten by the Romans; especially the victories of M. Torquatus, and of M. Valerius Corvinus (each of which in fingle fight flew a severall Champion of the Gaules) abated their presumption, and restored conrage to the Romans. Camillus, for his notable service, was afterwards accounted a second to Romulus.

The people, after this destruction of their Citie, were earnestly bent to go to the Veii

to inhabite; but Camillus, disswaded them.

About the fametime, somewhat before the fiege of Veiithey changed their government from Consuls to military Tribunes. The government of these also, after some yeares, was by civill diffention interrupted : fo that one while Confuls ruled, another while there was an Anarchie : Then the Tribunes were restored and ruled againe, till after many yeares expired, the Consular authority was established, it being enacted, that one of the Confuls should alwaies be a Plebeian. This was after the building of the City 365 yeares. And now Rome by Suppression of her neighbour Countries, creeping well 30 forward out of her Minority, dares fet forth against the warlike Samnites, who dwele almost one hundred and thirty miles off: fituated betweene Campania and Apulia. These did so strongly invade the Campanians their Neighbours, that they forced them to yeeld themselves subjects to Rome, and undergoe any conditions of Tribute, or whatsoeveresse to obtaine protection: which the Romans, although both Countries had been their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fish, should devoure the lesse, easily allowed of ; aiming themselves at the good situation of Campania, the aboundance of Come and Wine, pleasant Cities and Townes, but especially Capua it selfe, the fairest City then in all Italy.

The families of the Papyrii and Fabii were most imployed in the managing of this 4 War, which endured the space of fifty years. And in this season were the Romans oftentimes dangerously encountred by the Samnites, as when T. Vetwins and Sp. Posthumins were Confuls, and discomfitted by Pontius at Caudium, with no small ignominic: and when 2. Fabius Gurges lost the field with three thousand men. But for those losses, many great victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by L. Papprius,

and by Quintus Fabius Maximus.

The Sammites drew the Hetrurians into their quarrell. But the force of the Sammites was well broken, ere the Hetrurians (the greater and richer, but lesse warlike Nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these two Countries, became at length, tributary to Rome. In the continuance of this long war it was, (though in time of truce between the Romans and Samnites) that the Latines began to challenge equal freedomeinthe Corporation of Rome, and right in bearing office, so that they required to have one of the Confuls yearly chosen out of them.

This demand of the Latines was not unreasonable. For the Romans themselves were a Latine Colonie; besides all which, they made offer to change their name, and to beal called Romans. But the Romans were too proud to admit any such capitulation. Soa great battell was fought between them : wherein the fortune of Rome prevailed, by the

vertue of the Confuls.

Manlim Torquatm and the elder Decius were then Confuls, whom the Soothfayers advertised, that the fide should be victorious which lost the Generall in fight. Hereupon Decius the Confull exposed his life to the Enemie, and purchased victorie (as was beleeved) by his death. In which kinde of devoting himselfe for his Armie, the sonne of this Decius being after Confull, did imitate his father in the Hetrurian warre. But (as Tully well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these Devis, that purchased victorie, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of fuch a religion, as required the lives of so worthie Citizens, to be facrificed for their Countrie. The discipline of Manlius was no leffe resolute, than thevalour of Decius. He forbad any one to forfake his place, and fight fingle with an enemie. For breach of which order he caused his own son to be put to death, who had slain a Captain of the Latines, being challenged in fingle fight.

Whenthe Latines, the Aqui, Volsei, Hernici, Campani, Samnites, and Herrurians, with fome other people,, were brought under obedience; it was a vain labour for any people

of Italie to contend against the Romans.

Yet the Sabines adventured to trie their fortune, and found it bad. For Curius Dentaus, the Roman Confull, wasting all their Countrie with fire and sword, from the River

Nar and Velia, to the Adriatique Sea, brought them into quiet subjection.

The last of the Italians that made triall of the Roman arms, were the Tarentines and their adherents. These had interposed themselves as mediatours betweene the Romans and Sammites; with a peremptorie denunciation of War, unto that partie which should date to refuse peace by them tendred. These threats which discovered their bad affection unto Rome, ended in words; but when the Samnites were utterly subdued, matter e-

nough of quarrell was found to examine their abilitie of performance. The Romanes complained that certain ships of theirs were robbed, and sent Embassadours unto Tarentum, to require amends. Upon some wrong done to these Embassadours, was laid the foundation of that War, wherein the Lucans, Messapians, Brutians, and Apulians, joyning with the Tarentines, procured the Samnites, and other Subjects of Rome to rebell, and take their part. But some experience of the Roman Grength, taught all these people to know their own weaknesse. Whiere fore they agreed to fend for Pyrthus, by whose aide (being a Grecian, as the Tarentines also were) great hope was conceiwed, that the Dominion of Rome should be confined unto more narrow bounds than all Italy, which alreadie in a manner it did over-fpread.

6. II.

How Pyrrhus warred upon the Romans, and vanquished them in two battailes.

Prrhus, for saken by the Macedonians, and unable to deale with Lysimachus, was compelled a while to live in rest: which he abhorred no lesse than a wiser Prince would have defired. He had a strong Armie, and a good Fleet, which in that unsettled estate of things, was enough to purchase a kingdom: but the fall of Demetrius had so increased the power of Lysimachus, that it was no point of wisdome to make an offensive war upon him, without far greater forces: Antigonus, the fon of Demetrius, held Corinth atthesame time, and some other Townes, with the remainder of his Fathers Armie and treasures, left in his hand. Upon him it is like that Pyrrhus might have won; but it was better to let him alone, that he might serve to give some hindrance to Lysimachus.

In this want of imployment, and covetous defire of finding it, the Tarentine Embassadours came very fitly to Pyrrhus: and they came with brave offers, as needing no other oadethan his good conduct, which to obtaine, they would caft themselves under his protection. They had in their companie some of the Samnites, Lucanians, Messapians, and others; which promised in behalf of their severall Nations, as much as could be defired. This encouraged Pyrrhus, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that hee might enlarge his Empire to the West, as farre as Alexander had gotten Eastward; and fill by one victorie openthe gate unto another. To which effect it is fayd, that once he answered Cyneas his chiefe Counsellour, asking what hee meant to doe after evere of the victories which he hoped to get: that having wonne Rome, hee would foone bee Master of all Italie; that, after Italie hee would quickly get the Isle of Sicil; that, out of Sicill, he would passe over into Affrick, and winne Carthage, with all the rest of the Country; and being strengthened with the force of all these Provinces, he would be too hard for any of those that were now so proud and troublesome. But Cyneas enquired yet hard for any of those that were now so proud and troublesome. But Cyneas enquired yet further, what they should doe, when they were Lords of all: Whereunto Pyrrhus (sinding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would live merrily; a thing (as Cyneas then told him) that they presently might doe, without any trouble, if he could be contented with his owne.

Neverthelesse, this Italian expedition seemed unto Pyrrhus a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any scholasticall disputation. Wherefore quence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any scholasticall disputation. Wherefore the prepared his Army, of almost thirty thousand men, well forted, and well trained to soldiers: part of which he sent over before him under Cyneas, with the rest he followed fouldiers: part of which he sent over before him under Cyneas, with the rest he followed fouldiers: part of which he sent over before him under Cyneas, with the rest he followed fouldiers: part of which he fent over before him under Cyneas, with the rest he followed found for the Cyneas of pleasure and resort; enforcing them to take Armes, and making such a strict muster, as was to them very unpleasing, though greatly behoomatic their coars.

ving to their estate.

Whilest he was occupied with these cares, Lavinus the Roman Consul drew near, and beganto waste Lucania, a Province consederate with the Tarentines in this War.

The Lucanians were not ready to defend their own Country; the Samites were carelessed of the harme; that fell not (as yet) upon themselves; the Tarentines were better presented than they would have beene, but their valour was little: all of these had beene accustomed to shrinke for searce of the Roman sortitude: and therefore it sell out happily, that Pyrrbus relyed more upon his owne sortes, than the issue of their vaunting promises. He was now driven either to set forward with those that himselse had brought into stably, and the assistance of the Tarentines, wherein little was to be reposed; or essential to uphold ken the reputation of his own sufficiency, which by all meanes he was carefull to uphold ken the reputation of his own sufficiency, which by all meanes he was carefull to uphold ken the reputation of his own sufficiency, which by all meanes he was carefull to uphold ken the reputation of his own sufficiency, which by all meanes he was carefull to uphold ken the reputation of his own sufficiency, which by all meanes he was carefull to uphold ken the reputation of his own sufficiency, which by all meanes he was carefull to uphold ken the reputation of his own sufficiency, which be also be found to sufficiency of the Romans, a gainst whom he proudly marched.

Lavinus the Consul was not affinited with the terrible name of a great King; but I came on considering to meet him, and give him battel ere all his adherents should be ready to joyne with him. This boldnesse of the Roman, and the slacknesse of the Messages most concerned, caused Pyrrhus to offer a treaty of peace: requiring to have the quarrell between the Romans and his Italian friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to wintime, that the Sammites and their fellowes might arrive at his Camp; or whether, considering better at nearedistance, the weight of the businesse which he had taken in hand, he were desirous to quit it with his honour; the short answer that was returned to his proposition, gave himno means of either the one or the other: for the Romans sent him this word, that they had neither chosen him their Judge, nor feared him their enemy.

Hereupon both Armies hastened their march unto the River of Siris: Levinus intending to fight before the arrivall of the Samnies; Pyrrhus, to hinder him from passing that River, untill his own Army were full. Upon the first view of the Roman Campe, it was readily conceived by Pyrrhus, that he had not now to do with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a brave discipline of War: which caused him to set a strong Corps de garde upon the passage of the river, that he might not be compelled to fight, untill he saw his best advantage. But he quickly found, that this new enemy was not only skilfull in the Art of War, but courageous in execution. For the Roman Army entred the Foord, in sac of his Corps degarde; and their horse, at the same time begant o passe the River, in sundry places: which caused the Greekes to for sake the defence of their bank, and speedily retire their Camp.

This audacity forced *Pyrrhus* to battell; wherewith hee thought it best to present them, ere the whole Army had recovered firme footing, and were in order. So directing his Captaines how to marshall his battels; himselfe with the horse, charged upon the *Romans*: who stoutly received him, as men well exercised in sustaining surious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the duty of a carefull Generall; nor his providence indirecting others, hinder the manifestation his personall valour. It behooved him indeed to do his best; for he never met with better the personal valour. It behooved him indeed to do his best; for he never met with better the personal valour.

opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slaine under him: afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the use of his kings armour, which was torne from his backe. This accident had almost lost him the battell: but he perceiving it, discovered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and took from the *Romans* their vain joy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater losse (at least of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his side, as long as onely speare and sword were used. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose unstall form and terrible aspect, the horses of the *Romans* (unaccustomed to the like) were ceiving their horse put to rout, and driven out of the field; finding also themselves both charged in slanke, and over-borne, by the force and huge bulke of those strange beasts; gave way to necessitie, and saved themselves, as well as they could, by hastie slight: in which constrenation, they were so forgetfull of their discipline, that they tarried not to defend their Campe, but was quite beyond it, leaving both it, and the honour of the day; mirely to *Pyrrhus."

The fame of this victorie was foon spread over Italie; and the reputation was no leffe than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a Roman Conful, with a fled Armie, should lose in plaine battell, not onely the Field, but the Campe it selfe, being so notably fortified as they alwaies were. And this honour was the more bravely wonby Pyrehus, for that he had with him none of his Italian friends, fave the unwarhe Tarentines . Neither could he well diffemble his content that he took, in having the glory of this action peculiarly his own at fuch time as he blamed the Lucans & Sammites, forcomming (as we fay) a day after the Faire. Nevertheleffe he wifely confidered the mength of the Romans, which was fuch, as would better endure many fuch loffes, than brould many fuch victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them, whilest with his honour he might; and to that purpose he sent unto them Cyneas his Embilladour, demanding only to have the Tarestines permitted to live at reft, and himfelf accepted as their especiall friend. This did Cyness, with all his cunning, and with libealleifts labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could be found in Rome, that muldtake any bribe of him; neither did their defire of recovering their captives, or their danger, by the rifing of many States in Italy against them, so incline them to peace, athevehement exhortation of Appins Claudins, an old and blinde Senatour, did ftirre hemupto make good their honour by war. So they returned answer, that while Pyr. the abode in Italie, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report that Cyneas made at his return, of the Roman puffance and verue, as kindled in Fyrrhm a great defire of confederacie with that gallant Citie. Hereponmany kinde Offices passed between them: but still when he urged his motion of pace, the answer was ; He must first depart out of Italy, and then treat of peace.

In the meane feafon, each part made provision for war; the Romans levying a more mightie armie than the former; and Pyrrhus being strengthened with accesse unto his forcofall the East parts of Italie. So they came to trial of a second battell, wherein hough after long and cruell fight) the boilterous violence of the Elephants gave to Pyrwa second victorie. But this was not altogether fo joyfull as the former had bin: rahrit gave him cause to say, that such another victorie would be his utter undoing. For thad loft the flower of his Armie in this battell: and though he drave the Romans motheir Campe, yet he could not force them out of it, nor faw any likelihood of preriling against them, that were like to be relieved with daily supplies, whilest he should driven to spend upon his old stock. Neither could he expect that his Elephants should awaies stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their manner in fight would soon teach Romans, that were apt Schollers in such learning, how to make them unserviceable. Wherefore he defired nothing more, than how to carrie his honour fafe out of Ivalie: which to doe (feeing the Romans would not helpe him, by offering or accepting any are conditions of peace, or of truce) he tooke a fleight occasion, presented by fortune, hat followeth to be related.

6. III.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicill. How Pyrrhus, being invited into Sicill, for fook Italieswan the most of the Hezand lost it in Short space. Pyrrhus returns into Italies, where he is beaten by the Romanes and so goes backe to his own Kingdome.

Hen Ptolomie Ceraumus had traiterously murdered his Benefactor and Patron Seleucus, he presently seized upon all the Dominions of Lysimachwin Europe, as if they had bin the due reward unto him, that had flain the Congueror. The houses of Cassander and Lysimachus were then fallen to the ground : neither was there in Macedon any man of strength and reputation enough to advance himselfagainst Ceraunus. The friends of Lysimachus were rather pleased to have him their King, that had (as he professed) revenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiousnesse of his fact, by which they were freed from subjection, to one, against whom they had flood in opposition. Many there were , that upon remembrance of his fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in Ceraunus: perswading themselves than his reign might provegood, though his entrance had bin wicked. These affections of the Macedonians did serve to defeat Antigonus the son of Demetrius, that made an attempt upon the Kingdome. As for Antigonus the sonne of Seleucus, he was far off, and might be questioned about some part of Asia, ere he should be able to bring an Armie neere unto Europe. Yet he made great shew of meaning to revenge his Fathers death : but being ftronger in money than in armes, he was content, after a while, to take faire words, and make peace with the murtherer. While these three strove about the kingdome, Pyrrhu, who thought his claime as good as any of theirs, made use of their diffention: threaming war, or promifing his affiftance to every one of them. By these meanes he strengthened himselfe, and greatly advantaged his Italian voyage, which he had then in hand requefling money of Antiochus, ships of Antigonus, and souldiers of Prolomie, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a ftrong power of Macedonian Souldiers, andof Elephants (covenanting to have them reftored at two years end) more for feare than for love : that so he might free himselfe from trouble, and quietly enjoy his kingdome.

Thus Ptolomie grew mightie on the fixeden; and the power that by wicked meanshe

had gotten, by meanes as wicked he encreafed.

All Macedon and Thrace being his, the strong Citie of Cassandria was held by Arsinoe his fifter, the widow of Lysimachus, who lay therein with her young children. Her hearcumvented by making love to her, and (according to the fashion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of confanguinitie) taking her to wife, with promife to adopt her children: a promise that he meant not to performe; for it was not long, ere he slew

them, and drave her into exile.

In the pride of this good successe, which his villanie found, vengeance came upon him from afarre, by the furie of a Nationthat he never heard of. Belgius a Captaine of the Gaules, having forced his passage through many Countries, unto the confines of Macdon, sent a proud message to Ceraunu, commanding him to buy peace with money, or otherwise, to look for all the miseries of warre. These Gaules were the race of those; that issued out of their Countrie, to seeke new seates in that great expedition, wherein Brennus tooke and burnt the Citie of Rome. They had divided themselves, at their setting forth, into two companies; of which the one fell upon Italie; the other, paffing through the Countries that Iye on the Northerne fide of the Adriaticke Sea, made long abode in Pannonia, & the Regions adjoyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princestoredeeme peace with tribute, as now they would have compelled Ceraunus to does unto whole borders they came about an hundred and eight years after fuch time as their fellowes had taken Rome.

When their Embaffadours came to Ptolomie, asking what he would give: His answer was, That he would be contented to give them peace, but it must be with condition, that they should put into his hands their Princes as hostages, and yeeld up their armes; for otherwise, he would neither pardon their boldnesse, nor give any credit to their words At this answer, when it was returned, the Gaules did laugh; saying, That the would soone confute with deeds, the vanitie of such proud words. It may seeme strange

that he, who had given away part of his Army unto Pyrrhus, for very feare; should bee fo confident in undertaking more mighty enemies. The King of the Dardanians offered tolend him twenty thousand men against the Gaules: but he scorned the offer; saying, That he had the children of those, which under the conduct of Alexander had subdued all the East. Thus he issued forth against all the barbarous people, with his famous Macedonians, as if the victory must needs have followed the reputation of a great name. But he soone found his great errour when it was too late. For the Enemies were not onely equall in strength of body, and siercenesse of courage, but so farre superiour to the Macedonians in number, that few or none escaped their furie. Prolome himselfe grievously wounded, fell into their hands, whileft the battell continued; and they prefently strook off his head, which they shewed to his men, on the top of a Lance, to their utter altonish-

The report of this great overthrow filled all Macedon with fuch desperation, that the people fled into walled Townes, and abandoned the whole Country as loft. Only Sothenes, a valiant Captaine, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Army, with which he many times got the upper hand, and hindred Belgius from using the victory at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would have made him King; which title he refused, and was contented with the name of a Generall. But (as mischiefes doe feldome come alone) the good fricceffe of Belgius drew into mecedon, Bren-10 nus, another Captain of the Gaules, with an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; against which mighty Army, when softhenes with his weake troupes made opposition, he was easily beaten, and the Macedonians again compelled to hide themselves within their wals, leaving all their Country to the spoile of the Barbaria s.

Thus were the Macedonians destitute of a king, & trodden down by a Nation that they had not heard of, in leffe than fifty years after the death of Alexander, who fought to difcover and fubdue unknowne Countries, as if all Greece, and the Empire of Persia had been

too little for a King of Macedon.

CHAP. 7. S. 3.

Very feasonably had these newes beene carried to Pjerbus in Italie, who sought a faire pretext of relinquishing his Warre with the Romanes; had not other tidings out of Skildiffracted him, and carried him away in purfuit of nearer hopes. For after the death of Agathocles, who reigned over the whole Island, the Carthagensans fent an Armie to conquer Sicil, out of which, by him, they had beene expelled. This Armie did fo ful prevaile, that the Sicilians had no other hope to avoyd flavery, than in submitting themselves to the rule of Pyrrhus; whom, being a Grecian, and anoble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to live under the well known heavie yoke of Carthage. To him therefore the Syracufans, Leontines, and Agragentines, principall Estates of the Isle, sent Embassadors, earnestly desiring him to take them into his pro-

It grieved Pyrrhus exceedingly, that two fuch notable occasions of enlarging his Dominions, should fall out so unluckily, both at one time. Yet whether he thought the buineffe of Sicil more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he beleeved (as came after to paffe) that his advantage upon Macedon would not fo haftily paffe away, but that he might find some occasion to lay hold on it at better leasure; over into Sicilhe transported his army, leaving the Tarentines to shift for themselves; yet not leaving them free as he found them, but with a Garrison in their town, to hold them in subjection.

As his departure out of Italie was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature advice; so were his actions following, untill his returne unto Epirus, rather many and timultuous, than well ordered or note-worthy. The Army which he carried into that Me, consisted of thirty thousand soote, and two thousand sive hundred horse: with which, foone after his descent into Sicil, he forc't the Carthaginians out of all, in effect, that they had therein. He also won the strong Citie of Eryx, and having beaten the Mamertines in battell; he began to change condition, and turne Tyrant. For he drave Softratw (to whom his cruelty was suspect) out of the Iland, & put Thenen of Syracuse to death, being jealous of his greatnesse; which two persons had faithfully served him, and delivend the great and rich Citie of Syracuse into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined lofalt, as he served himselfe, and salved the dif-reputation of his leaving Sicil, by an Embassage sent him from the Tarentines, and Samnites, imploring his present helpe

CHAP. 7. S.5.

against the Romans, who since his leaving Italie, had wel-neare disposses them of all that they had.

cy man. Taking this faire occasion, he imbarked for Italie; but was first beaten by the Carthaginian Gallies, in his passage, and secondly assayled in Italie it selfe, by eighteen hundred Mamertines, that attended him in the straits of the Countrie. Lastly, after he had recovered Tarentum, he fought a third battell with the Romans, led by M. Curius, who was victorious over him, and forc't him out of Italie into his owne Epirus.

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A Prince he was far more valiant than constant, and had he beene but a Generall of an Armie for some other great King or State, and had beene directed to have conquered Armie for some other great units of the state of the would have purchased no ready one countrey or kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no ready one countrey or kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no ready one countrey or kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no ready one countrey or kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no ready one countrey or kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no ready one countrey or kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no ready one countrey or kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no ready one countrey or kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no ready one countrey or kingdome, it is to be thought, that he would have purchased no ready one countrey or kingdome, it is to be thought. lesse honour than any man of warre, either preceding or succeeding him; for a greater Captaine, or a valianter man, hath beene no where found. But he never ftayed upon any enterprise; which was, indeed, the disease he had, whereof not long after he died in Argos.

6.1111.

Hom Antigenus, the fon of Demetrius, delivered Macedon from the Gauls . HomPytrhus men the Kingdome of Matedon from Arrigonus.

He vertue of Softhenes being too weak to defend the kingdome of Macedon; and the fortune which had accompanied him against Belgiza, failing him in his atcompts against Breamus: the Macedonians were no lesse glad to submit themselves unto the government of antigonus, than they had been formerly desirous to free themselves from the impotent rule of his Father Demetrim. His comming into the Countries of the impotent rule of his Father Demetrim. trie withan Armic, Navie, and Treasure beseeming a king, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driven to use against the Barbarians, onely those forces which he brought with him, having none other than good wishes of the Macedons to take his part, Brennu, with the maine strength of his 3 Armie, was gone to spoyle the Temple of Apollo at Delphos, having left no more behind him, than he thought necessarie to guard the horders of Macedon and Pannonia; which were about fifteen thousand foot, and threathousand horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get somewhat for themselves, in the absence of their sellowes: and therefore fent unto Antigonus, offering to fell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of Ceraunus, he had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. Ansigonus was unwilling to weaken his reputation by condescending to their proud demands: yet he judged it unfitto exasperate their furious choler, by uncourteous words or usage, as Cerannus had over-fondly done. Wherfore heentertained their Embaffadors in very loving and sumptuous manner, with a royall feast: wherein he exposed to their view such abundance of maffie gold and filver, that they were not fo much delighted with the meat, as with fight of the veffels, wherein it was ferved. He thought hereby to make them understand how great a Prince he was, and how able if need required, to wage a mighty Army.

To which end, he likewise did shew unto them his Camp and Navie, but especially his Elephants. But all this bravery ferved only to kindle their greedy appetites; who feeing his thips heavieloaden, his Camp full of wealth, and ill fortified, himfelf (as it feemed) fecure, and his men, both in strength and courage, inferiour unto the Gaules, thought all time loft, wherein they suffered the present possessor to spend the riches which they accounted affuredly their owne. They returned therefore to their companions with none other newes intheir mouthes, than of spoile and purchase: which tale carried the Ganles head-long to Antigonus his Camp, where they expected a greater booty, than the victoty over Ceraunus had given to Belgius. Their comming was terrible and fudden; yet not fo sudden, but that Antigenes had notice of it, who distrusting the courage of his owne men, diflodged somewhat before their arrivall, and conveighed himselfe, with his whole

army and carriage, into certaine woods adjoyning, where he lay close. The Gaules, finding his Campe for laken, were not halty to purfue him, but fell to ransacking the emptie Cabbins of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either loft or hidden. At length, when they had searched every place in vaine, angry at their loft labour, they marched with all fpeed towards the Sea-fide; that they might fall upon him. whileft he was bufie in getting his men and carriages a ship-board. But the successe was no way answerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terrour which they had brought upon Antigones, they were so carelesse of the Sea-men, that without allorder, they fell to the spoyle of what they found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Armie had left Antigonus, where he lay in covert; and had faved it felf by getting aboard the fleet: in which number were some well experienced men of war; who discovering the much advantage offred unto them, by the desperate presumption of their enemies, tooke courage, and encouraged others to lay manly hold upon the opportuniotic. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gave so brave a charge upon the disordered Gaules, that their contemptuous holdnesse was thereby changed into sudden feare, and they, after a great slaughter, drivento cast themselves into the service of Antigonus.

The fame of this victorie caused all the barbarous Nations in those quarters to re-enretain their ancient beleefe of the Macedonian valour: by which the terrible and refift-

leffe oppressors of so many Countries were overthrowne.

To foeake more of the Gaules in this place, and to fhew how, about these times, three Tribes of them passed over into Asia the lesse, with their wars and conquests there: I hold it needlesse: the victorious armies of the Romans taming them hereafter in the Countries which now they wan, shall give better occasion to rehearse these matters briefly.

Howfoever the good fuccesse of Antigonus got him reputation among the barbarous people, yet his owne Souldiers, that without his leading had won this victorie, could not thereupon be perswaded to thinke him a good man of war: knowing that he had no imerest in the honour of the service, wherein his conduct was no better than creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appeare) was greatly helpfull unto Pyrrhus: though as yet he hewnor fo much. For Pyrrhus, when his affaires in Italie stood upon hard termes, had fentunto Antigonus for helpe: not without threats, in case it were denied. So was he fireto get either a fupply, wherewith to continue his war against the Romans, or some feming honourable pretence, to for fake Italie, under colour of making his word good. inseeking revenge. The threats which he had used in braverie, meer necessitie forced him. athis returne into Epirm, to put in practife.

Hebrought home with him eight thousand foot, and five hundred horse: an armie molittle to be employed, by his restlessenature, in any action of importance; yet greaurthan he had meanes to keepe in pay. Therefore he fell upon Macedon; intending to take what spoile he could get, & make Antigonia compound with him, to be freed from mouble. At his first entrance into this businesse, two thousand of Antigonus his Souldias revolted unto Pyrrhus; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, received him. Such fair beginnings eafily perswaded the courage of this daring Prince to set upon Antionus himselfe, and to hazzard his fortune, in triall of a battell, for the whole kingdome O Macedon.

Itappeares, that Antigonus had no defire to fight with this hot warriour; but thought ithe wifest way, by protracting of time, to wearie him out of the countrie. For Pyrehus overtooke him in a streight passage, and charged him in the reare; wherein were the Gaules and the Elephants, which were thought the best of his strength: a manifest proofe that he was in retrait. The Gaules very bravely sustained Pyrrhus his impression; yet Were broken at length (when most of them were slaine) after a sharpe fight: wherein it hems that Antigonus keeping his Macedonian Phalan within the streight, & not advaning to their fuccour, tooke away their courage by deceiving their expectation. The Captaines of the Elephants were taken soone after; who finding themselves exposed to the fame violence that had confumed so many of the Gaules, yeelded themselves and the calls. All this was done in full view of Antigonus and his Macedonians, to their great formfort, which emboldned Pyrrhus to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the Phalanx could be charged only in a front, it was a matter of extreme diffiallie (if not impossible) to force it. But the Macedonians had seene so much, that they had no defire to fight against Pyrshus; who discovered so well their affections, that he

adventured to draw neare in person, and exhort them to yeeld. Neither the common Souldier nor any Leader refused to become his follower. All forsooke Antigonus, a few horsemen excepted, that fled along with him to Thessalonica; where he had some small forces left, and money enough to entertaine a greater power, had he known where to levie it. But whilest he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the Gaules into his service; whereby he might repaire his losse: Ptolomie, the sonne of Pyrrhus, came upon him, and easily deseating his weake forces, drave him to stye from the parts about Macedon, to those Townes afarre off in Peloponnesus, in which he had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himselse a King.

This good successe revived the spirits of the Epirot, and caused him to sorget all forrow of his late mis-sortunes in the Roman warre: so that he sent for his sonne Helenum (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of Tarentum) willing him to come over into Greece, where was more matter of conquest, and let the Italians shift forthem-

felves.

6. V.

How Pyrrhus affailed Sparta without successe. His enterprise upon Argos, and his death.

Trrhus had now conceived a great hope that nothing should be able to withstand him; feeing that in open fight he had vanquished the Gaules, beaten Antigonus, and wome the Kingdome of Macedon. There was not in all Greece, nor, indeed, in all the Lands that Alexander had wonne, any Leader of fuch name and worth, as deserved to be set up against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might doe what he pleased. He raised therefore an Armie, consisting of sive and twentie thousand foot, two thousand horse, and source and twentie Elephants; pretending warre against Antigonus, and the giving libertie to those Townes in Peloponnesu. which the same Ansigonus held in subjection; though it was easily discovered, that such s great preparations were made, for accomplishment of some designe more important than warre against a Prince alreadie vanquished, and almost utterly dejected. Especially the Lacedamenians feared this expedition, as made against their State. For Cleonymu, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countrie, had betaken himselfe to Pyrhu: who readily entertained him, and promifed to restore him to his kingdome. This promise was made in secret; neither would Pyrrhus make shew of any displeasure that hee bare unto Sparta; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to have two of his owne younger sons trained up in that Citie, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours he deluded men, even till he entred upon Laconia; where prefently he demeaned himselfe as an open enemie: excusing himselfe and his former dissembling words a with a jest; That hee followed herein the Lacedamonian custome, of concealing what was truely purposed. It had been, indeed, the manner of the Laced emonians, to deale in like fort with others, whom, in the time of their greatnesse, they sought to oppresse but now they complained of that, as falfhood, in Pyrrhus, which they alwaies practifed in wifedome, till it made them distrusted, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Nevertheless, they were not wanting to themselves in this dangerous extremitie. For the old menand women laboured in fortifying the Towne; causing such as could be are armes to releve themselves fresh against the assault: which Pyrrhus had unwisely deferred, upon assurance of prevailing.

Sparta was never fortified, before this time, otherwise than with armed Citizens: soon; after this, (it being built upon uneven ground, and, for the most part, hard to approach) the lower and more accessible places, were fenced with wals; at the present only trenches were cast, and barricadoes made with carts, where the entrance seemed most easie. The days together it was assailed by Pyrrhus exceeding siercely; and no lesse should defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preserved the Townthe first day; where into the violence of Pyrrhus had forced entrance the second day, but that his wounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindfull of saving the person of their King, than of breaking into the Citie, though already they had

torne in funder the Barricadoes. Prefently after this, one of Antigonus his Captains got into Sparta with a good strength of men; and Areus the King returned out of Crete (where he had bin helping his friends in war) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his own Countrie stood, until he was almost at home. These succours didnot more animate the Spartans, than kindle in Pyrrhus a desire to prevaile against all impediments. But the third dayes worke shewed how great his error had beene, in forhesaw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course he had no desire to spend his time.

Antigonus had now raised an Armie, though not strong enough to meete the enelo mie in plaine field, yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made Pyrrhus doubtfull
what way to take; being diversly affected, by the difficultie of his enterprise in hand,
and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilest he was thus perplexed,
letters came from Argos, inviting him thither; with promise to deliver that Citie into

his hands

CHAP. 7. S.5.

Civill diffention raging then hotly in Argos, caused the heads of several factions to callin Pyrrhus and Antigonus; but the comming of these two Princes taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous to rid their hands of such powerfull assistants, as each of the two Kings pretended himselfe to be. Antigonus told the Argives, that he came to save them from the tyrannie of Pyrrhus: and that he would be gone if they needed not his help. On the other side, Pyrrhus would needs perswade them, that he had none other errand, than to make them safe from Antigonus; offering in like manner, to depart, if they so desired.

The Argives tooke small pleasure in hearing the Foxe and Kite at strife, which of them should keepe the Chickens from his enemie: and therefore prayed them both to divert their powers some other way. Hereunto Antigonus readily condessended, and gave hostages to assure his word: for he was the weaker, and stood in need of good will. But Pyrihus thought it enough to promise: Hostages he would give none, to be sinferiours: especially, meaning deceipt. This made them suspect his purpose to be such, as indeed it was. Yet he lesse regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of assure as you giving such a bond, as he intended to breake ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the Citie should be opened by night unto Pyrrhus, by his Complices within Argos: which was accordingly performed. So his Amie without any tumult, entred the Citie; till the Elephants, with Towers on their backes, cloyed the way, being too high to passe the Cate. The taking off, and setting on against of those Towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both give alarmeto the Citie, and some leasure to take order for desence, before so many were entred, as could fully masterit. Argos was full of ditches, which greatly hindred to the Gaules (that had the Vantguard) being grown to f the wayes, in the darke night. The Citizens, on the other side, had much advantage, by their knowledge of every by passes: and setting upon the enemies on all sides, did put them to great losse and more trouble.

Pyrhus therefore, understanding by the confused noyse, and unequall shoutings of his ownemen, that they were in distresse, entred the Citie in person, to take order for their reliefs, and assure of the place. But the darknesse, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, untill breake of day. Then began heto make his passage by force, and so farre prevailed, that he got into the market place. It is said, that seeing in that place the Image of a Wolfe and a Bull, in such positure as if they had been combatant, he called to minde an Oracle, which threatned him with death, when he should behold a Bull sighting with a Wolse; and that hereupon he made retrait.

Indeed, the comming of Antigonus to the rescue, the disorder and confusion of his ownemen, with diversill accidents, gave him reasonable cause to have retired out of the Citie, though the Wolfe and Bull had been eaway. The tumult was such, that no directions could be heard; but as some gave backe, so did others thrust forward, and the argives pressing hardupon him, forced Pyrrhus to make good his retrait, with his own

fword. The tops of the houses were covered with women, that stood looking on the fight. Among these was one, that saw her owne son in dangerous case, fighting with ngnt. Among their was taken a tile-stone, or slate, and threw it so violently down on the head of Pyrrhus, that he fell to ground aftonished with the blow; and lying in that case.

had his head cut off. Thus ended the rest lesse ambition of Pyrrhu, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdome of Macedon to Antigonus; who forthwith possessed the armie, the bodie, and the children of his enemie. The bodie of Pyrrhus had honourable buriall, and was given by Antigonus unto Helenus his fon; which young Prince he graciously fent

home into his fathers Kingdome of Epirus. From this time forwards, the race of Antigonus held the Kingdom of Macedon; the posteritie of Selenew reigned over Afia and Syria; and the house of Prolomie had quiet possession of Egypt: untill such time as the Citie of Romes wallowing all up, digested these, among other Countries, into the bodie of her owne Empire.

Finis Libri quarti.



FIRST PART **OF THE HISTORIE** OF THE WORLD;

Intreating of the times from the settled rule of ALEXANDER'S Successors in the East, until the ROMANS, prevailing over all, made Conquest of ASIA and MACEDON.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I. Of the first Punicke Warre.

Adicussion of that probleme of Livie; Whether the Romans could have refisted the great Alexander. That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier was of equall valour to the English.

CHAP.I. C.I.

Hat question handled by Livie, Whether the great Alexander could have prevailed against the Romans if after his Easterne conquest. he had bent all his forces against them, hath been, and is the subject of much dispute; which (as it seemes tome) the arguments on both fides do not fo well explaine, as doth the experience that Pyrrhus hath given of the Roman power in his daies. For if he, a Commander (in Hannibals judgment) inferior to Alexander, though to none elfe, could with fmall strength of men, and little store of mony, or

ofother needfull helps in War, vanquish them in two battels, and endanger their Estate. when it was well fettled, and held the best part of Italie, under a confirmed obedience: what would Alexander have done, that was abundantly provided of all which is needfulto a Conquerour, wanting only matter of employment, comming upon them before their Dominion was halfe fo well fettled! It is easie to say, that Alexander had no more than thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse (as indeed, at his first passage into Ahe carried over not many more) and that the rest of his followers were no better than bale effeminate Afiatiques. But he that considers the Armies of Perdiccas, Antipaser, Cratrus, Eumenes, Ptolomie, Antigonus & Lysimachus, with the actions by them performed. every one of which (to omit others) commanded only some fragment of this dead Emperours power, shall easily find, that such a reckoning is far short of the truth.

It were needleffe to speake of Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines of battery, and

would have proved in fuch fervices. Now for helpers in Warre; I do not fee why all Greece and Macedon, being absolute. ly commanded by Alexander, might not well deferve to be laid in ballance again ft those parts of Italy, which the Romans held in ill-affured subjection. To omit therefore all benefit that the Easterne world, more wealthy, indeed, than valiant, could have affoorded to unto the Macedonian: let us onely conjecture, how the States of Sicill and Carthage, nea. rest neighbours to such a quarrell (had it happened) would have stood affected. The Sici. lians were for the most part Grecians; neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily have submitted themselves unto him, that ruled all Greece besides them. In what termes they commonly flood, and how ill they were able to defend themselves, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is, that Alexanders comming into those parts, would have brought excelfive joy to them that were faine to get the helpe of Pyrrhus, by offering to become his subjects. As for the Carthaginians, if Agathocles the Tyrant of Syracufe, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his owne befieged Citie, could by adventuring to faile into Affrick, put their Dominion, yea, and Carthage it selfe, in extreme hazzard, shall we thinke that they would have been able to withstand Alexander? But why doe I question their ability, feeing that they fent Embassadors, with their submission, as farre as Babylon, ere the Warre drew neare them : Wherefore it is manifest, that the Romans must, without other fuccour, than perhaps of some other few Italian friends (of which yet there were none that for sooke them not, at some time, both before and after this) have opposed their valour and good militarie discipline, against the power of all Countries to them knowne, if they would have made refistance. How they could have sped well, in undertaking fuch amatch; it is uneafie to finde in discourse of humane reason. It is true, that vertue and fortune worke wonders: but it is against cowardly fooles, and the unfortunate: for who foever contends with one too mighty for him; either must excell in these, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power; or else must looke both to be jovercome, and to becast downe so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the Roman or the Macedonian were in those dayes the better Souldier, I will not take upon me to determine: though I might, without partiality, deliver mine owne opinion, and preferre that Army, which followed not onely Philip and Alexander, but also Alexanders Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all forts of Warre; before any, that Rome either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning fortune, who can give a rule that shall alwaies hold : Alexander was victorious in every battell that he fought: and the Romans in the issue of every Warre. But forasmuch as Livie hath judged this a matter worthy of consideration; Ithinkita great part of Romes good fortune, that Alexander came not into Italie: where inthree years after his death, the two Roman Confuls, together with all the power of that State, were surprized by the Samnites, and enforced to yeeld up their armes. We may therefore permit Livie to admire his own Romans, and to compare with Alexander those Captains of theirs, which were honoured fufficiently, in being thought equall to his follow ers: that the fame conceipt should blind our judgement, we cannot permit without much

Now in deciding such a controversie, me thinkes it were not amisse, for an Englishman, to give fuch a fentence between the Macedonians and Romans, as the Romans oncedid (being chosen Arbitrators) between the Ardeases and Aricini, that strove about a piece of land; faying, That it belonged unto neither of them, but unto the Romans themselves.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the Macedonian or the Roman were the bell Warriour : I will answer: The Englishmen. For it will soone appeare to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon; against no savage or unmanly people; the enemy being farre superiour unto us in number, and all needfull provisions, yea as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of Warre.

In what fort Philip wan his Dominion in Greece; what manner of men the Persians and Indians were, whom Alexander vanquished; as likewise of what force the Macedoian Phalanx was, and how well appointed against such armes as it commonly encounred; any man, that bath taken paines to reade the foregoing storie of them, doth sufficiently understand. Yet was this Phalanx never, or very seldome, able to stand against the Roman Armies; which were embattailed in fo excellent a forme as I know not whether Nation besides them have used, either before or since. The Roman weapons likewise, both offenfive and defensive, were of greater use than those with which any other Nation hath served, before the fiery instruments of Gun-powder were known. As for the enemies with which Rome had to doe, we finde, that they which did over-match her in numbers, were as far over-matched by her in weapons, and that they of whom the had little advantage in arms, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This alfo(as Plutarch well observeth) was a part of her happinesses that she was never over-laid with two great

of the Historie of the World.

Hereby it came to passe, that having at first increased her strength by accession of the spines; having won the State of Alba, against which she adventured her own selfe, as twere in wager, upon the heads of three Champions; and having thereby made her McPrincesse of Latium, she did afterwards, by long war, in many ages, extend her Dominion over all Italie. The Carthaginians had well-neare oppressed her: but her Souldiers were Mercenarie; fo that for want of proper strength, they were easily beaten ather owne doores. The Atolians, and with them all, or the most of Greece, affisted heragainst Philip the Macedonian: he being beaten, did lend her his helpe to beat the me Atolians. The wars against Antiochim, and other Asiatiques, were such as gave to hime finall cause of boast, though much of joy: for those opposites were as base of courige, as the lands which they held were aboundant of riches. Sicil, Spain, and all Greece, Mimo her hands, by using her aide to protect them against the Carthaginians and Macedon**i are s**-

Ishall not need to speake of her other conquests: it was easie to get more when shee hadgotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the Roman valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many famous victories: I am not so idle. This I hy; That among all their wars, I finde not any, wherein their valour hath appeared comproble to the English. If my judgement seem over-partiall our wars in France may help tomake it good.

First therefore it is well knowne, that Rome (or perhaps all the world besides) had neverany fo brave a Commander in war as Julius Cafar: and that no Roman armie was comparable unto that which served under the same Casar. Likewise, it is apparent, that his gallant Armie, which had given faire proofe of the Roman courage, in good performance of the Helvetian war, when it first entred into Gaule; was neverthelesse utterly Meartned, when Cafar led it against the Germans. So that we may justly impute all thatwas extraordinarie in the valour of Cafars men, to their long exercise, under so good Leader, in forgreat a war. Now let us in generall compare with the deeds done by bele best of Roman Souldiers, in their principall service; the things performed in the fine Countrie, by our common English Souldiers, levied in haste, from following the Cart, or fitting on the shop-stall; so shall we see the difference. Herein will we deale tily, and beleeve Cafar, in relating the acts of the Romans: but will call the French Hibrians to witnesse, what actions were performed by the English. In Casars time France was inhabited by the Gaules, a stout people, but inferiour to the French, by whom they Were fubdued; even when the Romans gave them affiftance. The Countrie of Gaule was Tentin funder (as Cafar witneffeth) into many Lordships: some of which were governed by petty Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in such fort as might make it applable to the nearest Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not onely in generall through the whole Countrie, but between the pettie States, yea in every Citie, and almost in every house. What greater advantage could a Conquerour defire ? Yet there was a greater. Ariovistus, with his Germans, had over-run the Countrie, and held much part of it in subjection, little different from meere slaverie: yea, so often had the Germans prevailed in warre upon the Gaules, that the Gaules, (who had sometimes been the better Souldiers) did hold themselves no way equal to those daily Invaders. Had France bin so prepared unto our English Kings, Rome it selfe by this time, and long ere

this time, would have bin ours. But when King Edward the third began his War upon France, he found the whole Countrey settled in obedience to one mighty King; a Kino whose reputation abroad, was no lesse than his puissance at home; under whose Ensigne the King of Bohemia did serve in person; at whose call the Genowayes, and other Neigha The Dolphin bour States, were ready to take armes: finally, a King, unto whom one a Prince gavegof Viennois.
b The King of way his Dominion, for love; banother foldaway a goodly City and Territory for mony. The Country lying fo open to the Romans, and being fo well fenced against the Eng lilb: it is note-worthy, not who prevailed most therein (for it were meer vanity to march the English purchases with the Roman conquest) but whether of the two gave the greater proofe of military vertue. Cafar himselfe doth witnesse, that the Gailes complained of their owne ignorance in the Art of War, and that their owne hardinesse was overmaste. red by the skill of their enemies. Poore men, they admired the Roman Towers, and Engines of battery, raifed and planted against their walles, as more than humane workes. What greater wonder is it, that fuch a people was beaten by the Romans; than that the Caribes, a naked people, but valiant, as any under the skie, are commonly put to the worfe by finall numbers of Spaniards? Besides all this, we are to have regard of the great difficulty that was found, in drawing all the Gaules, or any great part of them, to one head that with joynt forces they might oppose their affailants: as also the much more difficulty of holding them long together. For hereby it came to passe, that they were neverable to make use of opportunity: but sometimes compelled to stay for their fellowes; and fometimes driven to give or take battell upon extreame disadvantages, for feare lest their Companies should fall afunder: as indeed, upon any little disaster, they were ready to break and return every one to the defence of his own. All this, and (which was little lesse than all this) great oddes in weapon gave to the Romans the honour of many gallant victories. What fuch helpe : or what other worldly helpe, than the golden metall of their Souldiers, had our English Kings against the French? Were not the French as well experienced in feats of Warre? Yea, did they not thinke themselves therein our superiours. Were they not in arms, in horse, and in all provision, exceedingly Johnde Series. beyond us? Let us heare what a French writer faith of the inequality that was between the French and English, when their King John was ready to give the on-fet upon the Blacke Prince, at the battell of Poitiers. John had all advantages over Edward, both of tout! avantage number, force, shew, Countrey and conceit, (the which is commonly a consideration of no small varDlenum- importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choice of all his horse-men (esseemed thathe brestaforce, le lu-best in Europe with the greatest and wisest Captaines of his whole Realme. And what could

juge (quin'est pas he more ? aux affaires du foy l'élite de la Ca-

meela meilleure

I thinke it would trouble a Roman antiquary to finde the like example in their Hiftoconjustration at put d'importance ries; the example I say, of a King, brought prisoner to Rome, by an Army of eight thousand, which he had surrounded with forty thousand, better appointed, and no lesse expert Warriours. This I am fure of, that neither Syphax the Numidian, followed by a vallerie, lorseffi- rabble of halfe Scullions, as Livie rightly termes them, nor those cowardly Kings, Per-Jew and Gentius, are worthy patternes. All that have read of Cress and Agincourt, will beare me witnesse, that I doe not alledge the battell of Poitiers, for lacke of other, as good examples of the English vertue: the proofe whereof bath left many a hundred better markes in all quarters of France, than ever did the valour of the Romans. If any man impute these victories of ours to thelong Bow, as carrying farther, piercing morestrongly, and quicker of discharge than the French Crosse-bow: my answer is ready; That in all these respects, it is also (being drawne with a strong arme) superiour to the Mulket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more use. The Gunne and the Crosse-bow are of like force, when discharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a strong Man: weaknesse or ficknesse, or a fore finger makes the long Bow unserviceable. More particularly, I fay, that it was the custome of our Ancestors, to shoot, for the most part, point blank and so shall hee perceive, that will note the circumstances of almost any one battell-This takes away all objection: for when two Armies are within the distance of a Butts length, one flight of arrowes, or two at the most can be delivered before they close. Neither is it in generall true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pier ceth more trongly than the Crosse-bow: But this is the rare effect of an extraordinariearme; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall aske, How then came it to passe, that the English wan so many great battels, having no advantage

to helpe him? I may, with best commendation of modestie, referre him to the French Historian: who relating the victorie of our men at Crevant, where they passed a bridge, John de Serres inface of the enemie, useth these words: The English comes with a conquering braverie, as hethat was accustomed to gaine every where without any stay: he forceth our guard placed noon the bridge to keepe the passage. Or I may cite another place of the same Author, where he tels, how the Britons, being invaded by Charles the eighth, King of France, thought it good policie, to apparell a thousand and five hundred of their owne men in English Cassocks; hoping that the very fight of the English red crosse, would be enough mterrefie the French. But I will not stand to borrow of the French Historians (all which, excepting De Serres, and Paulus Emylius, report wonders of our Nation:) the proposition which first I undertooke to maintaine; That the militarie vertue of the English, prevailing against all maner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the Romans, which was assisted with all advantages that could be desired. If it be demanded, why then did not our Kings finish the conquest, as Cafar had done my answer may be (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the race of the Lacida, of whom the old Poet Ennius gave this note; Bellipotentes sunt mage quam sapienti potentes; They were more war like than politique. Who so notes their proceedings, may find, that none of them went to worke like a Conquerour, fave onely King Henrie the fift; the course of whose victories it pleased God to interrupt by his death. But this question is the more easily answered, if another be first made. Why did not the Romans attempt the conquest of Gaule before the time of Cafar? why not after the Macedonian war? why not after the third Punick, or after the Numantian? At all these times they had good leisure: and then especially had they both leisure and fit opportunitie, when under the conduct of Marina, they had newly vanquished the Cimbri, and Teutones, by whom the country of Gaule had bin piteoufly wasted. Surely the words of Tullie were true; That with other Nations the Romans fought for Dominion, with the Gaules for preservation of their own safety.

Therefore they attempted not the conquest of Gaule, untill they were Lords of all other Countries, to them knowne. We on the other fide held only the one halfe of our owne Iland; the other halfe being inhabited by a Nation (unleffe perhaps in wealth and numbers of men somewhat inferiour) every way equall to our selves; a Nation ancientlyand strongly allied to our enemies the French, and in that regard enemie to us. So that our danger lay both before and behinde us: and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, alwayes we feared, a stronger invasion by land, than we could make

upon France, transporting our forces over Sea.

his usuall with men, that have pleased themselves in admiring the matters which they find in ancient Histories; to hold it a great injurie done to their judgment, if any take upon him, by way of comparison, to extoll the things of later ages. But I am well perswaded, that as the divided vertue of this our Iland, hath given more noble proofe of it felfe, than under so worthie a Leader, that Roman Armie could doe, which afterwards could win Rome, and all her Empire, making Cafar a Monarch; fo hereafter, by Gods bleffing, who hath converted our greatest hinderance into our greatest helpe, the enemie that shall dare to trie our forces, will find cause to wish, that avoyding us, he had rather encountred a great a puissance as was that of the Roman Empire. But it is now high time, that, laying aside comparisons, we return to the rehearfall of deeds done: wherein we shall find, how Rome began, after Pyrrhus had left Italie, to strive with Carthage for Dominion, in the first Punick war.

6. I I.

The estate of Carthage before it entredinto war with Rome.

THe Citie of Carthage had flood above fixe hundred yeares, when first it began to contend with Rome for the masterie of Sicil. It forewent Rome one hundred and fiftie yeares in antiquitie of foundation: but in the honour of great atchievements, it excelled farre beyond this advantage of time. For Carthage had extended her Dominion Africa it selfe, from the west part of Cyrene, to the streights of Hercules, about one thousand and five hundred miles in length, wherein stood three hundred Cities. It had subjected all Spaine, even to the Pyrenean Mountaines, together with all Kkkk 3

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the Ilands in the Mediterranean Sea, to the west of Sicil; and of Sicil the better part. It flourished about seven hundred and thirtie yeares, before the destruction thereof by Scipio: who besides other spoyles, and all that the Souldiers reserved, carried thence source hundred and seventie thousand weight of filver, which make of our mony (if our pounds differ not) fourteen hundred and ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious Cirie ran the fame fortune, which many other great ones have done, both before and fince. The ruine of the goodliest pieces of the world fore-shewes the dissolution of the b The Turkes, at this day, doe whole.

About one hundred yeares after fuch time as it was cast downe, the Senate of Rame one halfe of the caused it to be re-built: and by Gracchus it was called Junonia: it was again and again a- 10 pool entails bandoned and re-peopled, taken and re-taken; by Genfericus the Vandal, by Bellifarius bors theearth: under Justinian by the Persians, by the Egyptians, and by the Mahometans. It is now noyea, they take ribute both of thing. The feat thereof was exceeding strong: and while the Carthaginians commanded the bodies, and the Sea invincible. For the Sea compaffed it about, faving that it was tied to the maine by a necke of land; which passage had two mile and more of breadth (Appian saith, three their Vallet, mile and one furlong) by which we may be induced to beleeve the common report, that the Citie it felfe was above twentie miles in compasse; if not that of Strabo, affirming the

ablest children, circuit to have been twice as great. and bringing them up in the

It had three wals without the wall of the Citie; and betweene each of those, three them up in the Mahometan Re or foure streets, with vaults under ground, of thirtie foot deepe, in which they had 29 ligion. The high place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food: over the ethey had stables for take the fourth four thousand horse, and Granaries for their provender. They had also lodgings in these sheast and were four thousand horse, and Granaries for their provender. They had also lodgings in these wontroeateup streets, betweene these out-walls, for soure thousand horse-men, and twentie thousand with their hori- foot-men, which (according to the discipline used now by those of China) never pestemendounters, what red the Citie. It had towards the South part, the Castle of Byrsato which Servingives they pleased, of two and twentie furlongs in compasse, that make two mils and a halfe. This was the the other three parts remaining fame piece of ground which Dido obtained of the Libyans, when she got leave to buy ning, Thehas only fo much Land of them, as she could compasse with an Oxe hide. On the West bandman and pandman and the yeoman of fide it had also the salt Sea, but in the nature of a standing poole; for a certaine arme England, are the of Land, fastened to the ground on which the Citie stood, stretched it selfe towards freeft of all the the west continent, and lest but seventie soot open for the Sea to enter. Over this World: And reasongood for standing Sea was built a most sumptuous Arfenall, having their Ships and Gallies riding

The forme of their Common-weale refembled that of Sparta; for they had titularie our victorious armiesbincom-Kings, and the Ariftocraticall power of Senators. But (as Regims well observeth) the people in later times usurped too great authoritie in their Councels. This confusionin governement together with the trust that they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helping the lave, that hath courage & causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forcible causes of their ruin, were their avarice and their crueltie. * Their avarice was shewed both in exacting from their Vaffals (befides ordinarie tributes) the one b halfe of the fruits of the earth; and in con-4 ved by cowarferring of great offices, not upon gentle and mercifull persons, but upon those who could Howfreethe best tyrannize over the people, to augment their treasures. Their crueltie appeared, in put-English yeomen ting them to death without mercie, that had offended through ignorance: the one of times, not long these rendred them odious to their vassals, whom it made readie, upon all occasions, toretince path, For-volt from them: the other did breake the spirits of their Generals, by presenting in the heat of their actions abroad, the feare of a cruell death at home. Hereby it came to palle, that many goodCommanders of the Carthaginian forces, after fome great loffereceived, countries laws, have desperatly cast themselvs, with all that remained under their charge, into the throat that they are of destruction; holding it necessary, either to repaire their losses quickly, or to ruineall morefree now together: and few of them have dared to manage their owne best projects, after that our Nobilities good forme, wherein they first conceived them, for feare lest the manner of their pro-Gentric more ceeding should be missinterpreted: It being the Carthaginian rule, to crucific not only the unhappy Captain, but even him, whose bad countell had prosperous event. The Evebraverie & faults, wherewith in generall, they of Carthage are taxed, by Roman Historians, I finde vainexpenceof to be the seilust, crueltie, avarice, crast, unfaithfulnesse, and perjurie. Whether the Romans hath taught them to raise their Rents, since by inclosures, and dismembring of Manors, the Court Baron, and the Court Leet, the Principals ties of the Gentrie of England have beene distolved, the Tenants having payed unto their Lords their racke Rents, owe them now no savice at all, and (perchance) as little love.

themselves were free from the same crimes, let the triall be referred unto their actions. The first league betweene Carthage and Rome, was very ancient: having bin made the veare following the expulsion of Tarquine. In that league the Carthaginians had the superioritie, as imposing upon the Romans the more strict conditions. For it was agreed. that the Romans should not so much as have trade in some part of Africk, nor suffer any this of theirs to passe beyond the headland, or cape, then called the faire Promontorie, unlesse it were by force of tempest: whereas on the other side, no Haven in Italie was forbidden to the Carthaginians. A fecond league was made long after, which (howfoever it hath pleased Livie to say, that the Romans granted it, at the Carthaginians intrea-tivibenties rie)was more strict than the former: prohibiting the Romans to have trade in any part of

Africa. or in the Iland of Sardinia.

By these two treaties, it may appeare that the Carthaginians had an intent not only to keepe the Romans (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledg of the flate of Africk; but to countenance and uphold them, in their troubling all Italy, wherby they themselves might have the better meanes to occupie all Sicil, whilest that Hand should be destitute of Italian succours. Hereupon we findegood cause of the joy that was in Carthage, and of the Crowne of gold, weighing twentie and five pound, fent from thence to Rome, when the Samnites were overthrowne. But the little state of Rome prevailed faster in Italie, than the great power of Carthage did in Sicil. For that mightie Ar- Xm. Grechift. micofthree hundred thousand men, which Hannibal conducted out of Africk into Sicil, wan only two Cities therein: many great fleets were devoured by tempefts; and howfoever the Carthaginians prevailed at one time, the Sicilians, either by their own valours or by the affiftance of their good friends out of Greece, did at some other time repaire their own losses, and take revenge upon those Invaders. But never were the people of Carthage in better hope of getting all Sicil, than when the death of Agathocles the Tyrant, had left the whole Iland in combustion; the estate of Greece being such, at the fame time, that it feemed impossible for any succour to be fent from thence. But whilest the Carthaginians were busic in making their advantage of this good opportunitie; Pyrthus, invited by the Tarentines and their fellowes, came into Italie, where he made sharp war upon the Romans. These newes were unpleasing to the Carthag mians, who, being afubtile Nation, easily foresaw, that the same busie disposition which had brought this Prince out of Greece into Italie, would as eafily transport him over into Sicil, as soon as he could finish his Roman war. To prevent this danger, they fent Mago Embassador to Rome; who declared in their name, that they were forry to heare, what misadventure

talie; if their helpe were thought needfull, against the Epirots. It was indeed the maine defire of the Carthaginians, to hold Pyrrhus so hardly to his workein Italie, that they might at good leifure, pursue their businesse in Sicil: which actualed them to make fuch a goodly offer. But the Romans were too high-minded and refuled to accept any fuch aide of their friends, lest it should blemish their reputation, and make them seeme unable to stand by their own strength. Yet the message was taken lovingly, as it ought; and the former league betweene Rome and Carthage renued; with tovenants added, concerning the present businesse; That if either of the two Cities made Peace with Pyrrhus, it should be with refervation of libertie, to affift the other, in case that Pyrrbus should invade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same Mago went and treated with Pyrrhususing all means to sound his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one upon every new occasion, changeth his Ompurposes) yet Ryrrhus found leasure to make a step into Sicil: where, though in fine he was neither getter nor faver, yet hee cleane defeated the purposes of Carthage, leaving them, at his departure from thence, as farre from any end, as when they first be-

hadbefallen the Romans, their good friends, in this war with Pyrrhus; and that the peo-

ple of Carthage were very willing to affift the state of Rome, by sending an army into 1-

Somany disasters, in an enterprise that from the first undertaking had bin so. strongly Purfued, through the length of many generations, might well have induced the Carthalinians to believe that an higher providence refifted their intendment. But their defire of winning that fruitfull Hand, was so inveterate, that with unwearied patience, they still continued in hope of so much the greater an harvest, by how much their cost and paines therein buried had bin the more. Wherefore they re-continued their former courses,

themselves

CHAP. 1. 5.3.

and by force or practice, recovered in few yeares all their old possessions: making peace with Syracuse, the chiefe Citie of the Iland, that so they might the better enable themselves to deale with the rest.

Somewhat before this time, atroupe of Campanian Souldiers, that had ferved under Somewhat before this time, atroupe of Campanian Souldiers, that had ferved under Agathocles, being entertained within Messana as friends, & finding themselves too strong for the Citizens, tooke advantage of the power that they had to doe wrong; and with persidious crueltie, slue those that had trusted them; which done, they occupied the Citie, Lands, Goods, and Wives of those whom they had murdered. These Mercenaries called themselves Mamertines. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that meere desperation of finding any that would approve their barbarous treacherie, added rage unto their stoutnesses. Having therefore not any other colour of their proceedings, than the law of the stronger, they over-ranne all the Countrie round about

In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not only defend Messaa against the Cities of Sicil Confederate; to wit, against the Syracusians, and others, but they rather wan upon them, yea and upon the Carthaginians, exacting tribute from many Neighbour places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her back to these Mamertines, the Syracusians wan fast upon them, and sinally, consisting them withinthe wals of Messaa, they also with a powerful Armie besieged the Citie. It hapned ill, that about the same time, a contention began, betweene the Syracusian Souldiers, then lying at Messaa, and the contention began, betweene the Syracusian Souldiers, then lying at Messaa, and the contention began, betweene the Syracusian Souldiers, then lying at Messaa, and the contention began, between the Syracusian Souldiers, then lying at Messaa, and the contention began, the syracusian Governors among themselves, to wit, Artemidorus and History, that was afterward King. Hieron, being for his yeares excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrary to the policie of that State, to approve any election made by the Souldiers; yet for the great elemencie he used at his first entrance, was by generall consent established and made Governour. This Office, herather used as a Scale, thereby to climb to some higher degree, than rested content with his present preference.

In briefe, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himselfe within the Citie; and somewhat without it, that gave impediment to his obtaining, and life, keeping, of the place he fought; to wit, a powerfull partie within the Towne, and crtaine mutinous troups of Souldiers without, often and eafily moved to fedition and tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himselfe, he tooke to wife the daughter of Leptines, a man of the greate it estimation and authoritie among the Syracusians. For the fecond, leading out the Armie to befiege Messana, he quartered all those companies, which he held suspected, on the one side of the Citie, and leading the rest of hishorse and foot unto the other fide, as if he would have affaulted it in two severall parts, he marchedaway under the covert of the Towne walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in pieces by the affieged: So returning home, and levying an Armie of his owne Citizens, well trained and obedient, he hasted again towards Mellana, and was by the Mamerians (growne proud by their former victorie over the Mutiners) incountred in the plaines of Mylaum, where he obtained a most signall victorie, and leading with him their Commander Captive into Syracuse, himselse by common consent was elected and salued King-Hereupon the Mamertines, finding themselves utterly enfeebled, some of them refolved to give themselves to the Carthaginians, others to crave assistance of the Romans: to each of whom the severall factions dispatched Embassadours for the very same purpofe.

The Carthaginians were soone readie to lay hold upon the good offer: so that a Captaine of theirs got into the Castile of Messana, whereof they that had sent for him gave him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the Romani had brought their Companions to so good agreement, that this Captaine, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doores, and the Towne reserved for other

These newes did much offend the people of Carthage; who crucified their Captains as both a Traitor and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Armie to befiege Mellana, as Townethar rebelled, having once bin theirs. Hieron, the new-made King of Syraul (togratissie his people, incensed with the smart of injuries lately received) added his forces to the Carthaginians, with whom he entred into a league, for exterminating the

Mamertines out of Sicil. So the Mamertines on all fides were closed up within Messana: the Carthaginians lying with a Navie at Sea, and with an Army on the one side of the Towne, whilest Hieron with his Syracusians, lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger came Appins Claudius the Roman Conful, with an Army to the streights of Sicil: which passing by night with notable audacity, he put himselfe into the Towne, and sending Messengers to the Carthaginians, and to Hieron, required them to depart; signifying unto them that the Mamertines were now become confederate with the people of Rome, and that therefore he was come to give them protection, even by force of War, if reason would not prevaile.

This meffage was utterly neglected; And to began the War betweene Rome and Carto thage; wherein it will then be time to shew on which part was the justice of the quarre when some actions of the Romans lately foregoing this, have been first considered.

6. III.

The beginning of the first Punick Warre. That it was unjustly undertaken by the Romans.

Hen Pyrrbus began his wars in Italie, the Citie of Rhegium, being well affected to Rome, and not only fearing to be taken by the Epirot, but much more diffrusting the Carthaginians, as likely to seize upon it in that busie time; sought aide from the Romans, & obtained from them a Legion, confisting of 4. thousand Souldiers, under the conduct of Decius Campanus, a Roman Prefect; by whom they were defended and affured for the present. But after a while, this Roman Garrison, considering at good leasure, the fact of the Mamertines, committed in Messana (a City in Sicil, situate almost opposite to Rhegium, and no otherwise divided than by a narrow Sea, which severeth it from Italie) and rather weighing the greatnesses of the booty, than the odiousnesses of the vicked course. Consederating therefore themselves with the Mamertines, they entertained their Hosts of Rhegium, after the same manner; dividing the spoil, and all which that State had, among themselves.

When complaint was made to the Senate and people of Rome, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly stained (for no Nation in the world made a more severe profession of justice, than they did during all the time of their growing greatnesses reloved, after a while, to take revenge upon the offenders. And this they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in Italy by Pyrrhus. For, not with-standing that those Romans in Rhegium (as men for the soulenesse of their fact, hopelesse of pardon) defended themselves with an obstinate resolution: yet in the end, the assailants forced them; and those which escaped the present sury, were brought bound to Rome, where, after the usual torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custome of the Country, they had their heads stricken from their shoulders, and the people of Rhegium were againe restored to their former liberty and estates.

This execution of Justice being newly performed, and the same thereof founding honourably through all quarters of Italy: messengers came to Rome from Messana, desiring help against the Carthaginians, and Syracusians, that were in a readinesse to inslict the like punishment upon the Mamertines, for the like offence. A very impudent request was, which they made: who having both given example of that villany to the homan Souldiers, and holpen them with joynt forces to make it good, do intreat the suggest to give them that assistance, which they were wont to receive from their fellow-theeves.

The Romans could not fuddenly resolve, whether the way of honesty or of profit were to be followed; they evermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They considered, how contrary the course of succouring the Mamertines was to their former counsels and actions: seeing for the same offences they had lately put to torment, and to the sword, their owne Souldiers, and restored the oppressed to their libertie. Yet when they beheld the description of the Carthaginian Dominion, and that they were alreadie Lords of the best part of Africa, of the Mediterran Ilands, of a great part of Spaine, and some part of Sicil it selse; whilest also they feared, therein therein

therein seated (a City in beauty and riches, little at that time inferiour to Carthage, and farre superiour to Rome it selse) might become theirs; the safety of their owne estate spake for these Mamertines: who, if they (driven to despaire by the Romans) should deliver up Message, with those other holds that they had, into the hands of the Carthaginians, then would nothing stand betweene Carthage and the Lordship of Sicil: for Siracufe it felfe could not, for want of fuccour, any long time sublist, if once the Carthagini and, that were Masters of the Sea, did fasten upon that passage from the maine Land. It was further confidered; that the opportunity of Mellana was fuch, as would not onely debarre all succours out of the continent, from arrivall in Sicil; but would serve as a bridge, whereby the Carthaginians might have entrance into Italie, at their owne to pleasure.

These considerations of profit at hand, and of preventing dangers, that threatned from a-farre, did so prevaile above all regard of honesty, that the Mamertines were admitted into Confederacy with the Romans, and Ap. Claudius the Confull, presently difpatcht away for Meffana: into which he entred, and undertooke the protection of it. as is shewed before. The besiegers were little troubled with his arrivall; and lesse moved, with his requiring them to defift from their attempt. For they did farre exceede him innumber of men; The whole Iland was ready to relieve them in their wants: and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Towne. All this Appine himselfe well understood: and against all this he thought the stiffe metall of 20 his Roman Souldier a sufficient remedy. Therefore he resolved to issue out into the field. and to let the enemies know, that his comming was to fend them away from the Town:

not to be befreged by them within it.

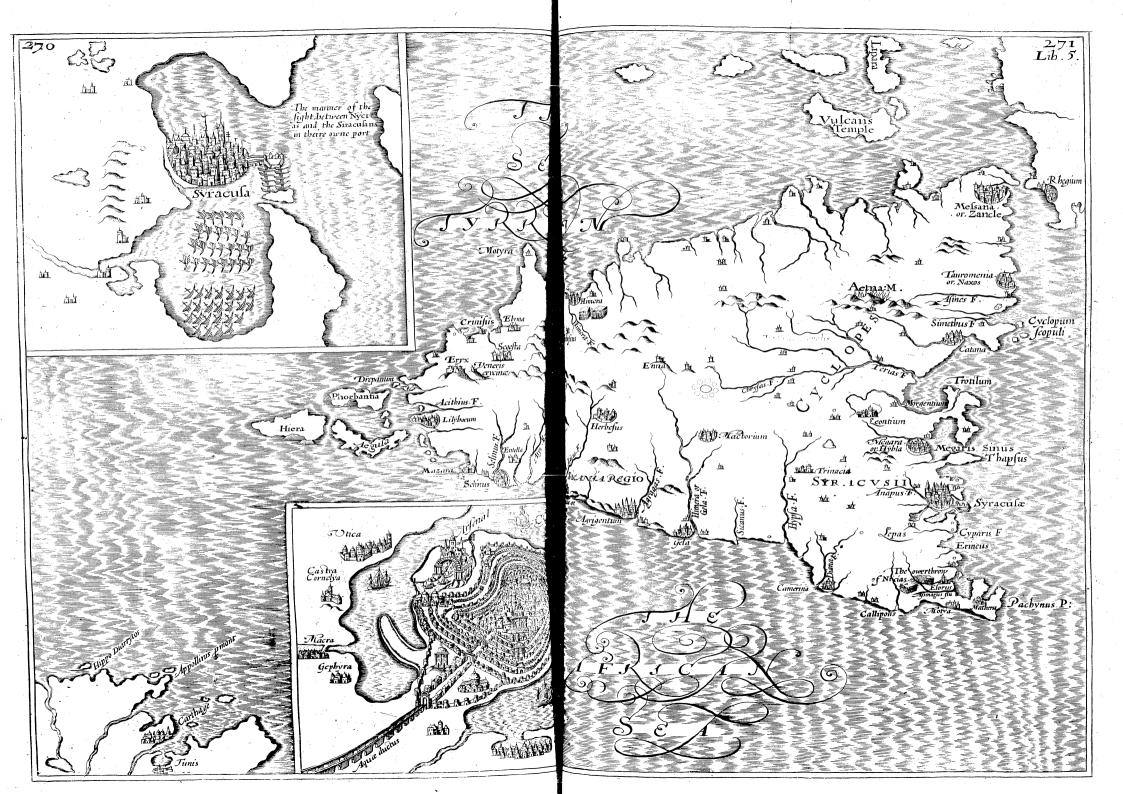
In executing this determination, it was very beneficiall to him, that the enemy lavencamped in fuch fort, as one quarter was not well able to relieve another in diffresse. Hie. ren was now exposed to the same danger, whereinto he had wilfully cast his owne mutinous followers not long before: onely he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his owne quarter, without helpe of others. Against him Ap. Claudius issued forth, and (not attempting, by unexpected fally, to furprize his trenches) arranged his men in order of battell, wherewith he presented him. The Syracusian wanted not courage to 20 fight; but furely he wanted good advice: else would he not have hazzarded all his power against an enemy of whom he had made no tryall 5 when it had been easie, and as much as was requifite, to defend his owne Campe. It may be, that he thought to get honour, wherewith to adorne the beginning of his reigne. But he was well beaten, and drivento fave himselfe within his Trenches: by which losse, he learned a point of wisdome, that flood him and his Kingdome in good flead all the daies of his life. It was a foolish defire of revenge, that had made the Syracufians fo busie, in helping those of Carthage, against the Mamertines.

Had Messana bin taken by the Carthaginians, Syracuse it selfe must have sought helpe from Rome, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. Hieron had (in re- 40 fpect of those two mighty Cities) but a small stocke, which it behooved him to governe well: fuch another loffe would have made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake up his Campe, andretired home: intending to let them stand to their adventures, that had hope to be gainers by the bargaine. The next day, Claudius perceiving the Sicilian Army gone, did with great courage, & with much alacrity of his fouldiers, give charge upon the Carthaginians: wherein he fped so well, that the enemy for sook both field and camp, leaving all the Country open to the Romans; who having spoiled all round, with-

out resistance, intended to lay siege unto the great City of Syracuse.

These prosperous beginnings, howsoever they animated the Romans, and filled them with hopes of attaining to greater matters, than at the first they had expected: 50 Yet did they not imprint any forme of terrour in the Citie of Carthage, that had well enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost, than what had been prepared against the Mamertines alone, without any suspicion of Warre from Rome.

Now in this place I hold it feafonable, to confider of those grounds, whereupon the Romans entred into this War; not how profitable they were nor how agreeable to rules of honesty (for questionless the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict termes of lawfulnesse; whereupon they built



all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the Mamertines did yeeld themselves, and all that they had, into the Romans hands (as the Campanes, distressed by the Samnises, of one part had already admitted the Carthaginians, could be enabled to make any such surrendry in the publike name of all.

If therefore the Mamertines, by no lawfull furrendry of themselves and their possession ons, were become subject unto Rome, by what better title could the Romans affift the Mamertines, against their most ancient friends the Carthaginians, than they might have ayded the Campanes, against the Samnites, without the same condition: which was (as they themselves confessed) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point serving to cleare this doubt, is loft in all Histories. Doubtleffe it is, that no company of Pyrates, Theeves, Out-lawes, Murderers, or fuch other Malefactors, can by any good fucceffe oftheir villanie, obtaine the priviledge of civill societies, to make league or truce; yea, or forequire faire Warre: but are by all meanes, as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take upon me to maintaine that opinion of some Civilians, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of these; it were a Position of ill consequence: This I hold; that no one Prince or State can give protection to such asthefe, as long as any other is using the sword of vengeance against them, without becomming acceffary to their crimes. Wherefore we may esteeme this action of the Ronums so farre from being justifiable, by any pretence of Confederacie made with them; asthat contrariwife, by admitting this neft of Murderers and Theeves into their protefion, they justly deserved to be warred upon themselves, by the people of Sicil; yea, although Messana had been taken, and the Mamertines all flain, ere any newes of the Confederacy had been brought unto the besiegers. The great Alexander was so farreperwaded herein; that he did put to sword all the Branchiada (a people in Sogdiana) and mized their Citie, notwithstanding that they joyfully entertained him as their Lord and King; because they were descended from a Company of Milesians, who to gratifie King Maxes, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Towne and County, which these of their posterity enjoyed. Neverthelesse, in course of humane justice, long and peaceable possession gives jus acquisitum, a kinde of right by prescription unto that which was first obtained by wicked meanes: and doth free the Descendants from heerime of their Ancestors, whose villanies they doe not exercise. But that the same gerention of Theeves, which by a detestable fact hath purchased a righ Towne, should be athowledged a lawfull company of Citizens, there is no shew of right. For even the Conqueror that by open Warre obtaineth a kingdome, doth not confirme his title, by those victories which gave him first possession: but length of time is requisite to establish im, unlesse by some alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his dame, as did our King Henry the first, by his marriage with Maude, that was daughter Malcolme, King of the Scots, by Margaret, the Neece of Edmund Ironfide. Wherefore lonclude, that the Romans had no better ground (if they had so good) of justice, in this parrell, than had the Gother, Hunnes, Vandalls, and other Nations, of the Wars that bey made upon the Roman Empire, wherein Rome her felfe, in the time of her visitation, was burnt to the ground.

6. IIII. Of the Ilandof Sicil.

t. t.

The qualitie of the Iland: and the first inhabit ants thereof.

He defence of the Mamertines, or the possession of Messan, being now no longer fince the first victories of Appins Claudius, the objects of the Roman hopes; but the Dominion of all Sicil being the prize, for which Rome and Carthage are about to ontend: it will be agreeable into the order, which in the like cases we have observed; to take a briefe collection of things concerning that noble Iland, which hath bin the stage smany great acts, performed as well before and after, as in this present War.

Plin.1.2.c.91.

That Sicil was fomerimes a Peninfula, or Demie-Ifle, adjoyning to Italie, as a part of Brutium in Calabria, neare unto Rhegium, and afterward by violence of tempest severed from the same: it is a generall opinion of all antiquitie. But at what certaine time this division happened, there is no memoriall remaining, in any ancient writer. Strabo, Plinie, and Diony sins affirme, that it was caused by an earth-quake; Silius and Cassiodorus doe thinke it to have been edone by the rage and violence of the tide, and furges of the Sea. Either of these opinions may be true; for so was Eubæa severed from Bæotia; Atalame and Macris from Eubæa, Silie here in England, from the Cape of Cornwall, and Brittain itselfe (as may seeme by Verstigans arguments) from the opposite continent of Gaule. But for Sicil, they which lend their eares to fables, doe attribute the cause of it to Nep- to tune (as Eustathius witnesseth) who with his three-forked Mace, in favour of Jocastus, the some of Æslus, divided it from the maine land, and so made it an Iland, which before was but a Demie-Ifle; that by that means he might the more fafely inhabite, and poffeste the same. Diedorus siculus, moved by the authority of Hesiodus, ascribeth the labour of fundring it from Italie, to Orion: who, that he might be compared to Hersules (cutting through the rocks and mountains) first opened the Sicilian streights, as Hercales did those of Gibralter.

They which value the Ilands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantity and content, doe make this the greatest, as Enflathius and Strabe, who affirme this, not only to excell the reft for bignesse, but also for goodnesse of soyle. As concerning the forme to of this Iland, Pompenin Mela faith, it is like that Capitall letter of the Greeke, which they call Delts, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally knowne to be true. That the whole Iland was confecrated to Ceres and Proferpina, all old writers with one conferraffirme. To Geres it was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of setting and fowing of Corne: to Preserpina, not so much for that the was from hence violently taken by Pluto, as because (which Plut archand Diederus do report for truth) that Pluto, as foon as the uncovering her felfe, first the wed her felfe to be feene of him, gave her the

Dominion thereof.

Of the fertility and riches of this Countrie, there is a famous testimonic written by Cicero, in his fecond Oration against Verres, where he faith, that CM arcen Cato did callit ! the Granarie and Store house of the Common-mealth, and the Nurse of the vulgar fort. The fame Cicero doth adde in that place; that it was not onely the Store-house of the people of Rome: but also that it was a well-furnished treasurie. For without any cost or charge of ours (faith he)it hath usually clothed, maintained and furnished our greatest Armies with leather, apparrell, and corne. Strabe reporteth almost the fame thing of it. Whatsoever Sicilie doth yeeld (faith Solinus) whether by the funne, and temperature of the ayre, or by the industry and labour of man, it is accounted next unto those things that are of best estimation: were it not that such things as the earth first putteth forth, are extremely over-growne with faffron. Diodorne Sieulus faith, that in the fields neare unto Leonium, and in divers other places of this Hand, wheate doth grow of it selfe without any labour or looking to of the husbandman. Martianus sheweth, that there were in it fixe Colonies, and fixty Cities: there are that reckon more, whereof the names are found scatteringly in many good Authors.

Now besides many famous acts, done by the people of this Iland, as well in peacess Warre, there be many other things which have made it very renowned, as the birth of Ceres; the ravishing of Proserpina; the Giant Encelladas; the mount Aina, Scylla &Charybdis, with other antiquities and rarities; befides those learned men, the noble Mathematician, Archimedes, the famous Geometrician Euclides, the painfull Historian Diodorus,

and Empedecles, the deep Philosopher.

That Scieil was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants, Lastriogones and Cyclopes, barbarous people, and uncivill; all histories and fables do jointly with one consent averre. Yet Thueydides faith, that thefe favage people dwelt onely in one part of the Iland. Afterward the Sicani, a people of Spiine, possessed it. That these Sicani were not bredde in the Isle (although some so thinke) Thueydides and Diederus doesvery constantly?

Of these it was named Sicania. These Sicani were invaded by the Siculis who, inhabiting that part of Latium, wheron Rome was afterward built, were driven by the Pelagi from their owne seates, and finding no place upon the Continent, which they were ableto

master and inhabite, passed over into this Iland, three hundred years before the Greekes fent any Colonies thither: & (faith Philistus) eighty years before the fall of Troy. These siculi gave the name of Sicilia, to the Iland; & making warre upon the Sicani, drave them from the East and Northerne part thereof, into the West and South. At their landing, they first built the Citie Zancle, afterward called Messena; and after that, Catana, Leontium, & Syracuse it selfe, beating from thence the Aetolians, who long before had fetupa Towne in that place. As for the name of Syracuse, it was not knowne, till such time as Archias of Corinth (long after) wonne that part of the Iland from the Siculi; Neither did the Siculiat their first arrivall dispossesses the Aetolians thereof, but some hundred years after their descent, and after such time as they had sounded the Cities before named with Nea, Hybla, Trynacia, and divers others.

After these Siculicame another nation out of Italy, called Morgetes; who were thence driven by the Oenotrians. These sat downe in that part of Sicil, where they afterward railed the Cities of Morgentum, & Leontium. For at this time the Siculi were divided, and by a civill war greatly infeebled. Among these ancient stories, we finde the last vovmeand the death of Minos, King of Creet. Theucydides, an Historian of unquestionable fincerity, reports of Minos, that he made conquest of many Ilands: and some such bufinesse, perhaps, drew him into Sicil. But the common report is, that he came thither in pursuit of Dadalus. The tale goes thus: Dadalus fleeing the revenge of Minos, came into Sicil to Cocalus, King of the Sicani, and during his abode there, he built a place of great strength, neere unto Megara, for Cocalus to lay up his treasure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the rest, he cast a Ramme in gold, that was set up in the Temple of Venus Eryuna; which he did with so great Art, as thosethat beheld it, thought it rather to be Ii-

ving than counterfeit.

CHAP. 1, S. 4. + . 1.

Now Minos, hearing that Cocalus had entertained Dadalus, prepares to invade the Territory of Cocalus; but when he was arrived, Cocalus doubting his own ftrength, promilethto deliver Dadalus. This he performes not, but in the meane while, kils Minos by majon, and perswades the Cretans, Minos his followers, to inhabite a part of Sicil; the better (as it feems) to strengthen himselfe against the Siculi. Hereunto the Cretans (their King being dead) gave their consent, and builded for themselves the Citie of Minoa, afterthename of their King Minos. After, they likewise built the Towne of Engium, now alled Gange: and these were the first Cities, built by the Greekes in Sicil, about two westefore the warre of Troy; for the grand-children of Minos ferved with the Greeks at the fiege thereof.

But after fuch time as the Cretans understood, that their King had by treason beene made away; they gathered together a great Armie, to invade Cocalus . and landing neere mo Camicus, they befreged the fame five yeers, but invaine. In the end (being forced to returne, without any revenge taken) they were wrackt on the coast of Italy, and having no meanes to repaire their ships, nor the honour they had lost, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built Hyria, or Hyrium, between the two famous Ports of Brundusium and Tarentum. Of these Cretans came those Nations, afterward called 7a-Mes and Messapii.

After the taking of Troy, Aegestus and Elymus, brought with them certaine troups inb Sicil, & feated themselves among the Sicani; where they built the Cities of Aegesta and Elyma.

Itis faid, that Aeneas visited these places in his passage into Italie: and that some of the Trojans, his followers, were left behinde him, in these Townes of Sicil: whereof there want not good Authors, that make Aeneas himselfe the founder.

About the same time, the Phanicians seized upon the Promontories of Pachinus, & Libbeum, & upon certaine small Isles adjoyning to the maine Iland: which they fortihtd, to secure the trades that they had with the Sicilians; like as the Portugals have done in the East India, at Goa, Ormus, Mosambique, & other places. But the Fhanicians staied nothere; for after they had once affured their descents, they built the goodly Citie of

anormus, now called Palerma.

These we finde, were the Nations that inhabited the Isle of Sicil, before the watre Of Troy, and ere the Greekes in any numbers began to straggle in those parts.

It may perchance feeme strange to the Reader, that in all ancient storie, he findes one

Strabol.6.

CHAP.I, S.4. +.3,

Saxo G. in pra-

Bello Gotto. Plin.lib . 7.c. 2.

and the same beginning of Nations, after the floud; & that the first planters of all parts of the World, were said to be mighty and Giant-like men; & that, as Phænicia, Aegypt Lybia, & Greece, had Hercules, Oreftes, Ant aus, Typhon, and the like ; as Denmarke had Starchaterus, remembred by Saxo Grammaticus; as Scythia, Britanie, & other Regions had Giants for their first Inhabitants; so this Isle of Sicil had her Lestrigones & Cyclopes. This discourse I could also reject for fained and fabulous, did not Moses make us know that the Zamzummims, Emims, Anakims, & Og of Basan, with others, which sometime inhabited the Mountaines and Defarts of Moab, Ammon, and Mount Seir, were men of exceeding strength and stature, and of the races of Giants: and were it not, that Tertullian, S. Augustine, Nicephorm, Procopius, Isidore, Plinie, Diodore, Herodotus, Solinus, August de Civil. Plut arch, and many other Authors, have confirmed the opinion. Yea, Vesputius, in his Del hb. 15. Et second Navigation into America, bath reported that himselfa hath second Navigation into America, bath reported fecond Navigation into America, hath reported, that himselfe hath seene the like menin those parts. Againe, whereas the selfe-same is written of all Nations, that is written Procap. lib. 2. de of any one; as touching their simplicity of life, their meane fare, their feeding on accorns and rootes, their poore cottages, the covering of their bodies with the skins of beafts. their hunting, their armes, and weapons, and their warfare, their first passages over great Rivers & Armes of the Sea, upon rafts of trees tied together; & afterward, their making boats, first of twigs and leather, then of wood; first with Oares, & then with Saile; that they esteemed as gods, the first finders out of Arts; as of Husbandrie, of Lawes, and of Policie: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all lived in the same newnesse of time, which we call Old time, and had all the same want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankinde. For other teaching had they none, that were removed farre off from the Hebrewes, (who inherited the knowledge of the first Patriarchs) than that from variable effects they beganne, by time and degrees, to finde out the causes: from whence came Philosophic Naturall; as the Morall did from disorder and confusion; and the Law from cruelty and oppression. But it is certaine, that the Age of Time hath brought forth stranger and more incredi-

ble things, than the Infancie. For wee have now greater Giants, for vice and injustice, than the World had in those daies, for bodily strength; for cottages, and houses of clay and timber, we have raifed Palaces of stone; we carve them, we paint them, and adorne them with gold, infomuch as men are rather knowne by their houses, than their houses by them; we are fallen from two dishes, to two hundred; from water, to wine & drunkennesse; from the covering of our bodies with the skinnes of beasts, not onely to sike and gold, but to the very skinnes of men. But to conclude this digreffion, Time will also take revenge of the excesse, which it hath brought forth; Quam long a dies peperit, longiorque auxit, longi sima subruet : Long time brought forth, longer time increased it, and a time, longer than the rest, Shall overthrow it.

†. I I.

The plantation of the Greekes in Sicill.

Hen the first inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all Sicill: ithappened, that one Theocles, a Greek, being drivenupon that coast by an Easterly wind, & finding true the commendations thereof, which had been thought fabulous, being delivered only by Poets, gave information to the Athenians of this his discoveric, & proposed unto them the benefit of this casie conquest offering to become their guide. But Theocles was as little regarded by the Athenians, a Columbia, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the English. Wherefore he tooke the fam courfe that Columbus afterwards did. He over-laboured not himselfe in perswading the Noble Athenians (who thought themselves to bee well enough already) to their own profit; but went to the Chalcidians, that were needie and industrious, by whom h project was gladly entertained. By these was built the Citie of Naxus, and a Colon planted of Eubæans.

But the rest of the Greekes were wifer than our Westerne Princes of Europe: they had no Pope, that should forbid them to occupie the voide places of the World Archias of Corinth followed the Eubæans, and landed in Sicill, neere unto that City

called afterward * Syracuse: of which, that part onely was then compassed with a wall, *syracuse, as ciwhich the Aetolians called Homothermon; the Greeks, Nasos; the Latines, Infula. He with wordares, was his Corinthians having overcome the Siculi, drave them up into the Country; and after the greater, & most goodly Ciafew years, their multitudes increasing, they added unto the City of the Hand, that of A- tie of all that tradina, Tycha, and Neapolis. So as well by the commodity of the double Port, capable the Greek poffest. For the siof asmany ships, as any Haven of that part of Europe, as by the fertility of the soyle; Sy-tuation is both racuse grew up in great haste, to be one of the goodliest Townes of the world. In short frong, & of an time the Greeks did possesse the better part of all the Sea-coast; forcing the Sicilians to specific from eyewithdraw themelves into the fast and mountainous parts of the Iland, making their recentance, by Royall residence in Trinacia.

Some seven years after the arrivall of Archias, the Chalcidians, encouraged by the suc- (for the nost ceffe of the Corinthians, did affaile, & obtaine the city of Leentium, built & poffeft by the Part) covioned Siculi. In briefe, the Greeks win from the Siculi, & their Associates, the cities of Catana buildings : and and Hybla, which, in honour of the Megarians that fore't it, they called Megara.

About 45. years after Archias had taken Syracuse; Antiphemus and Entimus, the one was without the from Rhodes, the other from Crete, brought an Army into Sicil, and built Gela; whose both sides banke Citizens, one hundred and eight years after, did erect that magnificent and renowned city up, and fulfained with beauof Agrigentum, governed according to the Lawes of the Dorians.

The Syracufians alfo, in the seventieth year after their plantation, did set up the city Marble. The ciof Aera, in the Mountaines; and in the ninetieth year Casmena, in the Plaines adjoyning; one of the greating Ragaine in the hundred and thirtieth year of their dwelling in Syracufe, they built Came-telt of the worlds ina: & foon after that, Enna, in the very Center of the Iland. So did the Cumani about for it had in the same time, recover from the Siculi the city of Zancle, which they had founded in the Strabo reporfiright betweene Sicil and Italy. They of Zancle had beene the founders of Himera, teth) without Not long after this, Doriam the Lacedamonian built Heraclia; which the Phanicians, thereof, 186. and Carthaginians, fearing the Neighbourhood of the Spartans, foon after invaded and furlongs, which

mined, though the fame were againe ere long re-edified. Selinus alfo was built by a Colony of Megara: & Zancle was taken by the Meffeni-It was comun; who having loft their owne Country, gave the name thereof unto this their new foure Cities. purchase. Such were the beginnings of the greatest cities in this Iland.

t. III.

Of the Government and affaires of Sicil, before Dienyfius his tyranny.

He most part of the cities in Sicil, were governed by the rule of the people, till yet witnesse. fuch time as Phalaris began to usurpe the state of Agrigentum, and to exercise as the Dore of all maner of tyranny therein.

This was that Phalaris, to whom Perillus, the cunning Artificer of a detestable En-siilian, this give, gave an hollow Bull of braffe, whereinto inclose men, and scortch them to death: 500dly city for praising the device with this commendation, That the noise of one tormented therein, came the featof fould bee like unto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gave a due reward to the In-Tyrants. The remounts by causing the first trial to be made upon himselfe. He reigned one and thirty was Geto: The Mars, faith Enfebius; others give him but fixteene : Howfoever it were, one Telemachus second, Him diffeend, fell upon him with the whole multitude of Agrigentum, and stoned him to the elder: the with being thereto animated by Zeno, even whilest the Tyrant was tormenting the lust the south me Zeno, to make him confesse some matter of conspiracy

After the death of Phalaris, the Citizens recovered their liberty, & enjoyed it long, younger: the There infurped the government of the Common-weale at which time also Panatius fixt, Dien: the madehimfelf Lord of Leontium; & Cleander, of Gela: but Cleander, having ruled feven feven agathories yeares, was flaine by one of the Citizens. Cleander being dead, his brother Hyppoerates thus the ninth. seceded in his roome, & greatly afflicted the people of Naxos, of Zancle, or Meffena, Hierothe your and of Limitium; whom with divers others of the ancient inhabitants, he forced to act & last, Hierony, mowledge him their Lord. He also made warre with the Syracustans, and, in the end, must who being to from them by composition, the City of Camerina. But when he had reigned seven un, at length years, he was flaine in a battell against the Siculi, before Hybla.

At this sime did the Syraculians change their form of government, from Popular ro Arifocraticalsa preparation towards a principality, whereinto it was foon after changed. Maratus.

five; to wit , In-

of which great-

After the death of Hippocrates, Gelon (descended from the Khodians, which together with the Cretans had long before, among other of the Greeks, seated themselves in Sicil) that had commanded the forces of Hippocrates, in the former war, with notable successe, became Lord of Gela. He, after his Masters death, breaking the trust committed unto him by Hippocrates over his childeen, and being in possession of Gela, tooke the occasion and advantage of a contention in Syracuse, betweene the Magistrates and the People. For comming with a strong Army to the succour of the Governours, driven out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, and (indeed) the most famous, that ever governed the Syracustans. This change happened in the second yeere of the threefcore and twelfth Olympiad; wherein the better to establish himselse, he tooketo wife to

the Daughter of Thero, who had also usurped the state of Agrigentum.

Now this Gelon, the sonne of Dinomenes, had three brethren; Hiero, Polyżelus, and Thrasphulus: to the first of which he gave up the Citie of Gela, when hee had obtained the Principalitie of Syracuse. For, after that time, all his thoughts travelled in the strengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of Syracuse. He defaced Camerina, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the Syracufians who built it, and brought the Citizens to Syracuse. The Megarians that had moved a war against him, he overcame; the richer fort he brought unto Syracuse; and the people he sold for flaves. In like manner dealt he with other places upon the like occasion. Not long after this, There, a Prince of the Agrigentines, having dispossest Terillus of his Citie Himera; the Carthaginians were drawne into the quarrell by Anaxilus, Lord of Messena, Father-in-law to Terillus: and Gelon was also solicited by his Father-in-law, Thero. Gelon was content, and in fine, after divers conflicts, the Carthaginians, and other Africans, led by Amilear. were overthrowne by Gelon: and an hundred and fifty thousand of them left their bo-

This Gelon it was, to whom the Athenians and Laced amonians sent for succour, when Xernes with his huge Army past the Hellespont. He, for their reliefe having armed thirty thousand Souldiers, and two hundred thips, refused neverthelesse to send them into Greece, because they refused him the commandement of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or Land. So hee used to their Embassadors only this saying, That their Spring was withered; accounting the Army, by him prepared, to be the very flower of the Greeke

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Paul lib.6.

The Carthaginians, after this great loffe received, fearing the invafion of their owne Countrie, fent to Gelon by their Embassadours, to desire peace, who grants it them on these conditions: That from thenceforth they should not facrifice their children to S4turne; That they should pay him 2000, talent of silver, and present him with two armed ships, in figne of amitie. These conditions the Carthaginians, not only willingly accepted, but with the two thousand talents, and the ships for warre, they sent unto Demarata, Gelons wife, a crowne, valued at an hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The warres ended, and Sicilin peace, Gelon beautified the Temples of the gods, & erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloved and honoured of his Subjects, he left the World, and left for his Successor his brother Hiero. Philists and Pliny report, That, when his body was burnt, according to the custome of that Age, a Dogge of his, which alwaies waited on him, ranne into the fire, and suffered himfelfe to be burnt with him.

To Gelon, Hiero his brother fucceeded, a man rude, cruell, coverous, and fo fulpicious of his brethren Polyzelu, and Thrafybulus, as hee fought by all meanes to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this, by the conversation which he had with Simonides, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the fludy of good Arts. Divers quartely he had, as well with Theron of Agrigentum, as with other cities: all which he shortly af ter compounded, and gave a notable overthrow to the Carthaginians, whom Xerxes had incited to invade Sicil, fearing the fuccours which Gelon had prepared, to aidethe Gre cians, against him. He also overthrew in battaile Thrasydam, the sonne of Theron, and thereby restored the Agrigentines, to their former liberty. But in the end, he los the love of the Syracustans; and after he had reigned eleven yeeres, he left the King dome to his brother Thrasphulm, who became a most unjust and bloudy Tyrant. Thrasp dome to his brother Thrasphulm, who became a more than the bulus injoyed his Principality no longer than ten moneths. For, notwithstanding the

force of mercenary Souldiers, which he entertained for his guards, he was beaten out of Syracuse by the Citizens; to whom, being besieged in Acradina, he restored the governement, and was banished the Iland. From whence he failed into Greece, where he died a private man, among the Locrians.

And now had the Syracusians recovered againe their former liberty, as all the rest of the Cities did, after which they had never fought, had the Succeffors of Gelon inherited his vertue, as they did the Principality of Syracuse. For in all changes of Estates, the prefervation ought o answer the acquisition. Where a liberall, valiant, and advised Prince. hathobtained any new Signiory, and added it to that of his owne, or exalted himfelfe from being a private man, to the dignity of a Prince; it behooveth the Successour to maintaine it by the same way and art, by which it was gotten.

To conclude, Syracuse (though not without blowes, ere that she could cleanse her ele of the creatures and lovers of Gelon) was now againe become Mistresse of her file, and held her selfe free, well neere threescore yeares, to the time of Dionysius; hough the were in the meane while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her owne scale

Now, to prevent the greatnesse of any one among them, for the suture, they devised alinde of banishment of such among them, as were suspected; taking patterne from the Athenian Oftracifme. They called this their new devised judgment of exile, Petalismus, wherein every one wrote upon an Olive leafe (as at Athens they wrote upon shells) the mme of him, whom he would have expelled the City. He that had most suffrages mint him, was banished for five yeeres. Hereby in a short time, it came to passe that who of judgement, and best able to governe the Common-weale, were by the worst the, either supprest, or thrust out of the City. Yea, such as feared this Law, though my had not yet felt it, withdrew themselves as secretly as they could; seeking some had of more security, wherein to maintaine themselves. And good reason they had bto doe; seeing that there is nothing so terrible in any State, as a powerfull and mhorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not very long. For their necessity taught him to abolish it, and restore agains the wifer fort unto the Government from which, the Nobility having practifed to banish one another, the State became alwether Popular. But after a while, being invaded by Ducetim, King of the Sicilians, minhabited the inner part of the Iland (who had already taken Enna, and some other of the Gracian Cities, and overthrowne the Army of the Agregentines) the Syracufor fent forces against him, commanded by an unworthy Citizen of theirs, called Illian. This their Captaine made nothing so much haste to finde out Ducetius, against mom he was imployed, as he did to flee from the Army, he led, as soone as Ducetius mented him battell. So for want of conduct, the greatest number of the Syracusians

But making better choice among those whom they had banished, they levie other toupes: by whom, in conclusion, Ducetius being beaten, submitteth himselfe, and is offrained to leave the Iland for a time. Yet it was not longere he returned againe and witthe City Collatina on the Sea-fide.

Ducetius being dead; all the Greek Cities did in a fort acknowledge Syracuse: Trinamexcepted; which also by force of armes, in the fourescore and fift Olympiad, they lought to reason.

But they doe not long enjoy this their Superintendencie. For the Citizens of Leonbeing opprest by them, seeke aide from the Athenians, about the fixt year of the luponne fian Warre. In this fuite they prevailed by the eloquence of Gorgias their Ohor; and got an hundred Athenian Gallies to succour them, under the leading of Lathe, and Charwodes. To this fleet, the Leontines, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with some supplies brought by sophocles, Pythodorus, Eu-Imedon and other Athenian Captains, they invaded the Territories of the Syracufiant, adtheir Partisans; wanne and lost divers places; tooke Messana; and, in the feventh feare of the Peloponnesian Warre, lost it againe. They also at the same time, arrempad Hymera, but in vaine. The fire of this quarrell tooke hold upon many Cities, which did invade each others Territory with great violence. But when they had caried themselves on all hands, & yet could see none ifflie of the warre, the Leontines, without the advice of the Asherians, came to anaccord with the Syraoufians, and were

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admitted into their fociety, with equal freedome. So the Athenians, who hoped to have greatned themselves in sicil, by the division and civill warre, were disappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the Sicilians, and faine to be gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the custome of popular Estates) by taking revenge upon their owne Commanders. So they banished Pythodorm, & Sophocles, & laid an heavie fine upon Eurymedon. Shortly after this followed the most memorable war, that ever was made by the Greeks in Sicils which was that of the Athenians, against the Selinuntines & Syracusians, in savour of the Cities of Egesta, Leontium, and Catana. They of Selinus had oppress the Egestans. & they of Syracuse the Leontines, & the Catanians : which was the ground of the war. For the Athenians undertooke the protection of their old friends: and, in hatred of the Athenians, aide from Lacedamon was sent to the Syracusians. The Lacedamonians dealt plainly, having none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to help a people of their owne Tribe, that craved their fuccour, being in diffresse. The Atheniant scarce knew what to pretend : for their preparations were so great, as discovered their intent to be none other, than the conquest of the whole Iland. Yet they which had called them in, were so blinded with their owne passions, that they would not believe their owne eies; which presented unto them a Fleet and Army, far greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the city of Athens had engaged all her power; as regarding, not onely the greatnesse of the enterprise, but the necessity of sinishing it in a short space of time. For the Lacedamonians (as hath already been shewed in due place) stood at that time in such broken terms of peace with Athens, as differed not much from open warre. Wherefore it was thought necessary, either to spare cost in this great expedition, or altogether to forbeare it: which was likely to be hindred by warres at home, if their proceedings were slacke abroad. And surely, had not the define of the Athenians binoverpassionate, the arguments of Nicias had caused them to abstain from so chargeable a businesse, and to reserve their forces for a more needfull use. But young counsales prevailed against the authority of ancient men, that were more regardfull of safety than of

Of this businesse, mention hath beene already made, in that which wee have written of the *Pelopomessam* warre. But what was there delivered in generall termes, as not concerning the affaires of *Greece*, otherwise than by consequence, doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherein the whole State of *Sicil* was like to have selt a great conversion.

Though Alcibiades had prevailed against Nicias, in exhorting the people to this great voyage; yet Nicias, together with Alcibiades and Lamachus, was appointed to be one

of the chiefe Commanders therein.

These had commission & direction, as well to succour the Segestans, & to re-establish the Leontines; cast out of their places by the Syracusians; as also by force of armes, to subject the Syracusians, and all their adherents in Sicil, and compell them by tribute, to acknowledge the Athenians for their supreme Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captaines were sent off, with an hundred and thirty Gallies, and five thousand one hundred Souldiers, besides the thirty ships of burden, which transported their victuals, engines, and other munitions for the war: and these were Athenians, Maintineans, Rhod dians; and Candians: there were, besides these, six thousand Megarians light-armed, with thirty horse-men.

Thutyd.1.6.c.9.

With rhese troups & sleets they arrive at Rhegium, where the Rhegiums result to give them entry; but sell them victualls for their mony. From thence they sent to the Ege stans, to know what treasure they would contribute towards the warre, seeing for their sakes they had entred thereinto. But they found by their answers, that these Egesum were poore, and that they had abused the Athenians surther were discouraged, whenthe sould having in all but 30. talents. The Athenians surther were discouraged, whenthe sould that the Rhegians, their ancient friends, and allied unto the Leontines, resulted trust them within their Walls. Hereupon Nicias adviseth to depart towards the simunines, and to force them, or persuade them to an agreement with the Egesum; is likewise to see what disbursements the Egestans could make; and so return again in Greece, and not to waste Athens in a needlesse war. Alcibiades, on the other side, would receive the country of the surface of the country
folicite the cities of sicil to confederacie against the Syracusans & Selinuntines, whereby to force them unto resitution of all that they had taken from the Leontines. Lamachus, he perswades them to assaile Syracuse it self, before it were prepared against them. But in the end (being excluded out of divers Cities) they surprise Catana: and there they take new counsels how to proceed. Thence they imployed Nicias to those of Egesta, who received from them thirtie talents towards his charges; and one hundred and twentie talents more there were of the spoyles they had gotten in the Iland. Thus, the Summer being spent in idle consultations, and vaine attempts, the Athenians prepare to affaile Sylothe Athenians to make his answer: and the Atmie was left to the conduct of Nicias and Lamachus. These Commanders obtaine a landing place very neer unto Syracuse, by this

They imploy to Syracufe an inhabitant of Catana, whom they trust; and instruct him. continued the Syraenfians, that he would deliver into their hands all the Athenians within Catana. Hereupon the Syracufians draw thitherward with their best forces. But in the mean while, the Athenians, letting fail from Catana, arrive at Syracufe, where they land at faire case, and fortifie themselves against the Town. Shortly after this, they fight, and the Syracufians had the loffe: but the Athenians, wanting horse, could not pursue their vidorie to any great effect. They then retire themselves, with a resolution to refresh their Armie at Catana, for the winter-season. From thence they made an attempt upon Messa, hoping to have taken it by an intelligence, but in vain. For Alcibiades had discovered such as were Traitors within the Citie to the Messenians. This he now did, in desight of his own Citizens, the Athenians; because they had recalled him from his command, with a purpose either to have put him to death, or to have banished him: whereof being affored by his friends, he tooke his way towards the Laced amonians, and to them hegave mischievous counsell against his countrey. While this Winter yet lasted, the Sysurfiant fend Embassadors to Lacedamon, and Corinth, for aid : as likewise the Athenian Captains in Social, fend to Athens for Supplies. Which both the one and the other obtains ned.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth year of the Pelopunation war) the Ashericans in Sicil faile from the Port of Catana to Megara, for faken of the Inhabitants; from whence, for raging the Country, they obtain some small victo-its over the straggling Syracusians: and at their return to Catana, they receive a supplie of two hundred men at arms, but without horse, which they hoped to surnish in the Iland som the Segestans, and other their adherents: they were also strengthened with a compane of Archers, and with three hundred talents in monv.

Hereupon they take courage; and incampeneere Syracufe, upon the banks of the great for, repelling the Syracufant, that fallied to impeach their increnchments. They also received from their Confederates four hundred horse-men, with two hundred other bosts, to mount their men at arms. Syracufe was now in effect blockt up, so as hardly any second enter, but such as were able to force their passage: yet the Athenians received were soldes; among which it was not the least, that Lamachus, one of their best

Commanders, was flaine.

Inthemean while, Gylppiss and Python, with the Laced amonian and Corinthian forces, and sake land at Hymera. The Citizens of Hymera, and of Gela, together with the stimutiones, by newith them; for that with these and his owne troupes, Gylppus adventured to march over land toward Syracuse. The Syracusians send a part of their forces once thin and condust him. The Athenians prepare to encounter them, expecting his awall never unto the Citic upon a place of advantage. At the first encounter they had the hetter of their enemies, by reason that the Syracusian horse-men could not come to but in those streights: but soone after, Gylppus charging them againe, brake them, and constrained Nicias to fortisse himselse within his Campe. Whereupon Nicias made the state of his affaires knowne, by his letters to the Athenians; shewing, that without great implies by Sea and Land, the enterprise would be lost, together with the small Army remaining. These letters received, the Athenians appoint two other Generals, Eurymedon and Demossibenes, to joyne with Nicias: the one they dispatch presently with some supplies the other they send after him in the Spring following.

In the meane while, Gylyppus at Syracuse, fights with the Athenians both by Sea and

Land

Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times with good successe: but in conclusion, he took from their Fort, neer unto Syracuse, the Promontorie called Plymmyrium; wherein the Athenians lost their treasure, and a great part of all their provisions. Notwithstanding which losse, and that the Athenians themselves, in Greece, were (in effect) besieged within Athens, by the Laced amonians; yet were they most obstinate in prosecuting the War in Sicil, and dispatched away Demosthenes with new succours. Demosthenes, in his way towards Sicil, encountred with Polyanthes the Corinthian, with his fleet: both the Captaines being bound for Sicil, the one to fuccour Nicias, the other Gylppus. The loffe betweene them was in effect equall; and neither fo broken, but that each of them profecuted the enterprise they had in hand. But before the succours arrived to either, Gylyppus To and Ariston had affailed the Athenians in the great Port of Syracuse, and in a Sea fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the Athenians. On the neck of this, Demosthenes arrived with threescore and thirteen Gallies, charged with footmen. and (blaming the floath of Nicias) he invaded the Syracufians the fame day that he arrived. But he made more hafte than he had good speed, being shamefully beaten, and repulsed with great losse. Hereupon Demosthenes and Eurymedon determine to rise up from before Syracuse, and returne to the succour of Athens: but Nicias disputed to the contrarie, pretending that he had good intelligence within Syracuse, whereby he learned that the Towne could not long hold out.

What soever Nicias his intelligence was; upon the arrivall of a new supplie into the 20 Towne, the Athenians had all consented to depart, and to lodge at Catana: had not an Eclipse of the Moone, boding (as was thought) ill successe, caused them to deferre their departure. But this superstition cost them dear . For the Syracusians, Laced emonians, and Corinthians, with threescore and seventeen faile of Gallies, entred the great Port of syracuse, wherein the Athenians kept their fleet, & whereon they had fortified themselves. The Athenians, in the same Port, encountred them with fourescore & fixe Gallies, commanded by Eurymedon; in which the Athenian fleet was beaten, by the leffer number. & Eurymedon flaine. Now, though it were fo, that the Syracufians received the moreloffe by land (for the fight was generall) yet when the Athenians were beaten by fea, in which kinde they thought themselves invincible, they were wonderfully cast downe. For it a was well faid of Gylyppus, to the Syracufians; When any people doe finde themselves vanquished in that manner of fight, and with those weapons, in which they perswade themselves that they exceede all others, they not onely lose their reputation, but their courage. The Athenians, besides the Gallies suncke and wrackt, had seventeene taken, & possess by the enemy: & with great labour and losse they defended the rest from being fired, having drawn them within a Palisado, in one corner of the Port, unadvisedly : for it is as contrary to a Sea-war, to thrust ships into a streight roome and corner, as it is to scatter footin a plaine field against horse; the one subsisting by being at large, the other by close imbattailing.

The Syracufians, having now weakned the Athenian fleet, resolve to imprison them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Haven, being about a mile over, and there they came to Ancher; filling the out-let with all manner of Veffells; which they man most strongly, because the Athenians, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of Gallies break though the Syracustan fleet; which lay but fingle because they were forc't to range themselves over all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not, onely mored themselves strongly by their Anchors, but chained the fides of their Gallies together, and laid behinde them againe certaine ships, which served in the former warre for victuallers : to the end, that if my of their Gallies were funke; or the chaine, which joyned them to their fellowes, broken, the Athenians might yet find themselves, a second time, intangled and arrested. To disorder also those Athenian Gallies, which came on in forme of a wedge to breake through, and force a passage, the Syracustans had lest within these Gallies & Ships, inchained to gether, a certain number of loofe ones, to ftop their course and fury. For where the way of any veffell, using oare or failes, is broken, and their speede fore-flowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the relistance oppoling.

On the other fide, the Athenians knew that they were utterly loft, except with an invincible resolution, they could make their way, and breake downe this great bridge of boats; or (at least) force a passage through them in some part or other: which they re-

folve to hazzard, with all their shipping (to the number of one hundred& ten; of all forts) and with all the strength of their Land-armie, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did so disorder the Athenian fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as, albeit some few of them had broken through the chaines, yet being stopt with the ships without, and assailed by other loose Gallies of the Syracusians; which were purposely left at large in the sea, they were either taken or sunk. Three great diladvantages the Athenians had: the first, that fighting within a Haven, and (as it were) in aftreight, they had no room to turn themselves, nor to free themselves one from another, being intangled; the fecond, that having over-peftered their Gallies with Souldiers, who used offensive armes of darts and slings, they had not place upon the decks to freich their armes; the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, namew. to force a passage, by which they might fave themselves by running away. To be fort, the fight was no leffe terrible than the confusion; the slaughter great on all sides; and the noise, and the cries, so lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the Athenians, as many as furvived, were beaten backe to the Land, with loss of threescore of their Gallies, broken, sunke, or abandoned. The Syracustans did al-Colofe twentie of theirs, with Python, Commander of the Corinthians. The rest of the Athenian Gallies, running themselves into the bottome of the Port, saved themselves by thehelpe and countenance of the Land-armie there fortified. In this desperate estate, the Athenian Commanders goe to counsel. Demosthenes perswades them to furnish with field Souldiers those few Gallies which remained; and while the Syracusians were trimphing, and made secure by their present victorie, to set upon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to returne to Athens. This was no ill counfell. For, as we have hard of many great Captaines (yea, the greatest number of all that have beene victorious) that have neglected the speedie prosecution of a beaten enemie; so might we producemany examples of those, who, having slept securely in the bosome of good successe; hwebeene fuddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of abroken Armie, and have thereby loft again all the honour and advantage formerly gotten. But Nicias opposeth theadvice of Demosthenes: Others fay, that the Sea-men were against it. Whereupon wandoning their Gallies, they all resolve to march over land to the Cities of their Confiderates, till some more favourable fortune should call them thence. On the other side, olippus, & other the Laced amonian & Corinthian Captains, with Hermocrates, exhort the Syracustans to put themselves presently into the field, & to stop all the passages, leadigto those Cities of their enemies, to which the Athenians might make retrait. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had dincenough for the present. Which humour in some of our Commanders at Cadez, blus both the Indian fleet, and the spoiles of many other Neighbour-places. Hermomates, the Syracufian, finding it a loft labour, to perswade his Countrimen to any hasty polecution, devised this good stratagem, thereby to gaine time; not doubting, but that teraday or two, he should draw them willingly out. He sent two or three horse-men mof syracuse by night, willing them to finde Nicias, and (after they had affured him, that they were of the Athenians faction) to give him advice not to march away overlastily from the place, wherein hee was fortified; alledging that the syracustans had loged their Armie, which could not long stay there, upon the passages and places of advanage, leading towards the cities of their Allies. Thefetidings Nicias eafily believed, adput off his journy to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the most part) more fearefull than wile; and to them, every thiftle in the field, appeares, by night, a man

The third day (leaving all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remove; being plerced and purfued with the lamentable out-cries of those that were ficke and hurr: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies fwords. The rest march away, to the umber of forty thousand; and make their first passage by force, over the River of Anorwithstanding the opposition of their enemics. But being every day charged in thermarches, and by the Syraculian horse men, beatenin from forraging and provision of food, they grow weake and heartleffe. The Syracuftans also possesse the Mounline Legas, by which they were to passe rowards Camerina, and thereby force them to bulbacke againetowards the Sea-coast, and to take what way they could being unable proceed in their journey intended. Many hard shifts they made, in difficult passages,

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and blinde marches by night; which they were faine to endure, as having none other meanes to escape from the enemy that pursued them, and held them waking with come nuall skirmishing. To keep all in order, Nicias undertooke the leading of the Vanne. guard; & Demosthenes conducted the Reare. At the River Erineus, Nicias takes the start of a whole nights march, leaving Demosthenes to make the retrait: who being incompast fed, and overprest with numbers, in the end renders himselfe. The conditions he obrained, were farre better than he could have hoped for; and the faith of his enemies farre worse than he suspected. For he was afterward, with Nicias, murdered in prison. The Army of Demosthenes being dissolved, they pursue Nicias with the greater courage. who being utterly broken, upon the passage of the River Assinarus, rendred himselfe to Gylippus, upon honest conditions. Gylippus sought to preserve him, and to have had the honour, to have brought these two to Sparta; Nicias, as a Noble Enemy to the Lacedamonians, and who, at the overthrow which they received at Pylus by the Athenians, had faved the lives of the vanquished; Demosthenes, as one that had done to Laredamon the greatest hurt. Hermocrates also, the Commander of the Syracusan Army, diffwaded the rest, by all the art he had, from using any barbarous violence, after fo noble a victory. But the cruell, and the cowardly fort, (cowardife and cruelty being inseparable passions) prevailed, and caused these brave Captains to bee miserably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to be starved in loathsome prisons; and the reft, fold for flaves. This was the fuccesse of the Sicilian warre: which tooke end at the River A sinarus, the foure and twentieth day of May, in the fourescore and eleventh

Olympiad. The Athenians being beaten out of Sicil; the Egestans (for whose defence against the Selinuntines, this late war had beene taken in hand) fearing the victorious Syraculians. fought helpe from the Carthaginians; to whom they offered themselves, and their Citie, as their vaffals. The Carthaginians, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in Sicil, yet confidering the prosperity of the Syracusians, & their late victories over the Athenians, they stayed a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refule or accept the offer made unto them : for the Selinuntines were streightly allied to the Syracufians, as may appeare by what is past. In the end, the Senators of Carthagerefolye upon the enterprise; & (by a tricke of their Punick wit) to separate the Synaulians from the Selinuntines, they fend Embaffadors to Syracufe: praying that City, as in the behalfe of the Egestans, to compell the Selinuntines to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the lands in question, as they of Syracuse should thinke meet to allow them. The Syracusians approved the motion; for it tended to their owne honour. But the Selinuntines would make no fuch appointment: rather they tooke it ill, that the Sy racufians, with whom they had run one courfe of fortune, in the Athenian warre, should offer to trouble them, by interpoling as Arbitrators, in a businesse that themselves could end by force. This was right as the Carthaginians would have it. For now could they of Selinus with an ill grace crave aide of Syracufe; and the Syracufians as ill grant it unto those, that had refused to stand to the Arbitrement, which the Carthaginians would have put into their hands. Hereupon, an Army of three hundred thousand men is fet out from Carthage, under the conduct of Hannibal, Nephewto that Amilear, who (as you have heard before) was overthrowne with the great Carthaginian Army at Himera by Gelon. Hamibal was exceeding greedy of this imployment, that he might take reverge as well of his Uncles, as of his Farhers death; the one of them having bin flaine bythe Himerans, the other by those of Selinus. Both the Cities, Hannibal, in this war, wonby force of armes, fackt them, and burnt them; and having taken three thousand of the His merans prisoners, he caused them to be led unto the place where Amilear was slaine and buried them there. indrection of the Grant

After this followed forme trouble at Stracufe, occasioned by the banishment of Her morrates, who had lately bin Generall of the Syracufian forces casainst the Athenian The malice of his enemies had to farre prevailed with the ingratefull multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meer vertue, at fuch time as he was aiding the Larred manians, in their warre against Athens; wherein he did great fervice. All the honest fortwithin Syrapufe were forty for the injury done unto him, and fought to have him appealed. Hermocrates himselfe, returning into Sicil, gathered an Army of fixethou fand; with which he began to repaire Selians; & by many mobile actions laboured to

the love of his Citizens. But the faction that opposed him was the stronger. Wherefore hee was advised to seize upon a Gate of Syracuse, with some strength of men; whereby his friends, within the Towne, might have the better meanes to rife against the adverse party. This he did: but prefently the multitude fell to armes, & fet upon him; in which conflict he was flaine. But his Son-in-law, Dionyfius, shall make them wish Hermocrates alive againe.

CHAP.I. S.4. +.4.

Of Dionyfius the Tyrant: and others, following him, in Syracuse.

He Syracusians had enjoyed their liberty about threescore years, from the death of Thrasybulus, to the death of Hermocrates : at which time Dionysius was raised up by God, to take revenge, as well of their cruelty towards strangers, as of their ingratitude towards their owne best Citizens. For before the time of Dionysius, they had made it their pastime, to reward the vertue of their worthiest Commanders with

death, or difgrace: which custome they must now be taught to amend.

Dienysius obtained the principality of Syracuse, by the same degrees, that many others, before him, had made themselves Masters of other Cities, and of Syracuse it selfe. For being made Prator, and commanding their Armies against the Carthaginians, and other their enemies, he behaved himfelfe fo well, that he got a generall love among the people, and men of war. Then began he to follow the example of Pifistratus, that made himselfe Lord of Athens; obtaining a band of sixe hundred men, to defend his person: under pretence, that his private enemies, being traiteroufly affected to the State of Syraase, had laied plots how to murder him, because of his good services. Hee doubled the my of his Souldiers; alledging, that it would incourage them to fight manfully: but mending thereby to affure them to himselfe. He perswaded the Citizens, to call home. out of exile, those that had beene banished, which were the best men of Syracuse; and these were afterwards, at his devotion, as obliged unto him by so great a benefit. His first favour, among the Syracustans, grew from his accusation of the principall men. It is the delight of base people to reigne over their betters: wherefore, gladly did he helpe them wheake downe, as fetters imprisoning their liberty, the bars that held it under safe cufody. Long it was not, ere the chiefe Citizens had found whereat hee aimed. But what they faw, the people would not fee: and fome that were needy, and knew not how to gtt Offices without his helpe, were willing to helpe him, though they knew his purpois to bee fuch, as would make all the Citie to finart. Hee began early to hunt after the tranny; being but five and twenty yeers of age when he obtained it: belike, it was his delire to reigne long. His first worke, of making himselfe absolute Lord in Syracuse, was, the possession of the Citadell; wherein was much good provision, & under it the Gallies were mored. This he obtained by allowance of the people; and having obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himselfe without all shame or seare. The Armie, the thefe Citizens, restored by him from banishment; all the needy fort within Syracuse, that could not thrive by honest courses; and some neighbour-townes, bound unto him, ther for his helpe in warre, or for establishing the faction, reigning at that present, were wholly affected to his affistance. Having therefore gotten the Cittadell into his hands, he needed no more, fave to affure what hee had already. Hee strengthened himelfe by divers marriages; taking first to wife the daughter of Hermocrates; and after her, two at once; the one a Locrian, Doris, by whom he had Dionylius, his Succeffor; the other, Aristomache, the daughter of Hipparinus, and fifter to Dien, honourable men Isyracuse which bare unto him many children, that served to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere some of the Syracustans (envying his prosperity) incited the militude, and tooke armes against him, even in the noveltie of his Rule. But their therprise was more passionately, than wisely governed. He had shamefully been beathby the Carthaginians at Gela: which, as it vexed the Sicilian men at armes, making them suspect that it was his purpose to let the Carthaginians wast all, that he might afterwards take possession of the desolate places; so it inflamed them with a desire to free themselves from his tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched hastily to syracufe, where they found friends to helpe them there they forced his Palace, ranfacked his treasures, and so shamefully abused his wife, that for the griefe thereof she poifoned her felfe. But he followed their heeles apace; and firing a Gate of the Citie by night, entred foone enough to take revenge, by making a speedy riddance of them. For he spared none of his knowne, no not his suspected enemies. After that, hee grew so doubtfull of his life, as he never durst trust Barber to trim him, nor any person, no nor fo much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, unstript and searched. Hee was the greatest Robber of the people that ever raigned in any State, and withall the most unre-

After this, he separated with fortification that part of the Citie, called the Hand, from the rest; like as the Spaniard did the Citadell of Antwerpe: therein he lodged his Trea- 10

fures, and his Guards.

He then began to make warre upon the free Cities of Sicil: but while hee lay before Herbesse, an in-land Towne, the Syracusians rebelled against him; so, as with great difficultie he recovered his Citadell: from whence, having allured the old Souldiers of the Campanians, who forced their paffage through the Citie, with one thousand and two hundred horse, he againe recovered the masterie over the Syracusians. And when a multitude of them were busied in gathering in their harvest, he disarmed all the Towns-men remayning, and new strengthened the Fort of the Iland, with a double wall. Heeinclofed that part also, called Epipoles; which, with threescore thousand labourers, he finished in three weekes, being two leagues in compasse. He then built two hundred new Gal-2 lies; and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and forty thoufand Targets, with as many fwords, and head-peeces, with fourteene thousand corflets, and all other futable armes. Which done, he fent word to the Carthaginians, (greatly infeebled by the plague) That except they would abandon the Greek Townes, which they held in Sicil, he would make war upon them : and , not staying for answer, hee tookethe spoile of all the Phanician ships, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King Philip the second did of our English, before the warre in our late Queenes time. He then goes to the field with fourescore thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and sends his brother Leptines to sea, with two hundred Gallies, and five hundred ships of burden. Most of the Townes which held for Carthage yeelded unto him; faving Panormus, Segeffa or Egesta, Ancyra, Motya, and Entella. Of these, he first wan Motya by assault, and putall therein to the fword; but before Egesta he lost a great part of his Army, by a fally of the Citizens. In the meane while Himileo arrives; but, ere he tooke land, he lost in a fight at Sea, with Leptines, fiftie ships of warre, and five thousand Souldiers, besides many ships ofburden. This norwithstanding, hee recovered againe Motya upon his first descent. From thence marching towards Messena, he tooke Lypara, and (soon after) Messena, and razed it to the ground. Now began Dionysius greatly to doubt his estate. Heetherefore fortified all the places he could, in the Territorie of the Leontines, by which he suppofed that Himileo would passe toward Syracuse; and hee himselfe tooke the field againe, with foure and thirty thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Now, hearing that Himileo had divided his Army into two parts, marching with the one halfe over-land, and fending Magowith the other by Sea: he sent Leptines, his brother, to encounter Mago. But Leptines was utterly beaten by the Carthaginians; twenty thousand of his men were slaine, and an hundred of his Gallies loft. It is very strange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authors tellus; That one Citie should bee able to furnish five hundred faile of ships, and two hundred Gallies: (for, so many did Syracuse arme in this warre) and more strange it is, that in a battaile at Sea, without any great Artillerie, or Musket-shot, twenty thousand should be slaine in one fight. In all our fights against the Turkes, of which that at Lepanto was the most notable, wee heare of no fuch number loft; nor in any other fight by Sea, that ever happened in our age, nor before us. When Charles the fift went to befiege Algier, he had in all his fleet, transporters and others, but two hundred and fifty faile of shippes, and threescore and five Gallies: for the furnishing of which fleet, he fought helpe from all the Cities and Ports of Spaine, Naples, and the rest of Italy. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the field, upon extremity, as many as were needfull, of all that could beare armes, giving them little wages, or other allowance: in our dayes it is not so; neither indeed, is it often requisite. Upon this overthrow, Dionysiss postes away to Syracuse, of strengthen it: Himileo followeshim, and besiegeth the Towne by Land & Sea. But the having received aide from the Lacedamonians, under the conduct of Pharacidas, puts himselfe to Sea, to make provision for his Citizens, who, in his absence, take twentie of the Carthaginian Gallies, and sinke fourc. Hereupon, finding their owne successe prosperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill; having also at the present weapons in their hands, they confult how to recover their libertie. And this they had done, had not Phapacidas the Lacedemonian refifted them. It also fell out, to his exceeding advantage, that the plague was fo increased, and so violent among the Carthaginians, as it is said, that above an hundred thousand of them died thereof. He therefore, with the power that he could gather together, fets upon them both by Sea and Land; and having flaine great commbers of them, forceth Himileo to defire peace. This peace Dionysiu fold him for a great fumme of money; on condition, that he should steale away with his Carthaginians onely: which he basely accepted betraying the rest of the Africans and Spaniards. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was purfued, and left many of his Carthaginians behind him. The rest of the Africans fell under the swords of their enemies; only the Spaniards, after they had a while bravely defended themselves, were (after their submillion) entertained, and served the Conquerour.

Many fuch examples of perfidious dealing have I noted in other places, and can hardlyforbeare to deliver unto memorie the like practices, when they meet with their matches: That which hapned unto Monsieur de Piles, was very sutable to this treacherie, wherewith Dionysius pursued Himilco. I was present when De Piles related the injurie done unto him. He had rendred S. John d' Angelie to the French King Charles the ninth, who besseged him therein. He rendred it, upon promise made by the faith of a King, that he should be suffered to depart in safetie, with all his followers. Yet in presence of the King himselse, of the Duke of Anjou his brother, Generall of his Armie, of the Queene Mother, and of divers Dukes and Marshals of France, he was set upon, and broknin his March; spoyled of all that he had, and forced to fave his life by flight; leaving themost of his Souldiers dead upon the place; the Kings hand and faith warranting him omarch away with enfigns displaid, and with all his goods and provisions, no whit awiling him. It needs not therefore feeme strange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus breake his faith, fince Kings, professing Christianitie, are bold to doe the like, or command their Captaines to doe it for them.

Dienysius, after this great victorie, took care to re-edifie Messena. Mago, who stayed asicil, to hold up the Carthaginians therein, is againe beaten by Dionyfius; who is also beaten by the Tauromenians. A new supplie of fourescore thousand Souldiers is sent fon Carthage to Mago; but these take egges for their money, and make peace with Dinnystus, leaving the Sicilians in Tauromenium, to shift for themselves: whom Dianyfus, after a long fiege, overcame, and gave their Citie to his mercenarie Soul-

Hethen past into Italie, obtained divers victories there, brought the Rhegians on their laces, forced them to pay him one hundred and fourescore thousand crowns, to furnish lim with threescore Gallies, and to put in an hundred pledges, for assurance of their fumeoblervance of covenants. This he did, not with any purpose to performe unto them hepeace that they had so dearly bought; but that having taken from them their Gallies, lemight befrege them, and ruine them utterly, with the more ease. Now to the end he ight not, without fome colour, falfifie the faith that he had given to them; he pretended want victuall for his Armie, at fuch time as he feemed readie to depart out of Italie, ad fent to them to furnish him therewith, promising to return them the like quantitie at discomming home to Syracufe.

his resolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, he would then make their refuthe cause of his quarrell: if they yeelded to aide him with the proportion which he defired, that then they should not be able, for want of food, to endure a siege any long ime against him. For, to ruine them he had fully determined, at what price soever. And state reason he had to take revenge of them, if he had done it fairely, and without ach of faith. For when in the beginning of his reigne, he defired them to bestow a ughter of some of their Nobilitie upon him for a wife; they answered, that they anot any one fit for him, fave the Hang-mans daughter. Princes doe rather parmill deeds, than villanous words. Alexander the great forgave many sharpe swords, thever any sharpetongues; no, though they told him but truely of his errours.

Mmmm

and certainly, it belongs to those that have warrant from God, to reprehend Princes; and to none else, especially in publike.

CHAP.I. \$4.+4

It is faid, that Henry the fourth of France, had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of Biron, for his over-bold and biting taunts, that he used against him before A. miens, than for his conspiracie with the Spaniard or Saveyan: for he had pardoned ten miens, that for his configured the thousand of such as had gone farther, and drawn their swords against him. The contempthousand of such as had gone farther, and drawn their swords against him. The contempt tuous words that Sir John Parret used of our late Queene Elizabeth, were his ruine; and not the counterfeit letter of the Romillo Prieft, produced against him. So fared it with fome other, greater than he, that thereby ranne the same, and a worse fortune, some

To be short, he made them know new bred from old. He assaulted their Towne on all fides, which he continued to doe eleven moneths, till he wonne it by force. He used his victorie without mercie, specially against Phyton, who had commanded with

Some other wars he made with the Carthaginians, after the taking and razing of this Citie; and those with variable successe. For, as in one encounter he flue Mago, with ten thousand Africans: fo the sonne of Mago beat him, and slue his brother Leptines, with foureteene thousand of his Souldiers. After which he bought his peace of the Carthaginians, as they had formerly done of him, following therein the advice of Prosperitie and Advertitie, as all Kings and States doe.

When he had reigned eight and thirtie years, he died : fome fay in his bed, peaceably, which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruell man he was, and a faithlesse a great Poet, but a foolish one. He entertained Plato a while, but afterward, for fpeaking against his tyrannie, he gave order to have him slaine, or fold for a slave. Forhe could endure no man that flattered him not beyond measure. His Parasites thereforesis led his crueltie, The hate of exill men; & his lawleffe flaughters, The ornaments and effelts of his justice. True it is, that flatterers are a kind of vermine, which poyson all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better than the worthiest and valiantest mendee and I wonder not atit, for it is a world: and as our Saviour Christ hath told us, The World will love her owne.

To this Dionysius his sonne of the same name succeeded, and inherited both his King dome and his Vices. To win the love of the People, he pardoned, and released out of prison, a great number of persons, by his Father lockt up and condemned. Withall, he remitted unto his Citizens divers payments, by his Father imposed upon them. Which done, and thereby hoping that he had fastned unto himselfe the peoples affections; h cast off the Sheepes skin, and put on that of the Wolfe. For being jealous of his own Bre thren, as men of more vertue than himselfe, he caused them all to be slain; and all the Kin dred that they had by their Mothers side. For Dionysius his Father (as hath bin said) had two Wives; Doris of Locris, and Aristomache a Syracusian, the sister of Dion, which Bro ther-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By Doris he had this Dionisius, who succeeded unto him: and by Aristomache he ha two Sons and two Daughters; of which the elder, called Sophrofine, he gave in marriage to his eldest sonne, and her halfe-brother Dionysius; the younger, called Areta, heb Rowed on his Brother Theorides: after whose death Dion tooke her to wise, being h

This Dion, a just and valiant man, finding that Dionysius had abandoned all exerci of vertue, and that he was wholly given overto fenfualitie, prevailed fo much with Pl to, whose Disciple he had beene, as he drew him into Sieil, to instruct the young King And having perswaded the King to entertaine him, he wrought so well with him, as D onyfise began to change condition; to change Tyrannie into Monarchie; and to ho the Principalitie that he had, rather by the love of his People, and his Nationall Lawe than by the violence of his Guards and Garrifons. But this goodnesse of his lastedn long. For Philistus the Historian, and other his Parasites, that hated Dions seventi wroughthim out of the Tyrants favour, and caused him soone after to be banish out of Sicil, to the great griefe of the whole Nation. For whereas Dion had ma offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels betweene him and the Carthan

found meanes, by finister interpretation, to convert his good will into matter of treason. They told Dionysius, that all the great commendations, given of Plato, had tended to none other end, than to fosten his minde, and to make him neglect his owne affaires, by the studie of Philosophie; whilest Dion in the meane time having furnished fifty Gallies, under colour of the Kings service, had it in his owne power either to deliver to the Syracufians their former liberty, or to make himfelfe Lord and Soveraigne of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberall offer which he made, to serve the King with fo great a preparation, at his owne charge, begot him many enemies. For they that had fewed the King for none other end than to raife and enrich themselves, and had alreadybeene raised and enriched, thought themselves bound to make the same offer that pon had made, if the King had had the grace to conceive it aright. But the coverous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring that Dion had, were bold to stile his Love and Liberality, Pride and Prefumption; and heartned the young King in his oppressing, and eating up his owne people, of whose spoyles they themselves shared no small portion. I have heard it, That when Charles the fifth had the repulse at Algier, in Affrica, Ferdinando Cortese, one of the bravest men that ever Spaine brought forth, offered unto the Emperour, to continue the siege at his owne charge. But he had never good day after it. For they that envied his victories, and his monquest of Mexico in the West Indies, perswaded the Emperour, that Cortese sought walue himselse above him; and to have it said, That what the Emperour could not, contele had effected, and was therefore more worthy of the Empire, than hee that had it.

When Dion was newly banished, the Tyrant was contented, at first to fend him the revenues of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his moveables, at his owne pleafire: not without giving hope to recall him in short time. Had hee continued in this moode, like enough it is, that Dien would have beene well pleafed to live well, shedid at Athens. But after some time, Diony size made Port-sale of this Noble-mans gods, and thereby urged him to take another course, even to seeke the restitution of Countrey to liberty. The vertues of Dion, especially his great liberality, had purthied much love in Greece. This love made him suspected and hated of the Tyrant: wit flood him in good flead, when he fought to raife men, with whose helpe he might mine into Sicill. Yet he got nor above eight hundred (for he carried the matter closeho follow him in this adventure. But many of them were men of quality, and fit be Leaders. Neither did hee doubt of finding in Syracuse, as many as should bee mifull, that would readily affift him. Therefore he landed boldly in Sicil, marched to hunge, entred the City without refistance, armed the multitude, and won all, save the Citadell.

Distrifius was then absent in Ttalie, but hee quickly had advertisement of this danmis accident. Wherefore hee returned haftily to Syracuse: whence, aftermany treaties of peace, and fome forcible attempts to recover the Towne, hee was meto depart; leaving yet the Castle to the custody of pollocrates his eldest Sonne. etere hee went, his Minion Philistus, comming with a strength of men to affist him, Asbeaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But Dion, for the recovery of his Counissliberty, had the same reward that all worthy men have had from popular Estates. was disgraced, assaulted, and forced to abandon the Citie. He retired himselfe the Leontines, who received him with great joy. Soone after his departure from Syhule, new troupes enter the Castle: they fally out, affaile, spoyle, and burne a great tof the City. Dion is fent for, with humble request : yet, ere hee could arrive, his Souldiers were retired; and the Towns-men thinking themselves secure; In the gates against Dion. But the next night they of the Castle sally againe, with feater fury than ever; they kill Man, Woman, and Childe, and fet fire in all parts The Towne. In this their extremity Dion comes the second time to their succour; belove of his Countrey furmounting all the injuries that he had received. Hee fers on the Garrison of the Castle, with the one part of his Army; and quencheth the reevery where kindled, with the other part. In conclusion, after he had conquered ofter to the King, enther to compound the quarters of cat leaft) if they refused it, to furnity other here and the swort had well-neare burnt to ashes, and depopulated Syracuse, mians, of whom Dionyjus itood in great teate of the warre against them: his enematic covered the Castle, with the munition and furniture thereof, and sent Apollogrates

after Dionylim his Father, into Italie. But their malice, of whom he had best deserved. and whom he had loved most, gave an untimely end to his dayes. For hee was some after his victorie, murdered by Gylyppus; who, after he had, with ill successe, a while governed Syracuse, was slaine with the same Dagger, with which hee had murdered

Ten yeares after the death of *Dion*, *Diony five*, with the affistance of his friends in $I_{t,a}$. lie, recovers his estate, and returnes to Syracuse, driving Nysaus thence, whom he found Governour therein. The better fort of the Citizens, fearing, more than ever, his cruelty. flee to Icetes, a Syracusian borne, and then ruling the Leontines. Icetes enters into consederacie with the Carthaginians, hoping by their assistance, not onely to prevaile against to Dionysius; but by the hatred of the Syracusians towards Dionysius, to make him also Lord of their Citie. The Syracusians, being deservedly afflicted on all sides, send to the Corinthians for succour. Icetes also sends thither, and disswades the Corinthians, as well as he can, from intermedling in the businesse. He tels them, by his Messengers, That he had entred into league with the Carthaginians, who were fo ftrong by Sea, that it was not in the power of Corinth, to land an Armie in Sicil. But the Corinthians, being by this treafon of Icetes, more inraged than diffwaded, fent Timoleon with nineteene Gallies, to deliver Syracuse from tyrannie. In the meane while, Icetes had entred Syracuse, and with the helpe of the Carthaginians, driven Dionysius into the Castle, where he besieged him.

Icetes, being himselse a Tyrant in Leontium, rather sought how to enlarge his power, than how to deliver his Countrie. Therefore, hearing that Timoleon was arrived at Rhegium, he sent to perswade him, to returne his fleet; for that all things were (ineffect) established in Sicil. The Carthaginian Gallies were also in the same Port of Rhegium, whose Captaines advised Timoleon to get him gone in peace. They had farre more Gallies there than he had, and were like to compell him, if he would not be perfwaded. Timoleon, finding himselfe over-mastered, makes request to the Carthaginian Captaines, that they would be pleased to enter into Rhegium, and there, in an open assembly of the people, to deliver unto him those arguments, for his return, which they had used to him in private; that he might, by publike testimonie, discharge himselse to the Senate of

Corinth.

The Carthaginians, perswading themselves, that a victorie, obtained by a few faire words, was without loffe, and farre more eafie, than that of many blowes and wounds, yeelded to Timoleons defire. But while the Orations were delivering, Timoleon, favoured by the Rhegians, stole out of the preasse; and having set faile, before the Gates were opened to the Carthaginians, he recovered the Port of Tauromenium, where he was joyfully received by Andromachus the Governor. From thence he marched toward Adranum, where furprifing Icetes his Armie, he flew a part thereof, and put the rest to run. It is the nature of victorie to beget friends. The Adranitans joined with him, and so did Mamercus, the Tyrant of Catana. Dionysius also sent to Timoleon, offering to surrender the Cattle of Syracule into his hands, as thinking it better to yeeld up himselfe, and the places which he could not defend, unto the Corinthians, than either to Icetes, whom he diffained, or to the Carthaginians, whom he hated. Now Timoleon, who, within fiftie dayes after his arrivall, had recovered the Castle of Syracuse, and sent Dionysius to Corinth, to live therea private man, was still invaded by the armies, and molested by the practices of Icetes. For he besieged the Corinthians within the castle of Syracuse, and attempted (but in vain) the murder of Timoleon.

The Corinthians fend unto Timoleon a supplie of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which are stayd in Italie by soule weather. Icetes is strengthned with threescore thousand Africans brought unto him by Mago (all which he lodgeth within Syracuse)& with an hundred and fiftie Gallies, to keep the Port. This was the first time that ever the Carthaginians had dominion within the walls of that Citie. With this great Armie Icetes affaileth the Caftle. Timoleon fends them victuals, and fuccour, in finall boats, by night, from Catana. Mago and Icetes doe therefore resolve to besiege Catana; but they were no fooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than Leon, Captain of the Corinthians, fallied out of the Castle, and tookethat part of Syracuse, called Acradi-

na, which hee fortified.

In the meane while, the two thousand Corinthians arrive: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, Timoleon marcheth toward Syracuse. Mago abandoneth Icetes, being frighted out of sicil (which he might eafily have conquered) with an idle rumour of treason. This made him return to Carthage; where the generall exclamation against his cowardize, did formuch affright him, that for feare of farther punishment he hanged himfelfe. Timaleon enters the Civic; and beats down the Caffle (which he called the neft of Tyrants) to the ground. But he found the Civie, when the firangers were fled, in effect desolate; so as their horses did feed on the graffe growing in the market-place. Thereforche writes to Cominth for people to re-inhabit it. Ten thousand are sent out of Greeces many come from Ivalie; others from other parts of the Hand.

But anew storm arifeth- Afdrubal and Amilear, Carthaginians, arrive about Lilybaum, with threefcore and ten thousand Souldiers, transported (with all their provisions) in a thousand ships of burden, and two hundred Gallies. Timoleon marcheth thicker, and char-

geth this great Armie upon the passage of a River.

Atempest of raine, haile, and lightning, with boysterous windes, beating upon the faesof the Carthaginians, they are utterly broken, ten thousand flaine, five thousand raken, with all their carriages and provisions : among which there were found a thousand orflets gilt and graven. After this, Timoleon gave an overthrow to Icetes, and following his victorie, rooke him, with his fon Eupolemus, and the Generall of his horse, prisoners; whom he caused all to be stain : and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great cruche)he fuffered leetes his wives & daughters to be put to death. But this was the revenge of God upon Iceres, who (after the murder of Dion) had caused Areve, Dions wife, and a young child of his, with Ariftomache his fifter, to be cast into the Sea.

He againe prevailed against Mamerem Tyrant of Catana, and won Catana it felf. Manercus fledto Hippon Tyrant of Meffena : but Timoleon, purfuing him, won the town; divering Hippon to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The fame end had Ma-

mercus, and all other the Tyrants in Sicil.

Finally, he made peace with the Carthaginians, on condition, That they should not nile the River of Lycus. After this, he lived in great honour among the Syracufians, till is death; and was folemnly buried by them in the market-place of their Citie: the day this Funerals being for ever ordained to be kept holy among them.

After fuch time as Timoleon had delivered Syracuse from the tyrannie of Dionysius, adbrought peace to the whole Iland; the Inhabitants enjoyed their libertie in peace, hour twentie yeares. The Cities and temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant failed in fafetie; and the Labouring man enjoyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. Buit was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to governe, nor how to on by; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthie to be Kings, to govern them;

bould any long time subsist.

Twentie yeares after the death of Timoleon, there started up one Agathocles among hem, a man of base birth, and of baser condition; who from a Beggar, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Captaine; and so from degree to degree, rising to be a Prator; finally, became Lord and Soveraigne of the Syracusians. Many fortunes he m, and under-went as many dangers, ere he obtained the Principalitie. For he had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banisht. A passing valiman he was, and did notable fervice, as well for those by whom he was employed, as Coforthe Syracufians, and against them. For in their wars against those of Enna, and the Campanes, he did them memorable fervice: and on the contrarie, as memorable fersector the Murgantines against the Syracustans. For being entertained by the people Murg antia, and made Generall of their forces, he fackt Leontium, and belieged Syra-We fo streightly, that the Citizens were driven to crave aid, even from their ancient and Murall enemies, the Carthaginians. Amilear was fent by the Carthaginians to relieve Fracuse. With him Agathocles wrought so well, that he got him to make peace between himselfe and the Syracusians; binding himselfe by promise and oath to remaine a friend adservant to the State of Carthage, for ever after. Amilear entertained the businesse, ad compounded the quarrels betweene Agathocles and the Syracufians. Agathochrischosen Prætor; he entertaines five thousand Africans, and divers old Souldiers Ofthe Murgantines, under colour of a purpose to besiege Herbita. With these, and with the affiftance of the poore and discontented Syracusians (the Citie also being diided into many factions) he affailes the Senators, kills all his enemies and opposites; Mmmm 3

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divides the spoile of the rich among the poore; and gives libertie to his Souldiers, to rob, to ravish, and to murder, for two whole dayes and nights, without controlement: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and strewed the streets with ten thousand dead carkasses, besides those that had broken their necks over the wals; their furie had no further subject to worke on.

Agathecles in an affemblie of the people (being an eloquent knave) perswaded them, that, for the violent ficknesse, by which the common wealth was utterly consumed, hee found no better, than the violent remedies which he had administred; and that hee affected no other thing than the reducing of the State from an Oligarchie, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient and indifferent Democratie, by which it had been to governed, from the first institution, with so great glorie and prosperitie. This he did, to have the Crowne clapt on his head (as it were) perforce. For, as he know that he had left none living, within the Citie, fit, nor able, to exercise the office of a Magistrate; fo knew he right well, that all they which had affifted in the murder and spoyle of theirfellow Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the support of a lawless Lord, who had bin partaker with them in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this Rabble, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: againe and againe faluting and adoring him, by that name, as if it had been given to him by some lawfull election. Hence had our King Richard the third a piece of his pattern; but the one was of base, the other of Kingly parents; the one tooke libertie from a common-weale, the other fought only to succeed in a a Monarchie; the one continued his crueltie to the end, the other, after he had obtained the Crowne, fought, by making good lawes, to recover the love of his people.

The life of this Tyrant is briefly written by Justine; more largely and particularly by Diadorus Siculus : the funme whereof is this. The fame Amilear that had brought him into Syracuse, and that had lent him five thousand men to helpe in the massacre of the Citizens, was also content to winke at many wrongs, that hee did unto the Confederates of the Carthaginians. It was the purpose of Amilear, to settle Agathoeles in lis tyrannie; and to let him vexe and waste the whole Iland; because it was thereby like to come to passe, that he should reduce all sicil into such termes as would make it become an easie prey to Carthage. But when the Cities, confederate with the Carthag inian, fent their Embassadours, with complaint of this ill dealing, to Carthage; the Punick faith (fo much taunted by the Romans, as no better than meere falshood) shewed it selfe very honourable, in taking order for the redreffe. Embaffadours were fent to comfort the sicilians, and to put Agathocles in minde of his covenants; Amilear was recalled homeinto Africk, and a new Captain appointed to succeed in his charge, with such forces, as might compell Agathocles to reason, if otherwise he would not hearken to it. All this tended to fave their Confederates, from suffering such injuries in the future. For that which was past (fince it could not be recalled) they tooke order to have it severely punished. Amilear was accused secretly, and by way of scrutinie: the suffrages being given, but not calculated; and foreferved untill he should returne. This was not so closely handled, but that Amilear had soone notice of it. In managing his businesse with Agathoeles, itis likely that hee had an eye to his owne profit, as well as to the publike benefit of his Countrie. For he had made fuch a composition with the Syracusian, as gave himnor onely meanes to weaken others, but to strengthen himselfe, both in power and authoritie, even against the Carthaginians. Such is commonly the custome of those, that hopero worke their owne ends by cunning practices, thinking to deale subtlely and finely, they spintheir threads so small, that they are broken with the very winde. Amilear faw, that his Carthaginians had a purpose to deale substantially; and that therefore it would bee hard for him, to make them follow his crooked devices: which if he could not doe, it was to be expected, that their anger would breake out into so much the greater extremitie, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore hee followed the example, which some of his foregoers had taught him; and, for feare of such a death as the Judges might award him, he ended his owne life in what fort he thought best. This desperation of Amilcar served to informe Agathocles of the Carthaginians intent. He saw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore resolved to get the start of themin action. Heedissembled no longer; but, in stead of spoyle and robberie, made open warreupon all their Adherents. He had made the better part of Sicil his owne, ere the Carthaginian

carthaginian forces arrived: which thinking to have incountred an ill-established Tytant, found him readie, as a King, to defend his owne, and give them sharpe entertainement. They were beaten by him; and their Navie was so Tempest-beaten, that they
could neither doe good by Land, nor Sea; but were glad to leave their businesse undone;
and returne into Africke.

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The Carthaginians prepare a new fleet: which being very gallantly manned & furnihed, was broken by foule weather, and the best part of it cast away, even whilest it was vet within kenning of their Citie. But Amilear, the fonne of Gifco, gathering together the remainders of his ship-wracke, was bold to passe over into sicil, and landed not far from Gela; where Agathocles was foone readie to examine the cause of their comming. Many skirmishes passed betweene them, in which (commonly) the Syracusian had the better. But his good successe begat presumption; whereby he lost a battell more important than all the other fights. One adverse chance is enough to overthrow the state of Tyrant, if it be not upheld by great circumfpection. The war was foon transferred to the walls of Syracufe, within which Agathocles was closed up, and driven to make his lift defence by their help, who may be judged to have loved him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of Syracufe, after that great maffacre of the principall men, made in the beginning of this new Tyrannie, were (for the most part) such as had been either mercenarie Souldiers, infranchifed flaves, or base and needle people; helpers in establishing the present Government; and Executioners of the murders and spoyle; committed in that change. If there were any other (as fome there were) they were fo well observed. and (withall) fo fearefull, that they durft not firre. But it was enough that they all agreed in the common defence of themselves and their Citie; Famine was likely to grow upon them, and inforce them to change their refolution. In this necessitie Agathocles adventured upon a strange course, which the event commended as wise. He imbarqued asmany as he thought meet, in those vessels that rode in the Haven; and committing the government of the Citie to his brother Antander, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) hee had bethought himfelfe of a meane, both to raise the fiege, and to repaire all other losses. A Carthaginian fleet lay in the mouth of the Hayen, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keepe the befieged from issuing forth.

Now, at such time as Agathocles was readie to depart, advertisement came, that many hips of burden, laden with corne, and other provisions, were drawing neere unto Syratose. To intercept these the Carthaginians hoise saile, and lanch forth into the deep. They were not far gone, when they might behold Agathocles, issuing forth of the Port, with purpose (as they thought) to give convoy unto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheele about, and make amaine towards him, as thinking him the better bootie. He neither abode their comming, nor sled backe into the Cirie, but made all speed towards Africk; and was pursued by the Carthaginians, as long as the day would give them light. In the mean season the victuallers were gotten to Syracuse; which was the more plentifully relieved by their comming, for that Agathocles had unburdened the place of no small number. When the Carthaginian Admirall perceived, first, that by pursuing two seets at once, he had missed them both; and secondly, that Agathocles returned not againe, but was gone to seeke his fortune elsewhere, he thought it good to pursue those that were sted, and to attend so well upon them, that they should not have leisure to doe mischiese in some other part.

The Carthaginian Navie followed Agathocles (whether by chance, or by relation of fuch as had met with him at Sea) directly towards Africk, and overtooke him after fixe dayes. He had (at the first) a great start of them; so that (belike) they rowed hard, and twented them selves in seeking their owne missfortune: for he sought with them, and bear them; and, having sunke or taken many, drave the rest to slie which way they could, laden with such strange tidings of his voyage.

When Agathocles had landed his men in Africk, then did he discover unto them his project letting them understand, that there was no better way to divert the Carthaginians, not only from Syracuse but from all the Ile of Sicilsthan by bringing the war to their Owndoors. For here (said he) they have many that hate them, and that will readily take arms against them, as soone as they perceive that there is an Armie on foot, which dares to looke upon their walls. Their Townes are ill fortified, their people untrained,

livered

and unexperienced in dangers; the mercenarie forces, that they levie in these parts, will rather follow us than them, if we offer greater wages than they can give: which we may better promise and make good, by letting them have some share with us in all the wealth of the Carthaginians, than our enemies can doe, by making forme addition to their fipends. Thus he talked, as one alreadie Mafter of all the riches in Africk; and with many brave words encouraged his men fo well, that they were contented to fet fire on all their thips (referving one or two to use as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remaine, fave onely in victorie. In this heat of resolution, they win by force two Cities: which after they had throughly facked, they burnt to the ground as a marke of terrour to all that should make resistance. The carthaginians hearing this, are amazed; think it ing that Amilear is broken, and his whole Armie destroyed in Sicil. This impression so difmaies them that when they know the truth of all, by fuch as had scaped in the late Sea fight, yet still they feare, and know not what. They suspect Amilears faith, who had suffered Agathocles to land in Africk: they suspect their principall Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray Carthage unto the enemie; they raile a great Armie, and knownot to whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captaines in the Citie, Hanno and Bomilear; great enemies, and therefore the more unlikely to confpire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generals of the Armic levied, which farre exceeded the forces of Agatholes. But it seldome happens, that diffention betweene Commanders produce thany 20 fortunate event. Necessitie drave Agatholes to sight: and the courage of his men, resolved to deale with the whole multitude of the Carthaginians, made easie the victoric against the one halfe of them. For Bomilear would not stirre, but suffered Hanno to be

cur in pieces.

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The reputation of this great victorie, brought over a King of the Africans, from the Carthaginian focietie, to take part with Agathocles: who pursuing his victorie, winneth many Townes, and fends word to Syracufe of his good successe. The Carthaginians also send into Sicil, willing Amilear, their Generall, to succour the State of Africk, which was in danger to be loft, whilest he was travelling in the conquest of Sicil. Amilear fends them five thousand men: all his forces he thought it not need a full to transport; as hoping rather to draw Agathoeles back into Sicil, than to bedrawn home by one, that could fcarce retaine his owne Kingdome. But thefe good hops had a badissue. He spent some time in winning a few Townes that adheredunto the Syracusians: and having brought his matters to some good order, he conceived a fudden hope of taking Syracuse by surprise. It was a prettie (though tragicall) accident, if it were true, as Tullie relates it. Amilear had a dreame which told him that he should sup the next day within Syracuse. His fancie begot this dreame, and hee verily believed it. He made more hafte than good fpeed toward the Citie: and comming upon it on the fudden, had good hope to carrie it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had layd an ambush to intraphim, whereinto he fell. So he was 40 carried prisoner into the Citie; in which it was likely that he had no great cheare to his Supper: for they strucke off his head, and sent it into Africk (a welcome present) to Agathocles.

This good fuccesse of things at home, did put such courage into the Sicilian Armie, that Ag athocles was bold to weare a Crown, and stile himselfe King of Africk. Hehad allured Ophellas, King of the Cyrenians to take his part, by promifes to deliver the Courtrie into his hands: for that (as he faid) it was sufficient unto himselfe to have diverted the Carthaginians from Sicil, wherein (after this warre ended) he might reigne quietly. Ophellas came with a great Armie, and was friendly entertained. But the traiterous Sicilian, taking an advantage, did murther this his affiltant; and afterwards by goods words, and great promifes, drew all the Cyrenian Armie to follow him in his Warres. Thus his villanie found good fuccesse; and he so prevailed in Africke, that he got lear fure to make a step into Sicil. Many Townes in Sicil had embraced a defire of recovering their libertie; thinking it high time to fight at length for their owne freedome, after that they had folong beene exposed, (as a reward of victorie) either unto Aliense, or to Tyrants of their owne Countrie. These had prevailed farre, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common canse: when the comming of Agathocles abated their high spirits, and his good successe in many fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of Sicil

sicil he returned into Africk, where his affaires flood in very bad terms. Archae athur. his sonne had lost a battell; and (which was worse) had ill meanes to help himselfe: his Armie being in mutinie for lacke of pay. But Agathocles pacified the tumult, by the accustomed promises of great bootie and spoyle. It had now been time for him to offer peace to the Carthaginians: which to obtaine, they would (questionlesse) have givento him, both mony enough to pay his armie, and all that they then held in Sicil. For their Citie had beene diffressed, not only by this his warre, but by the treason of Bomilcar, who failed not much of making himfelfe Tyrant over them. But ambition is blind. Anathocles had all his thoughts fixed upon the conquest of Carthage it self:out of which dreame he was awaked, by the loffe of a battell, not fo memorable in regard of any acci-10 dent therein, as of the strange events following it. The Carthaginians, after their great misfortunes in this warre, had renewed their old facrifices of children to Saturne: from which they had abstained ever fince they made peace with Gelon. And now they made choice of some, the goodliest of their prisoners, taken in the battell, to offer unto the faid Idoll, in way of thankfulnesse for their victorie. The fire, with which these unhappie men were confumed, caught hold upon the lodgings neerest unto the Altar; and forcading it felfe further through the Campe, with the destruction of many men, caused fuch a turnult as is usuall in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of fire burne up the Pavilion of Agathocles. Hereupon both the Armies fled away, each of them believing, that the noyfe in the adverse Campe, was a figne of the enemies comming to invade it. But the Carthaginians had a fafe retrait: Agathocles, by a fecond errour, fell into a new calamitie. In the beginning of this his flight in the darke, he met with his own African Souldiers; and thinking them to be enemies, (as indeed the one halfe of them had revolted from him, to the Carthaginians, in the last battell) hee began to affaile them, and was fo fourly relifted, that he lost in this blinde fight above foure thousand of his men. This did to discourage his proud heart, that being fallen from theneere hope of taking the Citie of Carthage, unto some distrust of his own safetie, he knew no more how to moderate his prefent weak feares, than lately he had known how to governe his ambition. Therefore he tooke the way that came next into his head; which was, to fteale closely a-boord his ships, with his younger sonne (the elder he suffected of Incest, and of Ambition) and so to flie into Sioil, thinking it the best course whift for himselfe, as wanting vessels wherein to transport his Armie. His elder son Archag athus, perceiving his drift, arrested him, and put him under custodie: but by meanes of a fudden tumult, he was let loofe, escaped, and fled alone, leaving both his somes behinde him. His flight being noyfed through the Armie, all was in uproare; and extremitie of rage caused not onely the common Souldier, but even such as had beene friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold upon his two fonnes, and kill them. That this flight of Agathocles was extremely base, I need not use words to prove: That his feare wastruely as all feare is faid to be a passion, depriving him of the succours which reason offered, the fequell doth manifest His forsaken Souldiers, being now a headlesse companie, and no longer an Armie to be feared obtained neverthelesse a reasonable compofition from the Carthaginians: to whom they fold thosaplaces, whereof they had posfession, for nineteene talents. Likewise, Agathocles himselfe, having lost his Armie did neverthelesse, by the reputation of this late war, make peace with Carthage upon equall termes.

After this, the Tyrant, being delivered from forraine enemies, discovered his bloudie nature, in most abominable cruelties, among the Sicilians. His wants, and his seares, unged him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoyles of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected: but in a beastly rage depopulated whole Cities. Hee searched was engines of torment; wherein striving to exceed the Bull of Phalarie, he made a frame of brasse, that should serve to scorch mens bodies, and with all gives time leave to behold them in their miserie. So divellish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is become a flave to his brutish affections. In these mischieses he was so outragious, that he neither spared Sexe, nor Age; especially, when he was informed of the slaughter of his children in Africk. But this was not the way to preserve his effate: it threw him into new dangers. They whom he had chased out of their Countrey tooke armes against him, and drave him into such search, that he was faine to seeke the love at Carthage, which by ruling well he might have had in Sicil. Hee freely de-

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livered into the Carthaginians hands, all those Townes of the Phanicians in Sicil, belonging unto them, which were in his poffession. They requited him honourably with great store of corne, and with four hundred talents of gold and filver. So (though nor without much trouble & hazzard)he prevailed against the Rebels, and settled his estate. Having no further businesse left in Sicil, he made a voyage into Italie. There he subdued the Brutians, rather by terrour of his name than by any force, for they yeelded at his first comming. This done, he went to the Isle of Lipara, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when he had gotten this great fumme. he would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, he was bold to spoyle the Temples of their gods. Herein (me thinkes) he did well enough to For how could he believe those to be gods, that had continually given deafe eares to his horrible perjuries. Then he returned richly home, with eleven ships loaden with gold: all which, and all the rest of his fleet, were cast away by soule weather at Sea. one Gallie excepted, in which he himfelfe escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. A grievous ficknesse fell upon him, that rotted his whole bodie, spreading it selfe through all his veines and finewes. Whileft he lay in this case, all desiring his end, save only Thengenia (a wife that he had taken out of Egypt) and her small children: his Nephew, the forme of Archae athm, before mentioned, and a younger fonne of his own, began to contend about the Kingdome. Neither did they feeke to end the controversie by the old Tyrants decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them laid wait for the 201 others life: wherein the Nephew sped so well, that he slue his Uncle, and got his grand. fathers Kingdome, without asking any leave. Thefetydings wounded the heart of Arathocles with feare and forrow. He faw himselfe without helpe, like to become a prey to his uneracious Nephew, from whom he knew that no favour was to be expected, elther by himselfe, or by those, whom only he now held deare, which were Theogenia andher children. Therefore he advised her and them to flie before they were surprised: for that otherwife they could by no meanes avoid, either death, or somewhat that would be worfe. He gave them all his treasures and goods, wherewith he even compelled them (weeping to leave him defolate in fo wretched a case) to imbarke themselves halfily, and make speed into Egypt. After their departure, whether he threw himselfe 20 into the fire, or whether his disease confumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him; but he ended his life as bafely, as obscurely, and in as much want as he first began it.

After the death of Agathocles it was, that the Mamertines, his Souldiers, traiteroully occupied Meffana, and infested a great part of the Iland. Then also did the Carthanindur begin to renew their attempts of conquering all Sicil. What the Nephew of Agathocles did, I cannot finde. Likely it is that he quickly perished. For the Sicilians were drivence fend for Pyrhus to help them, who had married with a daughter of Ag atholis. But Pyrhus was foone wearie of the Countrie (as hath been shewed before) and therefore left it; prophecying that it would become a goodly champion field, wherein Pome 4 and Carthage flould fight for superioritie. In which businesse, how these two great Ci-

ties did speed, the order of our storie will declare.

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A recontinuation of the Roman war in Sicil. How Hieron, King of Syracufe, for fook the Carthaginians, and made his peace with Rome.

Hen Appins Claudins, following the advantage of his victorie gotten at Mef-5 fana, brought the war unto the Gates of Synacufe, and befreged that great Citie: Hieron found it high time for him to feek peace: knowing that the Carthaginians had neither any reason to be offended with him, for helping himselfeby what means be could, when they were not in ease to give him affishance; and foreseeing withall, that when once he had purchased his quiet from the Romans, it would be free for him to fit fill, without feare of molestation, whilest Rome and Carthage were fighting for the masterie. In this good mood the new Roman Consuls M. Valerim, and C. Officilise found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made nle of their present advantage, and fold him peace for an hundred (some fay two hundred)

These Consuls had brought a great Armic into sicil; yet did they nothing else in efsed, than bring over Hiero to their side. If the Syracusian held them bussed (which I find not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the summe of money imposed upon him, and by their performing none other piece of service) all the whole time of their abode inthe Iland; then was his departure from the friendship of Carthage, no lesse to his honour than it was to his commoditie. For by no reason could they require, that he should fiffer his owne Kingdome to run into manifest perill of subversion, for their sakes that should have received all the profit of the victorie: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger, without straining themselves to give him reliefe. But the Carthaginians had lately made good proofe of the strength of Syracuse, in the daies of Agathocles: and therefore knew, that it was able to beare a very strong siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more flacke, in fending helpe: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their defire, that both Rome and Syracuse should weaken one the other, whereby their owner work might be the easier against them both. Yet indeed, the case of the besieged Citie was not the same, when the Romans lay before it, as it had bin when the Carthaginians attempted it. For there was great reason to trie the uttermost hazzard of war against the Carthaginians, who fought no other thing than to bring it into flavery not fo against the Romans, who thought it sufficient if they could withdraw it from the partie of their enmies. Befides, it was not all one to be governed by Agathocles, or by Hiero. The former of these cared not what the Citizens endured, so long as he might preserve his ownery rannie: the latter, as a just and good Prince, had no greater defire than to win the love of his people, by feeking their commodities but including his owne felicitie within the publkelaboured to uphold both, by honest and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to pass, that henjoyed a long and happy reign, living deare to his own Subjects, beloved of the Ramans, and not greatly molested by the Carthaginians; whom, either the consideration, That they had left him to himselfe, ere he left their societie, made unwilling to seeke his nine; or their more earnest businesse with the Romans, made unable to compasse it.

S. VI.

How the Romans befiege and winne Agrigentum. Their beginning to maintaine a fleet.

Their first losse, and first vittory by sea. Of sea-fight in generall.

I leron, having sided himselfe with the Romans, aided them with victuals, and other necessaries: so that they, presuming upon his affistance, recall some part of their forces. The Carthaginians finde it high time to bestirre them; they fend to the Ligurians, and to the troupes they had in Spaine, to come to their aide; who being arrived, they made the Citie of Agrigentum the seat of the war, against the Romans, filling it with all manner of munition.

The Roman Confuls, having made peace with Hieron, returne into Italie; and, in their places, Lucius Posthumus and Quintus Mamilius arrive. They goe on towards Agrigentum: and finding no enemie in the field, they befiege it, though it were stuffed with fiftie thousand Souldiers. After a while, the time of harvest being come, a part was a goodly of the Roman Armie range the Countrie to gather corn, and those at the siege grow Criesbuiltby with Roman Armie range the Countrie to gather corn, and those at the nege grow the odds, under negligent; the Carthaginians sallie surrously, and indanger the Roman Armie, but are in the odds, under conduct of arise the end repelled into the town with great loffe; but by the smart felt on both sides, the stand Pylisis. Assignment repelled into the town with great one; but by the inflation on both late, the The compasse Mailants redoubled their guards, and the besieged kept within their covert. Yet the wasten miles

shout the wals; and it had sometimes in it eight hundred thousand Inhabitants. This Citic, by reason of the fertilitie of the soll the nighbour-hood of Carthage, give in a short space from small beginnings, to great glotic and riches. The plentie and luxuric thereof was great, as it caused Empedodes to say, that the Agreentimes built Palaces of such summaries, was in their goodly temples, and the such seast, as if they meant to dye the next day. But their greatest prompe and magnificence, was in their goodly temples, and the sures, water-conduits, and sissing the truines whereof at this day are sufficient argument; that Rome its lefte could never boad of the such that the summaries of the summa thes: In comparison of which, the latter workes of that kinde, are but pertie things, and meeter trifles. It would require a volume to expedie the magnificence of the Temples of Hercules, AE Galapius, Control, Juno Lucina, Chassius, Prostropia, Casson and Policy, wherein the Master-peeces of those exquisite Painters and Carvers Phidias, Xeuxis, Myron, and Polycletus, were to be seen. But in process of time it ran the seen. the same fortune that all other great Cities have done, and was ruined by divers calamities of watre: whereof this war present brought

Romans, the better to affure themselves, cut a deepe trench betweene the walls of the Citie and their Campe: and another on the out-fide thereof; that neither the Carthag inians might force any suddenly, by a fallie, nor those of the Countrie without, breake upon them unawares: which double defence kept the befieged also from the receiving any reliefe of victuals, and munitions, whileft the Syracusian supplies the assai. lants with what they want. The befreged fend for fuccour to Carthage, after they had beene in this fort pent up five moneths. The Carthaginians imbarke an Armie, with certaine Elephants, under the command of Hanno; who arrives with it at Heraclea, to the West of Agrigentum. Hanno puts himselfe into the field, and surpriseth Erbesus, a Citie wherein the Romans had bestowed all their provision. By meanes hereof, the fa- to mine without grew to be as great, as it was within Agrigentum; and the Roman campe no lesse streightly affreged by Hanno, than the Citie was by the Romans: infomuch, as if Hieron had not supplied them, they had beene forced to abandon the siege. But seeing that this distresse was not enough to make them rise, Hanno determined to give them battell. To which end departing from Heraclea, hee makes approach unto the Roman campe. The Romans resolve to sustaine him, and put themselves in order. Hanno directs the Numidian horsemen to charge the Vantguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, he commands them to returne as broken, till they came to the bodie of the Armie, that lay shadowed behinde some rising ground. The Numidians performe it accordingly; and while the Romans pursued the Numi- we dians, Hanno gives upon them, and having flaughtered many, beats the rest into their

After this encounter, the Carthaginians made no other attempt for two moneths, but lay strongly encamped, waiting untill some opportunitie should invite them. But Annibal that was besieged in Agrigentum, as well by signes as messengers, made Hanno know how ill the extremitie which he endured, was able to brooke fuch dilatorie courfes. Hanno thereupon, a fecond time, provoked the Confuls to fight: But his Elephants being disordered by his owne Vantguard, which was broken by the Romans. he loft the day: and with fuch as escaped, he recovered Heraclea. Annibal perceiving this. and remaining hopelesse of succour, resolved to make his owne way. Finding therefore that the Romans, after this daies victorie, wearied with labour, and fecured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; he rusht out of the Towne, with all theremainder of his Armie, and past by the Roman campe without resistance. The Consuls pursue him in the morning, but in vaine: fure they were, that he could not carry the Citie with him, which with little a-doe the Romans entred, and pitifully spoyled. The Romans, proud of this victorie, purposed rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolved in the beginning of this Warre, onely to succour the Mamertines, and to keepe the Carthaginians from their owne coasts: but now they determine to make themselves Lords of all Sight and from thence, being favoured with the winde of good successe, to saile over into A. fricke. It is the disease of Kings, of States, and also of private men, to covet the greatest things, but not to enjoy the least; the defire of that which we neither have nor need, taking from us the true use and fruition of what wee have alreadie. This curse upon mortall men, was never taken from them fince the beginning of the World unto this

To prosecute this War, Lucius Valerius and Titus Ostacilius, two new Consuls, are sent into Sicil. Whereupon, the Romans being Masters of the field, many in-land towns gave themselves unto them. On the contrarie, the Carthaginians keeping still the Lordshipos the Sea, many maritimate places became theirs. The Romans therefore, as well to secure their own coasts, often invaded by the African fleets, as also to equal themselves in every kinde of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune favoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in ship-wrights craft, astorme of winde thrust one of the Carthaginian Gallies, of five bankes, to the

Now had the Romans a patterne, and by it they beganne to fet up an hundred Quinqueremes, which were Gallies, rowed by five on every banke; and twentic, 0 three on a banke: and while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed upon the Sea-sands

many feats, in order of the bankes in Gallies, whereon they placed their water-men. and taught them to beate the fand with long poles, orderly, & as they were directed by the Master, that so they might learne the stroke of the Gallie, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, C. Cornelim, one of the new Confuls (for they changed every year) was made Admirall: who being more in love with this new kinde of warfare, than well advised, past over to Meslend with seventeene Gallies, leaving the rest to follow him. There he staied not, but would needs row along the coast to Lipara, hoping to doe some piece of service. Hannibal, a Carthaginian was at the same time Governour in Panormus; who being advertiled of this new Sea mans arrivall, fent forth one Boodes, a Senatour of Carthage, with twenty Gallies to entertaine him. Boodes, falling upon the Confull unawares, took both him and the fleet he commanded. When Hannibal received this good newes, together with the Poman Gallies, and their Confull; he grew no leffe foolish hardie than Cornelius had bin. For he, fancying to himself to surprize the rest of the Roman sleet, on their owne coast, ere they were yet in all points provided; sought them out with a fleet of fifie faile: wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten, and leaving the greater number of his owne behinde him, made an hard escape with the rest: for of one hundred and twenty Gallies, the Romans under Cornelius had lost but seventeene, so as one hunand three remained, which were not easily beaten by fifty.

The Romans, being advertised of Cornelius his overthrow, make haste to redeem him, but give the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, Duilius, Duilius, confidering that the Roman vessels were heavie and slow, the African Gallies having the speed of them, deviled a certaine Engine in the prow of his Gallies, whereby they might fasten or grapplethemselves with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies fides together. This done, the weightier ships had gotten the advantage, and the Africans lost it. For neither did their swiftnesse serve them, nor their mariners craft; the Veffels wherein both Nations fought, being open: fothat all was to be carried by the advantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Beplides this, as the heavier Gallies were accidentally likely to crush and cracke the sides of thelighter and weaker, fo were they by the reason of their breadth, more steady; and those that best kept their feet, could also best use their hands. The example may be given betweene one of the long boates of his Majesties great ships, and a London

Certainely, he that will happily performe a fight at Sea, must be skilfull in making choice of Vessells to fight in: he must believe, that there is more belonging to a good man of Warre, upon the waters, than great daring; and must know, that there is a great deale of difference, between fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The Gunnes of a flow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clap ships together, without confideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of war: for by Such an ignorant braverie was Peter Stroßie lost at the Azores, when he fought against the Marquesse of Santa Cruz. In like fort had the Lord Charles Howard, Admirall of England, beene lost in the yeere 1588. if he had not beene better advised, than a great many malignant fooles were that found fault with his demeanour. The Spaniards had an Armieaboord them; and he had none: they had more ships than he had, and of higher building & charging; forthat, had he intangled himfelfe with those great and powerfull Veffels, he had greatly endangered this Kingdom of England. For twenty menupon the defences, are equall to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwife, the Spaniards had an hundred, for twenty of ours, to defend themselves withall. But our Admirall knew his advantage, & held it: which had he not done, he had not been worthy to have held his head. Heere to speake in generall of Sea-fights (for particulars are fitter for private hands than for the Presse,) I say, That a sleete of twenty shippes, all good lailers, and good ships, have the advantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ships, &of flower fayling. For if the fleet of an hundred faile keepe themselves neere together, in a groffe fquadron; the twenty ships, charging them upon any angle, shall force them to give ground, and to fall backe upon their owne next fellowes: of which so many as intangle, are made unferviceable or loft. Force them they may eafily, because the twenty hips, which give themselves scope, after they have given one broad side of Artillerie, by Nnnn clapping

nes. To proove which, hereis

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clapping into the winde, and staying, they may give them the other: and so the twenty ships batter them in pieces with a perpetuall vollies whereas those, that fight in a troupe. have no room to turn, & can alwaies use but one and the same beaten side. If the fleet of if wee may an hundred faile give themselves any distance, then shall the lesser fleet prevaile, either Antiquities, against those that are a-reare and hindmost, or against those, that by advantage of overwhich Farelus, failing their fellowes keepe the winde : and if upon a Lee-shore, the ships next the winde a diligent write the wind to fall backe into their owne squadron, then it is all to nothing, the whole in his history fleet must suffer shipwracke, or render it selfe. That such advantage may be taken upon ot Suit: Panis a fleet of unequall speed, it hath bin well enough conceived in old time; as by that Ora-Paleimo, is one tion of Hermocrates, in Thucydides, which he made to the Syracusians, when the Athe-10 or the first cities that hath been nians invaded them, it may easily be observed.

Of the Art of Warre by Sea, I had written a Treatise, for the Lord Henry, Prince of rope. For where wales; a subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man, ancient or moderne: but as inuclaines God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his losse; by the losse of that brave it a Colonie of Prince; of which, like an Eclipse of the Sunne, we shall finde the effects hereafter. Imthe rocardans; Renganus, in ti- possible it is to equall words and forrowes; I will therefore leave him in the hands of bello de Panormo God that hath him. Cura leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.

But it is now time to returne to the beaten Carthaginians; who by losing their adlib. 6. affirmes that it was firft, that was hirt, & long before vantage of swift boats, & boording the Romans, have lost fifty faile of their Gallies: as the time which on the other fide, their enemies by commanding the Seas, have gotten libertie to faile to Thursdades lets down, founded about the West part of Sicil; where they raised the siege layed unto Segesta, by the Carthaginians, and wonne the Towne of Macella, with some other places. ans, & Damafce-

scriptionsupon Divers enterfeats of warre, betweene the Romans and Carthaginians, with variable successe. The Romans prepare to invade Africke: and obtaine a great victory at Sea.

He victoric of Duilius, as it was honoured at Rome, with the first Navall Triumph, that was ever feene in that Citie; fo gave it unto the Romans a great incouragement, to proceede in their warres by Sea; whereby they hoped, not benefit of all the Citizens & onely to get Sicit, but all the other Hes between Italy and Africk, beginning with Sarthe Citizens & onely to get Sicit, but all the other Hes between Italy and Africk, beginning with Sarthe Citizens other frangers, dinia, whither foon after they fent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrary side, Amilear which being the Carthaginian, lying in Panormus, carefully waited for all occasions, that might helpe Latine, fay as to recompense the late misfortune: and being advertised, that some quarrell was grown followeth: 1/- betweene the Roman Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being fuch as caused them to in-Abraha, or re campe a-part, he fent forth Hanno to fet upon them; who taking them unawarres, buried grasse in tau. foure thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-warre in maa , asque in valle Danisleme. Sicil, Hannibal, who had lately been beaten by Sea, but escaped unto Carthage, meaning Esau filin Ilac; to make amends for his former errour, obtained the trust of a new fleet, wherewith he rigin Hebrea arrived at Sardinia: the conquest of which Iland, the Romans had entertained for their bus adjunctifum the xtenterprise. Now it so fell out, that the Romans, croffing the Sea from Sicil, arrived multi Damasteni, in the port where Hannibal with his new fleet anchored. They set upon him unawares, atque Pharices, and tooke the better part of the fleet which he conducted; himselfe hardly escaping the triangularem in danger. But it little availed him to have escaped from the Komans. His good friends the suns bearenne Caribaginians, were so ill pleased with this his second unfortunate voyage, that they in the amonific hanged him up for his diagence : for (as it hath beene faid of old) Non eft bis in bello perms loce, quem care; In warre it is too much to offend twice.

name was long ere any thing of importance was done by the Confuls, till * P4other marble mormus was belieged: where, when the Romans had fought in vaine to draw the Cartha-

alim Deus præcer unum Deum; mos est alius potens præcer eurodem Deum, Soc. Hujus Turris Præsecus est Supin filius Eliphay, filis Eau, fratris Jacob, filis Efast, filit Alexahami : Turri quiden ipfi nomeneft Baych; fed Turri buit proxime nomen est Pharah. And this inscripcion (faith Executus) was found intire in the Calle Bryth, in the year 1534. Now whether these inscriptions were truely as ancient, as these men believe they were, Heave every must o hisown faith. But that the City was of aged times, it appeares by Thucydides, who affirmeth; when the Gridge palt first Sicil, that then the Proxiders inhabited Panarmus: which certaine it is they did in the first Panich warre; towit, the Carlingians, and the gridge of the Carlingians and the first Panich warre; towit, the Carlingians and the gridge of the carlingians are carlingians. who were Phonoidans, from whom the Romans (A. Aquilus, and C. Cornelius, commanding this Army) tooke it. And when Mancellus being de Syracufe, it functions in aide 300, Souldiers. But it was tather confederate, than subject to the Romans. For Cicro against Verts, many is the confederate of the Romans. among the fice Cities of Sail After Syracuse destroyed, it became the first Citie and Regallseate, as well of the Goibs and Saracess in that Hand, as of the Emperous of Conflaminople, of the Normans, French, and Arragonians, which honour it holds to shisday, and is much frequenced, for the excellent wine which growes about it.

ginians into the field; being unable to force that great Citie, because of the strong Garrifon therein bestowed: they then departed from thence, and tooke certaine In-land Towns, as Mytistratum, Enna, Camerina, Hippana, and others, betweene Panormus and Mellana.

The yeare following, C. Atilius the Confull, who commanded the Roman fleet, difcovered a company of the Carthaginian Gallies, ranging the coaft: &, not staying for his whole number, pursued them with ten of his. But he was well beaten for the haste he made,& lost all, fave the Gallie which transported him: wherein himselfe escaped with great labour. But ereall was done, the rest of Atilius his fleet was gotten up: who renewing the fight, recovered from the Carthaginians a double number of theirs; by which the victory remaining doubtfull, both challenge it. Now to try at once, which of these two Nations should command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The Romans make a fleet of three hundred and thirty Gallies; the Carthaginians, of three hundred and fifty, *Triremes, Quadriremes, and Quinqueremes.

The Romans resolve to transport the warre into Africk, the Carthaginians, to arrest Gallies, wherethem on the coast of Sicil. The numbers, with which each of them filled their fleet, in every Oare was (perhaps) the greatest that ever fought on the waters. By Polybins his estimation, hath five men there were in the Roman Gallies an hundred and forty thousand men; and in those of Quadrirems Carthage, an hundred and fifty thousand: reckoning one hundred and twenty Soul-had tour to an Camage, an nundred and nity mounand: reckoning one nundred and twenty Sour-Oate; and the other. The Roman fleet Trirenes, three. was divided into foure parts, of which the three first made the forme of a Wedge or Tri- Some have angle; the two first squadrons making the Flancks, and the third squadron, the Base: thought, that the point thereof (wherein were the two Confuls as Admiralls) looking toward the remes had five enemie, and the middle space lying emprie. Their Vessells of carriage were towed by ranks of Oares, the third squadron. After all came up the fourth, in forme of a Crescent; very well man-other; and the ned, but exceeding thinne: fo that the hornes of it inclosed all the third squadron, to-other Gallies gether with the corners of the first and second. The order of the Carthaginian fleet er. But had this Immot conceive by relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I conjecture, beene fo, they that the front of their fleet was thinne, and firetched in a great length, much like to that must then have which the French call Combat en haye, a long front of horse, and thinne : which forme, each over ofince the Piftoll prevailed over the Lance, they have changed. Behinde this first our ther which hath feldome their Bertalions were more folidar for Aminal of the Country. stretched front, their Battalions were more solide: for Amilear, Admirall of the Cartha-beene seen in ginians, had thus ordered them, of purpose, (his Gallies having the speed of the Romans) thips of a thouthat, when the first fleet of the Romans hasted to breake through the first Gallies, they ther could the should all turne taile, and the Romans pursuing them (as after a victory) disorder them-third, fourth, & felves, and, for eagernesse of taking the Run-awayes, leave their owne three squadrons are reached unto far behinde them. For so it must needs fall out; seeing that the third squadron towed the water with their horse boats, and victuallers; and the sourth had the Reareward of all. According the Oates. to Amilears direction it succeeded. For when the Romans had charged, and broken, the thinne front of the Carthaginian first fleet, which ran away, they forthwith gave after them with all speed possible, not so much as looking behinde them for the second squadron. Hereby the Romans were drawne neere unto the body of the Carthaginian fleet, ledby Amilear, and by him (at the first) received a great losse, untill their second squadron came up, which forced Amilear to betake him to his Gares. Hanno also, who commanded the right wing of the Carthaginian fleet, invaded the Romane Reareward, and prevailed against them. But Amilear being beaten off, Marcus Atilius fell back to their fuccour, and put the Carthaginians to their heeles; as not able to fulfain both fquadrogs. The Reare being relieved, the Confuls came to the aide of their third Battalion, which towed the victuallers, which was also in great danger of being beaten by the Africans: but the Consuls, joyning their squadrons to it, put the Carthaginians on that partalfo to running.

This victory fell unto the Romanes, partly by the hardinesse of their Souldiers; but principally for that Amilear, being first beaten, could never after joyne himselfe unto any of his other squadrons, that remained as yet in a faire likelihood of prevailing, long as they fought upon equall termes, and but squadron to squadron. But Amilear forfaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the Romane fleet uningaged, and ready to give fuccour to any of the other parts that were opprest. So as in conclusion, the Romanes got the honour of the day: for they loft but foure and twenty of theirs; Nnnn 2

whereas

whereas the Africans lost thirty that were funke, and threefcore and three that were

Now, if Amilear, who had more Gallies than the Romans, had also divided his fleet into foure squadrons, (besides those that he ranged in the front to draw on the enemies, and to ingage them) & that, whilest he himselfe fought with one squadron that charged him, all the rest of the enemies sleet had beene at the same time entertained, he had prevailed: But the second squadron, being free, came to the rescue of the first, by which Amilear was opprest: and Amilear, being opprest and scattered, the Consuls had good leisure to relieve both the third and the fourth squadron, and got the victory.

Charles the fift, among other his Precepts to Philip the fecond his sonne, where hee to adviseth him concerning Warre against the Turkes, tells him, that in all battailes between them and the Christians, he should never faile to charge the Janifars in the beginning of the fight, & to ingage them at once with the rest. For (saith he) the Janisars, who are alwaies referved intire in the Reare of the battaile, and in whom the Turke reposeth his greatest confidence; come up in a grosse body, when all the troups on both sides are disbanded and in confusion; whereby they carrie the victory before them without refistance. By the same order of fight, and reservation, did the Romans also prevaile against other Nations. For they kept their Triarii in store (who were the choice of their Armie) for the up-shot and last blow. A great and victorious advantage it hathever beene found, to keepe some one ortwo good troupes to looke on, when all else are disbanded and a ingaged.

6. VIII.

The Romanes prevaile in Africk. Atilius the Confull propoundeth intolerable conditions of peace to the Carthaginians. He is utterly beaten, and made prisoner.

Tow the Romans, according to their former resolution, after they had repaired and re-victualled their fleete, fet faile for Africa, and arrived at the Promontory of Hercules , a great Head-land , somewhat to the East of the Port of Carthage, & some forty leagues from Heraclea in Sicil, where Amilear himselfe as yet staid From this Head-land (leaving the entrance into Carthage) they coasted the East-side of the Promontory, till they came to Clypea, a Towne about fifty English mile from it. There they dif-embarked, and prepared to befiege Clypea; which, to eafe them of labour, was yeelded unto them. Now had they a Port of their owne on Africa fide; without which all invalions are foolish. By this time were the Africans also arrived at their owne Carthage, fearing that the Roman fleet and army had directed themselves thither but being advertised that they had taken Clypea, they made provisions of all forts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The Romans fend to Rome for directions, and in the means while wafte all round about them. The order given from the Senate, was, That one of the Confuls should remaine with the Army, and that the other should returne, with the fleet into Italy. According to this direction, Manlius the Confull is fent home to Rome 3 whither he carried with him twenty thousand African Captains, with all the Roman fleet and Armie; except forty ships, fifteene thousand foot, and five hundred horse, that were left with Atilius.

With these forces, Regulus easily wanne some Towns and Places that were unwalled, and laid fiege to others. But he performed no great matter, before he came to Adis. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that neere unto the River of Bagrada, he encountred with a Serpent of one hundred & twenty foot long, which he flue, not without loffe of many Souldiers, being driven to use against it such engines of warre, as served properly for the affaulting of Towns. At Adis he met with the Carthaginian Army, whereofthe Captains were Hanno and Bostar, together with Amilear, who had brought over out of Sicil five thousand foote, and five hundred horse to succour his Countrie. These (be like) had an intent, rather to wearie him out of Africa, by warie protraction of time than to undergoe the hazzard of a maine fight. They were carefull to hold themselve free, from necessitie of comming to blowes: yet had they a great defire, to save the Towne of Adis out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their generall pur pose, and yet to disturbe him in the siege of Adis, they incampe neere unto him, an ftrong!

strongly (as they think) on the top of an hill: but thereby they lose the services, both of their Elephants, & of their horse-men. This disadvantage of theirs, Regular discovers, & makes use of it. He assailes them in their strength, which they defend a while, but in fine the Romans prevaile, & force them from the place, taking the spoile of their campe. Following this their good fortune at the heeles, they proceed to * Turk a City within fix- * This city was miles of Carebage, which they affault and take.

By the losse of this battaile at Adio, & more especially by the losse of Tunio, the Car- the fift in the thaginians were greatly dismaied. The Numidians, their next Neighbourstowards the yeere 1556 and West, infult upon their misfortunes; invade, and spoile their Territory, and force those three Keyes, that inhabite abroad, to forfake their villages and fields, and to hide themselves within which he give thewalls of Carthage. By reason hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens in charge to Phis. Arilius findes his own advantage, and affures himselfe that the City could not long hold his son to keep out: yet he feared lest it might defend it selfe, untill his time of Office, that was neer fate; towis, this expired, should bee quite run out, whereby the new Consuls were like to reape the of discar rugb. honour of obtaining it. Ambition therefore, that hath no respect but to it selfe, perswades ing the Key of him to treat of peace with the Carthaginians. But he propounded unto them so unwor- &cadeg, the Key thy and base conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with seare, became of Spaine. But now so couragious and disdainfull, that they resolved, either to defend their liberty for two of these distance left man. To the supplies this they resolved, either to defend their liberty for Philip so lost, deto the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arrived at the same time a that hee never great troupe of Greeks, whom they had formerly sent to entertaine. Among these was found them a avery expert Souldier, named Xantippus, a Spartan: who being informed of what had our English passed, & of the overthrow which the Carthaginians received neere unto Adis, gave it were bold, in our publikely, that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the time of the Nation. This bruit, rantill it came to the Senate; Xantappus is fent for; gives the Queene Elizareason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made Generall of the African forces, he bath, to wring out of his puts himselfe into the field. The Army which he led, consisted of no more than twelve hands: where thousand soot, and soure thousand horse, with an hundred Elephants. No greater were we flaid not to the forces wherewith the Carthaginians fought for all that they had, Libertie, Lives, but brake open Goods, Wives, and Children: which might wellmake it suspected, that the Armies by the dores and p Sea, before spoken of, were mise-numbred; the one consisting of an hundred & forty all, threw it inthousand, and the other of an hundred and fifty thousand: were it not commonly found to the fire. that they which use the service of mercenary Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their owne doores.

Xantippus, taking the field with this Army, marched directly towards the Romans; and ranging his troupes upon faire and levell ground, fittest both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them battaile. The Romans wondered much, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they were, that it should soone bee abated. Their chiefe care was, how to refift the violence of the Elephants, Against them they placed the Velites, or light-armed Souldiers, as a forelorne hope; that a these might, either with darts and other casting weapons, drive backe the beasts upon the enemies, or at least breake their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely upon the Legions. To the fame end, they made their battailes deeper in file, than they had bin accustomed to doe. By which means, as they were the lesse subject unto the impression of the Elephants; so were they so much the more exposed unto the violence of horse, wherein the Enemie did sarre exceede them. The Elephants were placed by Xantippus, all in one ranke, before his Armie; which followed them at a reasonable distance: his horsemen, and some light-armed soote, of the Carthaginians Auxiliaries, were in the wings. The first onset was given by the Elephants, against which the Velites were fo unable to make refiltance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case, the depth of the Roman battaile was helpfull. For when the beafts had fpent their force, in piercing through aftwof the first rankes; the squadrons neverthelesse persisted in their order, without opening. But the Carthaginian horse, having at the first encounter, by reason of their advantage in number, driven those of Atilism out of the field, beganne to charge the Romane battalions in flanke, and put them in great distresse; who being forced to ume face every way, could neither passe forward nor yet retire; but had very much adoe to make good the ground whereon they stood. In the meane while, such of the Romans, as had escaped the fury of the Elephants, and left them at their backes,

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fellupon the Carthaginian Army, that met them in very good array. It was no even match. The one were a disordered Companie, wearied with labour and hurt; theother, fresh, and wellprepared, to have dealt with the enemie upon equal termes. Here was therefore a greater flaughter with little fight; the Romanes hastily recoyling to the body of their Army, which being surrounded with the enemie, and spent with travaile, fell all to rout, upon the defeat of these troupes, that open the way to a generall overthrow. So the Carthaginians obtained a full victory; destroying the whole Romane Armie, save two thousand, and taking five hundred prisoners, together with Atilius the Confull. Of their owne they lost no more than eight hundred mercenaries, which were flaine, when the fight began, by two thousand of the Romanes: that wheeling about to a- 10 voyd the Elephants, bare down all before them, and made way even to the Carthaginian trenches. These were the two thousand that escaped, when the whole Armie behinde them was routed. All the rest were either taken or slaine. Hereby fortune made the Romans know, that they wereno leffe her vaffals, than were the Carthaginians: how infolent soever they had bin in their proposition of peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their posperitie, which shee never gave nor sold to any mortall man. With what joy these newes were welcommed, when they came to Carthage, we may eafily conjecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to passe in the world, there are many examples to prove, no lesse than this of Xantippus: all of them confirming that sentence of Eurypides, Mens una sapiens plurium vincitma- 20 nus; Many mens hands equall not one wise minde.

After this great service done to the Carthaginians, Xantippus returned into Greece; whether for that he was more envied than honoured, or for what other cause, it is un-

knowne.

The death of Atilius Regulusthe Confull, was very memorable. He was fent from Carthageto Rome, about the exchange and ransome of prisoners on both sides: givinghis faith to returne if the businesse were not effected. When he came to Rome, and plainly faw that his Country should lose by the bargaine : so far was he from urging the Senate unto compassion of his own miserie, that he earnestly perswaded to have the prifoners in Africk left to their ill destinies. This done, he returned to Carthage: where for his paines taken, he was rewarded with an horrible death. For this his constance and faith, all Writers highly extollhim. But the Carthaginians seeme to have judged him an obstinate and malicious enemie, that neither in his prosperitie would hearken to reason, nor yet in his calamity would have the naturall care, to preserve himselfe and others, by yeelding to such an office of humanitie, as is common in all warres (not grounded upon deadly hatred) onely in regard of some small advantage. Whatsoever the Carthaginians thought of him; fure it is, that his faithfull observance of his wordgiven, cannot be too much commended. But that grave speech, which he made in the Senate, against the exchange of prisoners, appeares, in all reason, to have proceeded from a vaine-glorious forwardnesse, rather than from any necessity of State. For the exchange was made soone after his death; wherein the Romanes had the worse bargaine, by so much as Regulus himselfe was worth. As for the authority of all Historians, that magnifie him in this point; we are to consider, that they lived under the Roman Empire: Philinus, the Carthaginian, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he suffered with extreme torments, could not be more grievous to him than it was dishonourable to Carthage. Neither doe I thinke that the Carthaginians could excuse themselves herein; otherwise than by recrimination: faying, That the Romanes deserved to beno better intreated, for as much as it was their ordinary practice to use others in thelike fort. Cruelty doth not become more warrantable, but rather more odious, by being customary. It was the Roman fashion, to whip almost to death, and then to behead, the Captaines of their enemies whom they tooke, yea although they were fuch as had alwayes made faire wars with them. Wherefore it seemes not meet, in reason, that they shouldcrie out against the like tyrannicall insolency in others, as if it were lawfull onely

The confideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of Atilius his in tolerable demands; and of the fudden valour, whereinto the Carthaginians feare was changed by meere desperation; calls to remembrance, the like insolencie of others in prosperity, that hath bred the like resolution in those, to whom all reasonable grace hath

bindenied. In such cases I never hold it impertinent, to adde unto one, more testimonies; approving the true rules, from which our passions carry us away.

In the yeare 1378, the Genowaies won so fast upon the Venetians, as they not onely drave their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their owne fleet within two miles of Venice it selfe. This bred such an amaze ment in the Citizens of Venice, that they offered unto the Genowaies (their State referred) what foever they would demand. But Peter Doria, blown up with many former victories, would harken to no composition; save the veelding of their Cirie and State to his diferetion. Hereupon, the Venetians, being filled with disclaime, thrust out to Sea with all their remaining power, and affaile Doria with fuch desperate furie, that they breake his fleet, kill Dorig himselfe, take nineteene of his Gallies, fourescore boats of Padoa, & foure thousand prisoners, recover Chiozza, and all the places taken from them; and following their victory, enter the Port of Genoa, enforeng the Genowaies bafely to begge peace, to their extreme dishonour and disadvantage, being beaten; which; being victorious, they might have commanded, to their greatest honour and advantage. The like hapned to thie Earle of Flanders, in the yeare 1386. when having taken a notable, and withall an over-cruell revenge upon the Gantois, hee refused mercy to the rest, who in all humility, submitting themselves to his obedience, offered their Citie, goods, and estates, to bee disposed at his pleasure. This when hee had unadvisedly refused, and was resolved to extinguish them utterly; they issue out of their Citie with five thousand chosen men, and armed with a desperate resolution, they charge the Earle, breake his Army, enter Bruges (pell-mell) with his vanquished followes; and enforce him to hide him felfe under an heape of straw, in a poore cottage; out of which with great difficulty he escaped, and saved himselfe. Such are the fruits of Inand the section in the second contraction in

How the affaires of Carthage prospered after the victory against Atilius: How the Komans, having lost their sleet by tempest, resolve to for sake the Seas. The great advantages of a good sleet in warre, betweene Nations divided by the Sea.

DY the reputation of this late victorie, all places that had bin loft in Africke, re-Burne to the obedience of Curthage. Onely Chypea stands out; before which the Carthaginians sit downe, and assaile it, but in vaine: For the Romans, heamig of the losse of Atilius, with their forces in Africke, and withall, that Clypea was belieged, make ready a groffe Armie, and transport it in a fleet of three hundred and fify Gallies, commanded by M. Æmilius, and Ser. Fulvius, their Consuls. At the Promontory of Mercurie, two hundred Carthaginian Gallies, fet out of purpose, upon the bruit of their comming, encounter them: but greatly to their cost. For the Romans took by force an hundred and four eteene of their fleet, and drew them after them to Clypea; where they staid no longer, than to take in their owne men that had bin befieged: and this done, they made amaine toward Sicil, in hope to recover all that the Carthaginians . There is no held therein. In this hasty voyage they despife the advice of the Pilots, who pray them Part of the to finde harbour in time, for that the season threatned some violent formes, which hath not some ever hapned betweene the rifing of Orion, and of the * Dog-flarre. Now although the certaine times Pilots of the Roman Fleet had thus fore-warned them of the weather at hand, and cer- of outragious used them withall, that the South coast of Sicil had no good Ports, wherein to save their accidental themselves upon such an accident : yet this victorious Nation was perswaded, that storms. Wee the winde and seas feared them no lesse, than did the Africans; and that they were a-coast a Michable to conquer the Elements themselves. So refusing to stay within some Port, as they elmas slaw, that were advised, they would needes put out to Sea; thinking it a matter much helping feldome or never failes. In their reputation, after this victorie against the Carthaginian fleet, totake a few worth- the west Indies, selfe Townes upon the coast. The mercilesse winds in the meane while overtake them, in the months addresse unto Camerina, overturns and thrust headlong on the rocks, all but four september, those

indes, which the Spaniards call the Nortes, or North windes, are very fearefull; and therefore they that Navigate in those parts, take utes, which the Spaniards call the Nattes, or North windes, are very tearetunt and therefore they that Navigate in those parts, take about ill those moneths take end. Charles the fift being as ill adviced, in passing the Scandards Aligne, in the Winter quarter, contrary to the constant of the Alboria; as he was in like unseasonable times to continue his single before Merz in Lornaine, lost an hundred and forty ships before, and fifteene Gallies, with all in effect in them, of men, victuallers, horses, and munition to losse no lesse great, than his retrain, but he had been a losse of the same and th from before the one and the other, was extremedishonorable.

CHAP. I. S.9.

Seas, before the fame thereof recovered Rome. The Carthaginians, hearing what had hapned, repaire all their warlike veffells, hoping once againe to command the Seas: they are also as confident of their land-forces fince the overthrow of Atilius. They send Asdrubal into Sicil with all their old Souldiers, & an hundred and forty Elephants imbarqued in two hundred Gallies. With this Army and fleet he arrives at Lilybaum; where hee begins to vexe the Partifans of Rome. But adverfity dothnot discourage the Romanes: They build in three moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred & twenty ships; with which, & the remainder of their late shipwracke, they row to Panormus, or Palerma, the chiefe City of the Africans in Sicil, and furround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leaving a Garrison therein, returne to Rome.

Very desirous the Romans were to be doing in Africk to which purpose they imploied C. Servilius, and C. Sempronius, their Confuls. But these wrought no wonders. Some fpoile they made upon the coasts of Africa: but Fortune robbed them of all their gertings. For in their returne, they were first set upon the sands, and like to have perished. neere unto the leffer syrtes, where they were faine to heave all over-boord, that fo they might get off: then, having with much ado doubled the Cape of Lilybaum, in their milfage from Panormus towards Italy, they loft an hundred and fifty of their ships by foule weather. A greater discouragement never Nation had; the god of the wars favoured them no wore, than the god of the waters afflicted them. Of all that Mars enricht them with upon the Land, Neptune robbed them upon the Seas. For they had now loft, befides what they loft in fight, foure hundred and fixe Ships and Gallies, with all themu-

nition and Souldiers transported in them.

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The exceeding damage hereby received, perfwaded them to give over their Navigation, and their fight by Sea, and to fend onely a Land-army into Sicil, under L. Cacilius, and F. Furing their Confuls. These they transported in some threescore ordinary passage boats, by the streights of Mellana, that are not above a mile and a halfe broad from land to land. In like fort, the overthrow which Atilius received in Africa, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them leffe cholericke against the Carthaginians, than before; so that for two yeares after, they kept the high & wooddie grounds, not daring to fight in the faire and champion Countries. But this late refolution of forfaking the Seas lafted not long. For it was impossible for them to fuccour those places which they held in Sicil, without a Navie, much leffe to maintaine the warre in Africa. For whereas the Romans were to fend forces from Messana to Egesta, to Lilybaum, and to other places in the extreme West parts of Sicil, making sometimes a march of above an hundred and forty English mile by land, which could not be performed with an Army, and the provisions that follow it, in leffe than foureteene dayes; the Carthag inians would paffe it with their Gallies, in eight and forty houres.

An old example we have, of that great advantage of transporting Armies by water, between Canutus, and Edmond Ironfide. For Canutus, when he had entred the Thames with his Navie and Armie, and could not prevaile against London, suddenly imbarqued; and failing to the West, landed in Dorfet share, so drawing Edmond & his Army thinher. There finding ill entertainement, he againe shipt his men, & entred the Severne, making Edmond to march after him, to the fuccour of worcester shire, by him greatly spoyled. But when he had Edmond there, he failed back again to London: by meanes whereof, he both wearied the King, and spoiled where he pleased, ere succour could arrive. And this was not the least help, which the Netherlands have had against the Spaniards, in the defence of their liberty, that being Masters of the Sea, they could passe their Army from place to place, unwearied, and entire, with all the Munition and Artillerie belonging unto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies have bin able to doe it. Of this, an instance or two. The Count Maurice of Nassau, now living, on of the greatest Captaines, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceding Ages have brought forth, in the yeere 1590 carried his Army by Sea, with forty Canons, to Bieda: making countenance either to besiege Boisleduc, or Gertreviden Berg; which the enemie (in prevention) filled with Souldiers, and victualls. But as soone as the winde ferved, hee fuddenly fet faile, arriving in the mouth of the Menze, turned up the Rhine, and thence to Iffell, and fat downe before Zutphen. So before the Spaniards

could march over-land round about Holland, above fourescore mile, and over many great Rivers, with their Cannon and carriage, Zutphen was taken. Againe, when the Spanish Armie had overcome this wearifome march, and were now far from home, the Prince Maurice, making countenance to faile up the Rhine, changed his course in the night; and failing down the streame, he was set down before Hulst in Brabant, ere the Spaniards had knowledge what was become of him. So this Town he also tooke, before the Spanish Armie could returne. Lastly, the Spanssh Army was no sooner arrived in Brabant, than the Prince Maurice, well attended by his good fleet, having fortified Hulf, fet faile againe, and presented himselse before Nymegen in Gelders, a City of notable importance. and mastred it.

And to fay the truth; it is impossible for any maritime Countrie, not having the coasts admirably fortified, to defend it felfe against a powerfull enemy, that is master of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that Spaine than England should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King Philip the second had fully resolved to hinder Sir John Norris in the yeare 1589. from presenting Don Antonio, King of Portugale, before the gates of Lyborne; and that he would have kept off the English, by power of his land-forces; asbeing too weake at Sea, through the great overthrow of his mighty Armado, by the fleet of Queene Elizabeth, in the yeare foregoing. Surely, it had not bin hard for him, to prepare an Army, that should be able to refist our eleven thousand. But where should nthis his Army have bin bestowed! If about Lysborne; then would it have been easie unto the English, to take, ransacke, and burne the Towne of Groine, and to waste the Countrie round about it. For the great and threatning preparations of the Earle of Altemira, the Marquesse of Seralba, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the hastie leavie of eight thousand, under the Earle of Andrada, serve to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sir John Norris, and his Asfociates: confidering, that the English charged these, at Puente de Burgos, and passing the great Bridge, behinde which they lay, that was flanked with fhot, and barricadoed athe further end, routed them, tooke their campe; tooke their Generalls standard with the Kings Armes, and purfued them over all the Countrie, which they fired. If a Roypall Army, and not (as this was) a Companie of private adventurers, had thus begun the warre in Galicia; I thinke it would have made the Spaniards to quit the guard of Portugale, and make haste to the defence of their S' Jago, whose Temple was not far from the danger. But had they held their first resolution; as knowing, that Sir 70hn Norris his maine intent was to bring Don Antonio, with an Army, into his Kingdom, whither comming strong, he expected to be readily and joyfully welcomed: could they have hindred his landing in Portugale: Did not he land and Penicha, and march over the Country to Lysborne, fixe dayes journey ? Did not he (when all Don Antonio his promifes failed) paffe along by the River of Lysborneto Cafealiz, and there having won the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart ? But these, though no more than an handfull, yet were they Englishmen. Let us consider of the matter it selfe; what another Nation might doe, even against England, in landing an Army, by advantage of a fleet, if we had none. This question, whether an invading Army may be resisted at their landing upon the coast of England, were there no fleet of ours at the Seato impeach it; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his observations upon Casars Commentaries, that maintaines the affirmative. This he holds only upon supposition; in absence of our shipping: and comparatively, as that it is a more fafe and eafie course, to defend all the coast of England, than to suffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely I hold with him, that it is the best way, to keep our enemy from treading upon our ground; wherein, if we faile, then must we seeke to make him wish, that he had staied at his owne home. In such a case, if it should happen, our judgements are to weigh many particular circumstances, that belong not unto this discourse. But making the question generall, and positive, whether England, without helpe of her fleet, be able to debarre an enemie from landing; I hold that it is unable fo to do : and therefore I thinke it most dangerous to make the adventure. For the incouragement of a first victory to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a most perillous conlequence.

It is true, that the Marshall Monluc, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complaine, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to have kept the frontier of Guyenne, they of the Protestant Protestant Religion, after the battaile of Moncontour, entred that Countrie, & gathered great strength and reliefe thence; for if the King (faith he) would have given me but reasonable meanes, j'eusse bieng ardé à Monsieur l'Admiral de faire boire ses Chevaux en la Garonne; I would have kept the Admiral from watering his horses in the River of Garonne Monsieur de Langey, on the contrary side, preferres the not fighting upon a frontier with an invading enemy, and commends the delay; which course the Constable of France held against the Emperour Charles, when he invaded Provence. Great difference I know there is , and a diverse consideration to be had , betweene such a Countrie as France is Atrengthened with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of invalions upon firme land, that these great Cap- 10 taines spake: whose entrances cannot bee uncertaine. But our question is, of an Armie to be transported over Sea, and to be landed againe in an enemies Country, and the place left to the choice of the Invader. Hereunto I fay, That fuch an Army cannot berefifted on the coast of England, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of France, or any other Countrey: except every Creeke, Port, or fandy Bay, had a powerfull Army, in each of them, to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted: That Kent is able to furnish twelve thousand foot, and that those twelve thousand bee layed in the three best landing places within that Countrie, to wit, three thousand at Margat, three thousand at the Nesse, and fixe thousand at Foulkston, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these troupes (unlesse some as other order bee thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall fee the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I fay, that notwithstanding this provision, if the enemy, setting faile from the Isle of wight, in the first watch of the night, and towing their long boates at their sternes, shall arrive by dawne of day at the Nesse, and thrust their Armie on shore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at Margar, (twenty and fourelong miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellowes at the Neffe. Nay, how shall they at Foulkston be able to doe it, who are neerer by more than halfe the way : feeing that the enemie, at his first arrivall, will either make his entrance by force, with three or foure hundred shot of great Artillery, and quickly put the first three thousand, that were intrenched at the Nesse, to a run; or else give them so much to doe, that they shall bee glad to send for helpe to Foulkston, and perhaps to Margat : whereby those places will be left bare. Now let us suppose, that all the twelve thousand Kentish Souldiers arrive at the Nese, ere the enemie can be ready to dis-imbarque his Armie, so that hee shall finde it unsafe, to land in the face of so many, prepared to withstand him; yet must we believe, that he will play the best of his own game; and (having liberty to go which way he list) under covert of the night, fet fayle towards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, cither at Margat, the Downes, or elsewhere, before they at the Nesse can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more easie than to do it. Yea the like may be faid of Waymouth, Purbecke, Poole, and of all landing places on the South Coast. For there is no man ignorant, that ships, without putting themselves out of breath, will easily out-run the Souldiers that coast them. Les Armees ne volent point en poste; Armies neither flye, nor run post, saith a Marshall of France. And I know it to be true, that a fleete of thips may be seene at Sunne-set, and after it, at the Lisard; yet by the next morning they may recover Portland, whereas an Armie of foot shall not bee able to march it in fixe dayes. Againe, when those troupes lodged on the Sca-shores, shall beforced to run from place to place invaine, after a fleet of Ships: they will at length fit down in the mid-way, & leave all at adventure. But fay it were otherwise; That the invading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Army of ours ready to receive him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, shall be drawn together (as they were at Tilburie in the year 1588.) to attend the person of the Prince, and for the desence of the Citie of London: they that remaine to guard the coast, can be of no such force, as to encounter an Armie like unto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of Parma should have landed in England.

The Isle of Tercera hath taught us by experience, what to thinke in such a case. There are not many Ilands in the world, better fenced by nature, and strengthened by art:it being every where hard of accesse; having no good harbour wherein to shelter a Navie offriends, and upon every cove or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies boat. Yet when Emanuel de Sylva, and Monsieur de Chattes, that held it to the use of Don Antonio, with five or fixe thousand men, thought to have kept the Marquelle of Santa Cruz, from setting foote on ground therein; the Marquesse having shewedhimselse in the Road of Angra, did set saile, ere any was aware of it, and arrived at the poit des Moles, farre distant from thence; where he wan a Fort, and landed, ere Monsieur de Chartes, running thither in vaine, could come to hinder him. The example of Philip stroffie, flaine the yeare before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred French prisoners murdered in cold blood, had instructed de Chattes and his followers, what they might expect at that Marquesse his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were flow in carrying reliefe to Port des Moles Whether our English would be perswaded to make fuch diligent hafte, from Margat to the Neffe, and backe againe, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of Tercera; whereof the French-men had not measured the one halfe when they found themselves prevented by the more nimble ships of Spaine.

This may suffice to prove, that a strong Army, in a good sleet, which neither foot, nor horse, is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it lift, in England, France, or elsewhere, unlesse it bee hindred, encountred, and shuffled together, by a fleet of equal or

answerable strength.

The difficult landing of our English, at Fayal, in the year 1597. is alledged against this: which example moves me no way to thinke, that a large coast may be desended against astrong fleet. I landed those English in Fayal my selfe, & therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I finde an action of mine cited, with omission of my name; Imay by a civill interpretation, thinke, that there was no purpose to defraud me of any bonour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprize was fuch, or foill managed, as that no bosour could be due unto it. There were indeede forne which were in that voyage, who advised me not to undertake it: and I hearkened unto them somewhat longer than was rquifite, especially, whilest they defired me to reserve the title of such an exploit (though swere not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficulty: I gave them to understand, the same which I now maintaine, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, than to invade it. The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more ease than I did'; yea without finding any refistance, if I would have rowed to anotherplace, yea even there where I landed, if I would have taken more companie to helpe me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashnesse, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that bufinesse, than of safetie. For I thought it to belong unto the homurof our Prince and Nation, that a few Ilanders should not thinke any advantage great though, against a fleet set forth by Q. Elizabeth, and further, I was unwilling, that some Low-Countrie Captaines, and others, not of mine own squadron, whose assistance I had refuled, should please themselves with a sweet conceit (though it would have bin short, when I had landed in some other place) That for want of their helpe I was driven to turne uile. Therefore I tooke with me none, but men affured, Commanders of mine owne quadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom lould not refuse; as, Sir William Brook, Sir William Harvey, Sir Arthur Gorges, Sir John Stot, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Sir Henrie Tinnes, Sir Charles Morgan, Sir Walter Chute, Marcellus Throckmorton, Captaine Laurence Kemis, Captaine william Morgan, & others, hehas well understood themselves and the enemie: by whose helpe, with Gods favour, lmade good the enterprise I undertooke. As for the working of the Sea, the steepnesse of the cliffes, & other troubles, that were not new to us, we overcame them well enough. And these (norwithstanding) made five or fixe Companies of the enemies, that sought impeach our landing, abandon the wall, whereon their Musketiers lay on the Rest for us, and won the place of them without any great losse. This I could have done with leffe danger, fo that it should not have served for example of a rule, that failed even inthis example: but the reasons before alledged, (together with other reasons well nowne to some of the Gentlemen above named, though more private, than to be here addown) made me rather follow the way of bravery, and take the shorter course; haing it still in mine owne power to fall off when I should thinke it meet. It is easily said, hat the Enemy was more than a Coward; (which yet was more than we knew) neither will magnific fuch a small peece of service, by seeking to prove him better: whom had I thought

thought equall to mine owne followers, I would otherwise have dealt with. But for so much as concernes the Proposition in hand; hee that beheld this, may well remember that the same enemy troubled us more in our march towards Fayal, than in our taking the thore that he fought how to stop us in place of his advantage, that many of our men were flaine or hurt by him, among whom Sir Arthur Gorges was shot in that march; and that such, as (thinking all danger to be past, when we had won good footing) would needs follow us to the Towne, were driven by him, to for lake the pace of a man of war, and hetake themselves to an hastie trot.

For end of this digression, I hope that this question shall never come to triall; his Majeffies many moveable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the English will to no lesse disdaine, than any Nation under heaven can doe, to be beaten upon their owne ground, or elsewhere by a forraigne enemy; yet to entertaine those that shall assaile us. with their owne beefe in their bellies, and before they eate of our Kentalb Capons, I take it to be the wisest way. To do which, his Majesty, after God, will imploy his good ships on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment upon the shore. The man of the first terms of the construction
How the Romans attempt agains to get the masterie of the Seas. The victory of Cacilius 1 the Roman Confull at Panormus: The fiege of Lalyhaum. How a Rhodian Gallic entred Lilybeum at pleasure, in despight of the Roman fleet. That it is a matter of great difficulty to flop the passage of good ships. The Romans, by reason of grievous lossesceived, under Claudius and Junius their Confuls, abandonthe Seas againe.

Hen, without a strong Navie, the Romans found it altogether impossible. either to keepe what they had already gotten in Sicil, or to enlarge their Dominions in Africa or elsewhere, they resolved once againe, notwithflanding their late miladventures, to strengthen their fleet & ships of warre. So causing fifty new Gallies to be built, & the old to be repaired, they gave them in charge (together with certaine Lepions of Soundiers) to the new Confuls, C. Atilius, & L. Manlius. On the other side, Astrubal perceiving that the Romans, partly by reason of the shipwracke which they had lately fuffered, partly by reason of the overthrow which they received by Xantippus in Africa, were leffe daring than they had bin in the beginning of the war.& withall, that one of the Confuls was returned into Italy, with the one halfe of the Army, & that Cacilius, with only the other halfe, remained at Panormus: he removed with the Carrhaginian forces from Lilybaum towards it, hoping to provoke Cacilius to fight. But the Confull was better advised. For when Afdrubal had made his approches somewhat neere the Towne, Cacilius caused a deepe trench to be cut, a good distance without the ditch of the Citie: between which and his trench he left ground fufficient, to embattaile a Legion of his Souldiers. To these he gave order that they should advance themselves, and passe over the new trench, till such time as the African Elephants were thrust upon them. From those beasts he commanded them to retire, by slow degrees, till they had drawn on the Elephants to the brinke of the new trench, which they could by no means. passe. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a stand, they were fo gawled & beaten, both by those Souldiers that were on the inside of the trench, & by those that lay in the trench it selfe, that being inraged by their many wounds, they brake backe furioully upon their owne foot-men, and utterly disordered them. Cacilim espying this advantage, sallied with all the force he had; and charging the other troups, that stood embattailed, he utterly brake them, and put them to their heeles; making a great flaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this victory being brought to Rome; the whole state, filled with courage prepared a new fleet of two hundred faile, which they fent into Sicil, to give end to that warre, that had now lasted fourteene yeares. With this seet and Armie the Romans refolve to attempt Lilybaum, the only place of importance which the Carthaginians held in Sicil; and all (indeed) fave Drepanum, that was neere adjoining. They fet down before it, and possesses of all the places of advantage neere unto it, especially of such as command the haven, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground fixe Towers of defence; and by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the Citie, as the defendants begin to despair. Yet Himileo, Commander of the place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of Warre. All that is broken he repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious fallies, and giveth to the Romans all the affronts that noffibly could be made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten thousand Souldiers; among which there are certaine Lievtenants, and other pettie Officers, that conspire to render and betray the Towne. But the matter is revealed by an Achean, called Alexon, who had formerly, in danger of the like treason, saved Agrigentum. Himilco ufeth the help of Alexon, to affure the hired Souldiers, and imployeth Hannibal to appeare the troupes of the Gaules, which did waver, and had fent their agents to the enemie. All promise constancie and truth; so that the Traitors, being unable to performe what they had undertaken, are faine to live in the Koman campe as fugitives, that had wrought no good whereby to deserve their bread. In the mean while, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from Carthage to their reliefe, having Hannibal the son of Amilcar for their Conductor: who, in despight of all refishance, entred the Port and Citie, to the incredible joy of the befieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perswaded by Himileo with hope of great reward) resolve to set upon the Romans in their trenches, and either force them to abandon the fiege, or (at least) to take from them. orset on fire, their engines of batterie. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the uttermost, with great slaughter on both sides. But the Romans, being more in number, and having the advantage of the ground, hold still their places, and with extreme difficultie defend their engines.

They of Carthage defire greatly to understand the state of things at Lilybeum; but know not how to fend into the Towne. A certaine Rhodian undertakes the fervice; and having received his dispatch, sailes with one Gallie to Agusa, a little Iland neere Lilybaum. Thence, taking his time, he steered directly with the Port; and having a passing swift Gallie, he past through the best of the Channel, and recovered the water-gate, ere any of those, which the Romans had to guard the Port, could thrust from the shores on either fide.

The next day, neither attending the covert of the darke night, nor dreading to be boorded by the Roman Gallies, who waited his returne, he fet faile, and shipped his Oares (his Gallie being exceeding quick of steerage, and himself expert in all parts of the channell) recovered the Havens mouth, and the Sea, in despight of all the pursuit made after him. Then, finding himselfe out of danger of being incompassed by many, he turned againe towards the mouth of the Haven, challenging any one, if any one durft come forth, to undertake him. This enterprise, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondred at in those dayes: and yet, where there was no great Artillerie, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill a-farre off, the adventure which this Rhodian made was not greatly hazzardous. For in this Age, a valiant and judicious man of war will not fear to passe by the best appointed Fort of Europe, with the helpe of a good Tide, and a leading gale of winde:no though fortie pieces of great Artillerie open their mouthes against him, and threaten to teare him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Queenes time, when Denmark and Sueden were at War, Our East-land fleet, bound for Leif-land, was forbidden by the King of Denmark to trade with the subjects of his enemies, and he threatned to fink their ships if they came through the streights of Elsenour. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants (having a ship of her Maiffies, called the Minion, to defend them) made the adventure, and fulfaining fome Volles of thor, kept on their course. The King made all the provision he could, to stop them, or fink them, at their returne. But the Minion, commanded (as I take it) by William Burrough, leading the way, did not only passe out with little losse, but did beat downe, with Attillerie, a great part of the Fort of Elsenour; which at that time was not fo well rampard, as now perhaps it is: and the fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any wound received. Neither was it long fince, that the Duke of Parma, befieging Antwerp, and finding no possibilitie to master it, otherwise than by famine, laid his Cannon on the banke of the River, fo well to purpose, and so even with the face of the water, that he thought it impossible for the least boat to passe by. Yet the Hollanders and Zelanders, not blowne up by any wind of gloie, but comming to finde a good market for their Butter and Cheefe, even the poore

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CHAP, 1. S.10.

men, attending their profit when all things were extreme deare in Antwerpe, passed in boates of ten or twelve Tonne, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despight of it, when a strong Westerly winde, and a Tide of floud favoured them; as also with a contrary winde, and an ebbing water, they turned backe againe: fo as hee was forced, in the end, to build his Stockado overthwart the River, to his marvailous trouble and charge.

The Fort Saint Philip terrified not us in the yeere 1596, when we entred the Port of Caliz, neither did the Fort at Puntal, when we were entred, beate us from our anchoring by it; though it plaid upon us with foure Demi-cannons within point blanque, from fixe in the morning till twelve at none. The fiege of Oftend, and of many other places, to may be given for proofe, how hard a matter it is to stop the passage of a good ship, with out another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is to fet, as that of Angrain Tercera, that there is no paffage along befide it, or that the ships are driven to turne upon a bow-line towards it, wanting all helpe of winde and tide; there, and in such

places, is it of great use, and fearefull: otherwise not.

But to returne to our adventurous Rhodian: Hee arrives in fafety at Carthage, and makes them know the estate of Lilybeum. Others also, after this, take upon them to doe the like, and performe it with the same successe. The Romans therefore labour to chook the channell; and, for that purpose, fill many Merchants ships with great stones, and finke them therein. The force of the Tides cleares it agains in part: but they grounded so many of those great bellied boates in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rising and heape, like a ragged Iland, in the passage. Hereby it came to passe, that a Carthaginian Gallie, taking her course by night, and not suspecting any fuch impediment, ranne her selfe a-ground thereon, and was taken. Now comes the brave Rhodian, thinking to enter, as hee had done before : but this Carthaginian Gallie, a little before taken, gave him chase, and gathered upon him; hee findes what shee is, both by her forme and by her swiftnesse: and being not able to runne from her, resolved to fight with her. But shee is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and

Lilybaum, after this, is greatly diffressed; the Souldiers being worne with labourend watching. But in this despaire there rose so violent a tempest, as some of the Romans woodden Towers, by which they over-topt the walls of Lilybaum, were over-turned. A Greeke Souldier undertakes to fire those that were fallen, and performes it: for the fire was no fooner kindled, but being blowne unto by the bellowes of a tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistlesse, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the brasen heads of the battering Rammes. Hereupon, despaire and warinesse hinder the Romans from repairing their Engines: fo that they refolve, by a long fiege, to starve

Upon relation of what had past, a supply of tenne thousand Souldiers is sent from Rome, under M. Claudius, the Confull. Hee arrives at Messana, and marcheth over land to Lilybaum: where having re-inforced the Army, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the surprise of Drepanum, a City on the other side of the Bay of Lilybaum. This fervice the Captaines and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Confull embarques his troupes, and arrives on the fudden in the mouth of the Port. Adherbal is Governour of the Towne, a valiant and prudent man of warre, who being ignorant of the new supply arrived at Lilybeum, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but having recovered his spirits, he perswades the Souldiers, rather to sight abroad, than to bee enclosed. Herewithall he promiseth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall deserve them; offering to leade them himselfe, and to fight in the head of his fleet. Having sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrusts into the Sea towards the Romans. The Confull, deceived of his expectation, calls backe the foremost Gallies, that hee might now marshall them for defence. Hereupon some rowe backward, some forward, in great confusion. Adherbal findes and followes his advantage, and forceth the Confull into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himselfe, having the land on his backe: hoping thereby to keepe himselfe from being incompassed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-roome, so streightened, as he could not turne himselfe any way from his enemies, nor range himselfe in any order. Therefore when hee found no hope of refistance, keeping the shore on his lest hand, hee thrust out of the Bay with thirtie Gallies, besides his owne, and so sled away : all the rest of his sleet, to the number of ninetie and foure ships, were taken or sunke by the Carthaginians. Adherbal for this fervice is greatly honoured at Carthage; and Claudius, for his indifcretion and flight, as

The Romans, notwithstanding this great losse, arme threescore Gallies, with which they fend away L. Junim, their Confull, to take charge of their businesse in Sicil. Junim arrives at Messana, where he meets with the whole remainder of the Reman fleet, those excepted which rode in the Port of Lilybeum. One hundred and twentie Gallieshe had; and besides these, hee had gotten together almost eight hundred ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessarie provisions for the Armie. With this great feet he arrives at Syracuse, where he stayes a while; partly to take in come, partly to wait for some, that were too flow of faile, to keepe company with him along from Mefsana. In the meane time he dispatcheth away towards Lilybeum his Questors or Treafirers; to whom he commits the one halfe of his victuallers, with some Gallies for their

Adherbal was not carelesse after his late victorie: but studied how to use it to the best advantage. The ships and prisoners that he had taken, he sent to Carthage. Of his owne Gallies he delivered thirtie to Carthalo, who had threescore and ten more under his own charge; and sent him to trie what good might be done against the Roman fleet in the Haven of Lilyb aum. According to this direction, Carthalo fuddenly enters the mouth of that Haven, where he finds the Romans more attentive to the keeping in of the belieged Carthaginians, than to the defence of their own against another fleet. So he chargeth them, boords, and takes some, and fires the rest. The Roman Campe takes alarme, and hastens who rescue. But Himileo, Governour of the Town, is not behinde hand; who sallies out athe sametime, and putting the Romans to great distresse, gives Carthalo good leisure to

goe through with his enterprife.

After this exploit, Carthalo ran all along the South coast of Sicil, devising how to worke mischiefe to the enemie; wherein Fortune presented him with a faire occasion, which he wisely managed. He was advertised by his Scouts, that they had descried, neer parland, a great fleet, confifting of all manner of Vessels. These were the victuallers, which the Confull Juneus, more hastily than providently, had fent before him towards Lilybaum. Carthalo was glad to heare of their comming: for he and his men were full of wirage, by reason of their late victories. Accounting therefore the great multitude of loman Hulks approaching, to be rather a prey than a fleet likely to make strong oppofition, he hastens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The Romans had no minde to fight: but were glad to feeke shelter in an open Roade, full of tocks, under covert of a poore Towne, belonging to their partie; that could helpe to we them only from the present danger, by lending them engines and other aide, wherewith to beat off the Carthaginians that affailed them Carthalo therefore, having taken a kw of them, lay waiting for the rest, that could not long ride under those rockes, but would be forced by any great change of winde, either to put out into the deepe, or to swether men, how they could, by taking land, with the losse of all their shipping. Whilefthe was bufied in this care, the Confull Junius drew neare, and was discovered. Agunt him Carthalo makes out, and findes him altogether unprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Confull had neither meanes to flie, norabilitie to fight. Therefore he likewise ran into a very dangerous Creeke; thinking hodanger fo great as that of the enemie. The Carthaginian feeing this, betakes himselfe wa Station betweene the two Roman fleets; where he watcheth, to fee which of them would first stir, with a resolution to assault that, which should first dare to put it selfe inothe Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coast of Sicil, betweene the Promontorie of Pachinus and Lilyhaum; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the winde formed at South. The Carthaginians, who knew the times of tempest, and their fignes, finding (belike) fome swelling billow (for so we doe in the West of England, before a Southerly storme) hasted to double the Cape of Pachinus, thereby to cover themselves from the rage at hand. But the Romans, who knew better how to fight than how to Navigate, and never found any foule weather in the entrailes of their beafts, their Soothlayers being all land-prophets, were fuddenly over-taken with a boifterous South wind, and all the Gallies forced against the rocks, and utterly wrackts

This calamitie fo discouraged the Romans, that they resolved againe to forsake the Seas, and trust only to the service of their Legions upon firm ground. But such a resolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at sea, or else they must not make war in on cannot long a those that have a mightier fleet. Yet are they to be excused, in regard of the many great calamities which they had suffered through their want of skill. Here I cannot forbeare to commend the patient vertue of the Spaniards. We feldome or never find, that any Nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries, as the spaniver find, that any Nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries, as the spaniver find, that any Nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries, as the spaniver find, that any Nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries, as the spaniver find, that any Nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries, as the spaniver find, that any Nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries, as the spaniver find, that any Nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries, as the spaniver find, that any Nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries, as the spaniver find, that any Nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries, as the spaniver find, that any nation hath endured so many misadventures and miseries and mi ards have done, in their Indian Discoveries. Yet perfishing in their enterprises with an invincible constancie, they have annexed to their Kingdome so many goodly Provinces, as burie the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwracks, famine, overthrows, to mutinies, heat & cold, pestilence, and all maner of diseases both old & new, together with extreme povertie, and want of all things needfull, have bin the enemies wherewith every one of their most noble Discoverers, at one time or other, hath encountred. Many years have passed over some of their heads in the search of not so many leagues: yearmore than one or two have spent their labour, their wealth, & their lives, in search of a golden kingdome, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fift undertakers, have not bin disheartned. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with those Treasuries and Paradises which they enjoy; and well they deserve to hold them quietly if they hinder not the like vertue inothers, which (perhaps) will not be found.

6. XI.

The Citie of Eryx is surprised by the Romans, and recovered by Amilcar, who stoutly holds war with them five years. The Romans having emptied their common treasurie, build a new fleet at the charges of private men. The great vistorie at Sea of LuCtatins the Conful; whereby the Carthaginians are forced to crave peace. The conditions of the peace between Rome and Carthage.

He Romans were carefull to supplie with all industrie, by land, the want of strength at sea. Therefore they continue the siege of Lilybaum, and seek to make fure to themselves all places, whither the enemies ships could not bring reliefe. The Confull Junius, to cure the wound of dishonour, which he had received, bethought him what enterprises to undertake. In the end he resolved to attempt the Mountaine and Citie of Eryx, with the Temple of Venus Erycina: which was the fairest and richestof all the Iland; and of these, by cunning or treason, he got possession. Eryx was commodioufly feated between Drepanum and Panormus; fo that it feemed a fit place for a Gamifon, that should restraine the Carthaginians from making roads into the country. Wherefore Junius fortified both the top of the Mountain, and the first entrance of the passage a from the bottome (both of which places were very defenfible) with a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the eighteenth yeare of this war, the Carthaginians sent forth Amilear, surnamed Barcas, Father of the great Hannibal, with a fleet and Armie, who failing to the coasts of Italie, did throughly repay the spoyles which the Romans madein Africa. For he first of all wasted and destroyed the Territories of the Locrines, and of the Brutians, that were dependants of Rome. Then entred he into Sicil, and finding there no walled Citie in the Carthaginians power, that served fitly to infest the Romans, he occupied a piece of ground of great advantage, and lodged his Armie thereon; to confront as well the Pomans, that were in Panormus, as those that kept about Ergx, putting himselfe between both Armies with admirable resolution.

The place that Amilear had feized upon, was not onely very strong by situation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gave him opportunitie to scoure all the coast of Italie with his fleet, wasting all along as far as to Cuma. In the Isle of Sicil he held the Romans to hard worke: lying neere unto Panormu, where in three yeers abode he die many notable acts, though not of much consequence, for that the enemic could never be drawne to hazzard the main chance. Having wearied himselfe and the Romans long enough about Panormus, he undertooke a strange peece of worke at Eryx. The Roman Garrisons, placed there by Junius, on the top, and at the bottome of the Mountaine, were very strongly lodged. Neverthelesse Amilear found a way, lying towards the Seafide, by which he conveighed his men into the City of Eryx, that was about the middest of the ascent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to passe, that the Romans which kept the top of the mountaine, were streightly held (as it were) besieged And no lesse was Amilear himselfe restrained, by both of these Garrisons, & such as came to relieve them. There he found them pastime about two years more; hoping still to wearie out those that lay over his head, as they on the contrary did their best, to thrust him out of those quarters.

Arthistime, all the care, both of the Romans and of the Carthaginians, was bent unto the profecuting of this businesse at Eryx. Wherein it seemes true (as Hannibal, in Livie, Liv. Dec 3.l. to. fake unto Scipio) that the affaires of Carthage never stood in better terms, since the beginning of the warre, than now they did. For whereas the Romans had utterly forfaken the Seas, partly by reason of their great losses; partly upon confidence of their land-forres, which they held refiftleffe; Amilcar, with a small Armie, had so well acquited himselfe, to the honour of his Country, that by the triall of five yeares warre, the Carthaeinian Souldier was judged equall, if not superior to the Roman. Finally, when all, that might be, had beene devised and gone, for the dislodging of this obstinate Warriour: no way seemed better to the Senate of Rome, than once againe to build a fleet; whereby if the mastrie of the Sea could once bee gotten, it was likely that Amilear, for lacke of supply, should not long beable to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficulty was found. The common treasurie was exhausted: and the cost was not little, that was requisite unto such an enterprise. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lav the burden upon private purses. Divers of the principall Citizens undertooke to build (each at his owne charges) one Quinquereme, which example wrought so well, that they, whose abilitie would not serve to be the like, joyned with some others, and laying their mony together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repaied when the war was finished. By this voluntary contribution, they made and finished two hundred new Quinqueremes: taking for their patterne, that excellent swift rowing Gallie which they had gotten from the Rhodian, in the Port of Lihbeum, as was shewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to C. Lustatius Catulius; who past with the same into Sicil the Spring following, and entred the Port of Drevanum, indeavouring by all meanes to have forced the Citie. But being advertised that the Carthaginian fleet was at hand, and being mindefull of the late loffes which his Predecessors had received; he was carefull to put himselfe in order, against their arrivall.

Hanno was Admiral of the Carthaginian fleet; a man(as his actions declare him) wife in picture, exceedingly formall, and skilfull in the art of feeming teverend. How his reputation was first bred, I doe not finde; but it was up-held by a factious contradiction, orthings undertaken by men more worthie than himfelfe. This qualitie procured unto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient fort, whose cold temper is averse from new enterprises, and therewith all an opinion of great forefight confirmed by every losse received. More particularly, he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the most grievous oppressors of their subject Provinces; whereby he procured unto the Carthaginians much wealth, but therewithall fuch hatred, as turned it all to their greatloffe. He had ere this beene imployed against the Numidians and wilde Africans, that were more like to Rovers than to Souldiers, in making War. Of those figitive Nations he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his owne great dishonour, and to the great hurt of Carthage; which lost not more by his bad condec, than by his malicious counsell, when, having shewed himself an unworthie Captain, he betook himselse to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in Roman Histories, satemperate man; and one that studied how to preserve the League betweene Carthageand Rome: In which regard, how well he deferved of his owne Countrie, it will appeare hereafter show beneficiall he was to the Romans, it will appeare, both hereafter, and in his present voyage; wherein he reduced the Carthaginians to a miserable necofficie of accepting, upon hard conditions, that peace which hee thence-forth com-

Hanno had very well furnished his Navie, with all needfull provisions for the Soulthersat Eryx: (for dexteritie in making preparation was the best of his qualities) but he 00003

had neither beene carefull in trayning his Mariners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with stout fellowes. He thought, that the same of a Carthaginian fleet was enough, to make the unexpert Romans give way: forgetting, that rather the refiftleffe force of tempests, than any other strength of opposition, had made them to forfake the seas. Yet in one thing he had either conceived aright, or else was sent forth well instructed. It was his purpose, first of all to faile to Eryx, and there to disch arge his ships of their lading: and having thus lightned himselfe, he meant to take aboord some part of the Land-armie, together with Amilear himselfe, by whose helpe hee doubted not, but that he should be able to make his enemie repent of his new adventure to Sea. This was a good course, if it could have been eperformed. But Catulus used all possible diligence, to prevent the execution of this defigne: not because he was informed of the enemies Dur. pose, but that he knew it to be the best for them, & for that he seared no danger so great. ly, as to encounter with Amilear. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the seas went high, when the Carthaginian fleet was discried; yet he rather chose to fight with the enemie, that had the winde of him, than to fuffer his convoy to passe along to Eryx upon unlikely hope of better opportunity in the future. All that Hanno should have done, Catulus had performed. He had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; he had lightned his Gallies of all unnecessarie burthens; and he had taken abourd the chorce men of the Roman Land-souldiers. The Carthaginians therefore, at the first encounter were utterly broken and defeated, having fiftie of their Gallies stemmed and sunke, 10 and feventy taken, wherein were few leffe than tenthousand men, that were all made prisoners: the rest, by a sudden change of winde, escaping to the Ile of Hieronesia.

The state of Carthage, utterly discouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to resolve. Meanes to repaire their sleete in any time there were none left: their best men of warre by Sea were consumed; and Amilear, upon whose valour and judgement the honour and fafety of the Common-weale rested, was now surrounded by his enemies in Szcil, where he could not be relieved. In this extremity, they make dispatch unto Amilear himselfe, and authorize him to take what course should feeme best unto his excellent wisedome, leaving all conclusions to his election and sole

counfaile.

Amilear, whom no adverfitie, accompanied with the leaft hope or possibilitie of recoverie had ever vanquished, looking over every promise, true or false, that the present time could make him, (forto attend any thing from the future he was not able) relolved to make triall, whether his necessitie might be compounded upon any reasonable terms. He therefore fent to Luctatius the Consull an overture of peace: who considering it well, gathered so many arguments from the present povertie of the Roman State, wasted beyond expectation in the former warre, that he willingly hearkened unto it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but with provision, That it should hold none otherwise, than if the Senate and People of Rome would ratifie it with their allow-

The conditions were: First, that the Carthaginians should clearely abandon the Isle of Sicil. Secondly that they should never undertake upon Hieron King of Syracufe, nor invade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they should set at libertie, and send back into Italie, all the Romans, whom they held prisoners, without ransom. Lastly, that they should pay unto the Romanstwo thousand and two hundred talents; which make, as the French reckon the talent, thirteen hundred and twentie thousand crownes: the same to be delivered within twenty years next following.

These Articles were sent to Rome, where they were northroughly approved but ten Commissioners were sent into Sicil, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissions ners added a thousand talents to the former sum; and required a shorter time of painters. Further also they tooke order, that the Carthugineans should not only depart out of Sicil it felfe, but should also with-draw their Companies our of all other Hands between it

and Italie, renouncing their whole innerest therein. Such was the end of the first Purick marre , that had lasted about twenty four years without intermission; in which time the Romans had lost, by fight or shipwrack; 2bout seven hundred Quinquiremes; and the Carthaginians about five hundred the greatnels of which losses, doth serve to prove the greatness both of these two Cities, and

of the War it selfe; wherein I hold good the judgement of Polybius, That the Romans, in generall, did shew themselves the braver Nation; and Amilear, the most worthie Captaine.

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CHAP. II.

Of divers actions passing betweene the first and second Punicke Warres.

Of the cruellwarre begun betweene the Carthaginians and their owne Mercenaries.

CHAP. 2. S. I.

He Romans having partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the Carthaginians out of Sicil, and all the little Hands thereunto adjacent gave them rather meanes and leifure to help themselves in a following war, than cause to hold themselves contented with the present peace. It is an ancient and true rule, 2 nod leges a villoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur a vielis; That lawes are given by the Conquerors, and received of the conquered. But the Romans had either forgotten the

answer that was made unto them, by one of the Privernates; or else had forgotten to followir, in this weightie businesse. For when one of Privernum, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cause of his Citie, was demanded by a Senator, what geace the Romans might hope for, or affure themselves of if they quitted their present advantage over them; he answered in these words, Si bouam dederition, & fidam & perpetuam; si malam, hand disturnam; If the peace be good and faithfull that you give su, it will be perpetuall; if it beall, then of little continuance. To this answer the Senare, at that time gave such approbation, that it was faid, Viri & liberi vocem auditam; ancrede poffet, ullum pofulum, aut hominem deniq; in ea conditione, cujus cum poeniteat, diutim quam necesse sit mansurum? that it was the speech of a manly, and free man; for who could believe that any people, or indeed any one man, would continue longer in an over-burdened estate than meere neefitie did enforce? Now, if the Romans themselves could make this judgement of hole Nations, who had little else besides their manly resolution, to desend their liberte; firely, they grofly flattered themselves, in presuming, that the Carthaeinians, who mither in power nor in pride, were any way inferiour unto themselves, would sit downe anylonger by the loffe and dishonour received, than untill they could recover their legs, and the strength which had a while failed them, to take revenge. But occasion, by whom (while well entertained) not only private men, but Kings and publike States, have more prevailed, than by any proper proweffe or verme, with-held the tempest from the Romans for a time, and turned it most searcfully upon Africa, and the Carthaginians themfelves_

For after that the first Punick war was ended, Amilear, leaving Eryx, went to Lilybefrom whence most conveniently the Armie might be transported into Africke: the are of which businesse he committed unto Gestosto whom, as to a man of approved hisficincie, he delivered over his charge. Gefco had an especiall consideration of the great fimmes, wherein Conthoge was indebted unto these Mercenaries; and, withall, of the great disabilitie to make payment. Therefore he rhought it the wifest way, to fend them over (as it were) by handfuls a few at a time, that forthe first might have their dispatch, andbe gone, ere the second or third Companies arrived. Herein he deale providently. for uhad not been hard to perfinade any finall number, lodged within fogreat a Citie & Carthage, unto some such reasonable composition, as the present emprinesse of the common Treasurie did require: fo that the first might have beene friendly discharged, and a good prefident laft umo the fecond and chird, whilest their diffunction had made

CHAP. 2. S. I.

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them unable to recover their whole due by force. But the Carthaginians were of a contrarie opinion. They thought to finde, in the whole Armie, fome that would be contented to gratifie the Publique State, by remitting a great part of their owne due: and hoped, by such an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detained the first and second commers; telling them, that they would make an even reckoning with all together. Thus every day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much disquieted the Citie, not accustomed unto the like. In this regard it was thought sit, to remove them allto some other place, where they might be lesse troublesome. This must be done by some colourable words of perswasion for their number was already so great, to that it was not safe to offend them too far. Wherefore it is devised, that they should all attend the comming of their fellowes, at Sieca: receiving every one a piece of gold, to be are his charges in the meane while.

This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers began to dislodge; leaving behinde them their wives, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away all. when they came back for their pay . But the Carthaginians have no fancie to their returning into the Towne; and therefore compell them to truffe up their fardels, that they might have none occasion left to make any errands thither. So to Sicca they removed with all their goods; and there lay wairing for newes of their fellowes arrivall, and their owne pay. Bufineffe they had none to doe, and therefore might eafily be drawn to muti-20 nie: the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talke was, how rich they should be, when all their money came in; how much would fall to every fingle share; and for how long time the Citie was behind hand with them in reckoning. They were all growne Arithmeticians; and he was thought a man of worth, that could finde most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, even beyond their due. No part of their long service was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promises of their Captaines, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to mind, and so many obligations, not to be cancelled, without satisfying their expectation by some unordinarie largesse.

Thus the time passeth away, until the whole armie being arrived, and lodged in Sie- 2 ea, Hanno comes thither to cleare the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they shall all be made rich; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining stoutly the common cause. So think they all; and affemble themselves to heare what good newes this meffenger had brought; with a full resolution to help his memorie, in case heshould happen to forget any part of the many promises made to them; all which were to be confidered in their Donative. Hanno begins avery formall Oration, wherein he bewails the povertie of Carthage; tels them how great a sum of money is to be paid unto the Romans : reckons up the excessive charges whereat the Common-wealth had been in the late warre; and finally defires them to hold themselves contented with part of their pay, and out of the love which they bare unto the Citie, to remit the rest. Few of them understood his discourse: for the Carthaginian Armie was composed of sundrie Nations, as Gneekes, Africans, Gaules, Ligurians, Spaniards, and others; all of different languages-Yet they stared upon him, & were (as I think) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such as conceived the whole tenor of his speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort he brought; they were all enraged, and fared like mad-men, to that nothing would ferve to appeale them.

derstood their dissonant lowd noyses, than they did his Oration. An Armie collected out of so many. Countries, that have no one language common toall, or to the greater part of them, is neither easily stirred up to mutinie, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The best that Hanno can doe, is to use the helpe of Interpreters and Messengers. But these Interpreters rnistake his meaning; some for want of skill; others of set purpose; and such as deliver his errands in the worst sense, are best believed. Finally, they thinke themselves much abused by the Carchaginians, and resolveto demand their owne in peremptoric terms; at a neerer distance. In this mood they leave Sicas, and march as farre as Tunio, that is within a very little of Carthage, and there they incampe.

Now begin the Carthaginians to finde their own errour. It is a good rule,

Curandum inprimis ne magna injuria fiat Fortibus & miseris.

Have speciall care, that valiant povertie Be not oppress with too great injurie.

Ruthis proud Citie, having neglected the rule, hathalfo beene carelesse in providing to fecure her felfe against the inconvenience that might follow. Shee had suffered the whole multitude, whereunto she was like to give cause of discontent, to joyn it selfe intoone bodie, when the feverall troupes might eafily have bin dispersed: she hath rurned out of her gates the wives, children, and goods of these poore men, which had she reained in shew of kindnesse, she might have used them as Hostages for her own safety; and by imploying a miserable penni-father, in her negotiation with men of War, she hath weakned the reputation of her bravest Captaines, that might best have served to freeher from the threatning danger. Yet likely it is, that Amilear had no defire to be ufed as an instrument in defrauding his owne Souldiers of their wages: especially confidering, that as he best could beare witnesse of their merits, so was he not ignorant; that meanes to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had beene willing thereunto. Hereunto may be added a probable conjecture, that Hanno, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemie to Amilear, had the boldnesse to impose the blame of his owne wretched counsell, upon the liberall promises made by the Captaines. Amilear therefore did wifely, in suffering those that maligned him, to have the managing of their owne plot, and to deale the cards which themselves had shuffled. This they continue to do as foolishly as they had at first begun. They furnish a market an Tunu for the Souldiers; whom they suffer to buy what they lift, and at what price they lift. They fend ever and anon some of their Senatours into the Campe; who promise to latisfie all demands, as farre forth as it should be possible. And thus by shifting from one extreme to another, they make the Souldiers understand, into what seare the Citic was driven; which cannot choose but add much insolencie to the passions alreadie stir-

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the Army. which thereupon growes wife, and finding the feafon fit, labours to make a great harvest. Money must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many have lost their horses in publike service of the State. The State shall pay for them. They had lived some yeares, by making hard shift, without receiving their allowance of victuals from Enthage. If they had lived, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the Carthaginians? Wasit not all one, whether the ships did bring in provision, or their Captaine direct them where to fetch it . But this would not serve. They said that they had beene formetimes driven to buy; and that (fince they could not remember how much, orat what rate they bought) they would be paid for their provision during the whole time, and according to the dearest price that wheat had borne, whilest the Warre lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiners; who might easily have been satisfied with farre leffe charges, and far more honour, by receiving their due at the first. But now they make noend of craving. For whileft the Carthaginians are perplexed about this Corn-monie; the Souldiers have devised many more tricks, whereby to extort a greater fun of money, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could be found ofthese controversies which daily did multiplie, it was thought convenient, that one of the Carthaginians, which had commanded in Sicil, should be chosen by the Souldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Armie condescended, and made choice of Gefpartly out of good liking to him, who had shewed himselfe at all times a friendly man to them, and carefull of their good, especially when they were to be transported into Africke: partly out of a diflike which they had conceived of Amilear; for that he had not visited them in all this busic time. So Gesco comes among them; and, to please them the better, comes not without money: which might give better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of Hanno. He calls unto him first of all the Captains, and then the several Nations apart; rebuking them gently for that which had passed; advising them temperately concerning the prelent; and exhorting them to continue their love unto the State, which had long entertained them, and would needs alwaies be mindefull of their good fervices. After this he began to put hand to his purfe, offering to give them their whole pay in hand; and then after to confider of other reckonings at a more convenient time. This had bin well accepted, and might have ferved to bring all to a quiet paffe, if two feditious ring-leaders of the multitude had not flood against it.

There was in the Campe one Spendim, a sturdie fellow, and audacious, but a slave : that in the late war had fled from a Roman, whom he ferved, and therefore flood in feare lest he should be delivered back to his Master; at whose hands he could expect no leffe, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could finde no better way to prolone his owne life, than by raising such troubles as might serve to with-draw men from care to of private matters, and make his owne restitution impossible, were his Master neverso importunate. With Spendius there affociated himselfe one Matho, an hote-headed man. that had beene fo forward in stirring up the tumult, as he could not choose but feare, lest his owne death should be made an example, to deterre others from the like seditious behaviour. This Matho deales with his Countrimen the Africans; telling them, that they were in far worse condition, than either the Gaules, the Greekes, the Spaniards, or any forreine mercenaries. For (faith he) Thefeour companions have no more to doe, than to receive their wages, and so get them gone: but we that are to stay behinde in Africa, shall he called to another manner of accompt, when we are left alone; so that we shall have cause to will that we had returned home beggars, rather than loaden with the mony, which (lit- 20) tle though it be) shall breake our backes. Tee are not ignorant, how tyrannically those our haughty masters of Carthage doe reigne over us. They thinke it reasonable, that our lives and goods should be at their disposition; which they have at other times bin accustomed to take from us even without apparent cause, as it were to declare their soveraignty: what will they now doe, seeing that we have demeaned our selves as freemen, and bin bold to set a good face on the matter, demanding our own, as others have done? Tee all doe know that it were a very shame for us, if having bin as forward in every danger of war, as any other men we should now stand quaking like slaves, and not dare to open our mouths when others take libertie to require their due. This not with standing ye may assure your selves, that we are like to be taught better manners, as soone as our fellowes are gone: in regard of whom a they are content to [hadow their indignation with a good but a forced count enance. Let us therefore be wise, and consider that they hate and feare us: their hatred will shew it selfe when their feare is once past: unlesse we now take our time, and whilst we are the stronger, enfeeble them so greatly that their hatred shal not be able to do us wrong. All their strength consisteth in money, wherewithall they have hired others against us, and us against others. At the present they have neither money nor friends. Thebest armie that ever served them, whereof we are no small part, lies at their gates, ready to helpe us if we be men. A better opportunity cannot be expected; for wereour swords once drawne, all Africk would rise on our side. As for the Carthaginians, whither can they send for helpe? The case it selfe is plain: but we must quickly resolve. Either we must prevent the diligence of Gesco, by incensing A these Gaules and Spaniards, and procuring them to draw blood; or else it behovethus to please our good Masters, by joining with them against our fellowes, year by offering to forgive unto them all our wages, if so (peradventure) they may be mon to forgive us, or not overcruelly to punish our faults committed. He is most worthily a wretched slave, that neither hath care to winne his Masters love, nor the courage to attempt his owne liberty.

By fuch perfivations Matho winnes the African fouldiers to his owne purpose. They are not now so greedie of mony, as of quarrell; which he that seeketh will not misse to find. When Gesco therefore offered to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demands, for horses and victuals, to some other more convenient time; they breake into great outrage, and say, that they will have all, even all at once, and sthat out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Armie flocke together about Matho and Spendius; whose diligence is not wanting to add more fuell to the fire alreadie blazing. Matho and Spendius are the only mento whom the Souldiers will hearken: if any other stand up to make a speech, a showre of stones, stying about his eares, puts him to silence, that he shall never afterwards speake word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say: enough hath beene said alreadie by those good spokesmens that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can be heard, save only Throw,

throw.

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Now the rebellion begins to take forme. Matho and Spendius are chosen Captains: who, followed by a desperate crue of Russians, will suffer no man to make his owne neace, but pursue their owne ends, under faire pretence of the common cause. All which notwithstanding, Gesco is not wanting to the good of his Countrie, but adventures himfelse upon their furie. One while he deales with the Captaines, and other principall men; taking them by the hand, and giving gentle words: another while he workes with the severall Nations; putting them all in hope of their own hearts defire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so sullen as the Africans: indeed none of them had so good cause. They require him peremptorily to give them their owne, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not fo covetous as they feeme: but will be more glad of anill answer, than of a good payment. This is more than Gefco knowes: he fees not that Matho hath any more than bare words to bestow upon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconfiderate heat, he tels them, That they may doe well, if they hand in want of money, to feeke it of their Captaine Matho. This is enough. Shall he hoth defraud them and deride them . They stay no longer, but lay violent hands upon the treasure that he had brought; yea upon him also, and all that are with him: as intending to take this in part of payment, and, for the rest, to take another course. Matho and spendius are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their fellowes begin to grow calme, by his faire language: wherefore they cast into bonds both him, and all the Carthayinians that they can finde; that so the Armie may be freed from danger of good admonition, which they call Treason. After this followes open war. Matho folicites all Africk, and his Embassadors are every where well entertained. Neither is it needfull to ufeperswasion: the very same of this rebellion sufficeth to draw the whole countrie into in Now must the Carthaginians be plagued for those oppressions, with which they have plagued others. It is true that adversitie hath never beene untold of her errours: and as his ever affured to heare her owne, fo commonly with her owne she undergoes those ofother men. The Africans finding the Carthaginians hang under the wheele, tell them boldly, that their Impositions were mercilesse; that they took from them the one halfe oftheir corne; that they doubled their tributes in all things elfe; and that they inflicted pupon their vassals the greatest punishment for the least offences. These cruelties the Carthaginians themselves have forgotten: but the people, that have suffered so much, retain all in perfect memorie. Wherefore not only such as can beare Armes are readie to doe fervice in this great Commotion; but the very women bring forth their Jewels, and other ornaments, offering all to fale for the maintenance of fo just a quarrell. By this great forwardnesse, and liberall contribution, Matho and Spendim are supplied with a strong aide of three score and ten thousand Africans: and are moreover surnished with money, not onely to fatisfie the present appetite of their men; but sufficient to continue the war begun, though it should be of long endurance.

§. I I. Divers observations upon this war with the Mercenaries.

†. I.

Of Tyrannie, and how Tyrants are faine to use the helpe of Mercenaries.

Ere let us rest a while, as in a convenient place, whence we may take a prospect of the subject, over which we travell. Behold a tyrannicall Citie, persecuted by her owne Mercenaries with a deadly war. It is a common thing, as being almost necessaries, that a tyrannic should be upheld by mercenarie forces: it is common that Mercenaries should be false: and it is common that all warre made against Tyrants, should be exceeding full of hate and crueltie. Yet we feldome heare, that ever the ruine of a tyrannic is procured or sought by those that were hired to maintain the power of it: and seldome or never doe we reade of any war that hath been prosecuted with such inexpiable latted, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call Tyrannie, is, A violent form of government, not respecting the good of the sub jett, but only the pleasure of the Commander. I purposely forbear to say, that it is the unjust rule of one over many: for very truely doth Cleon in Thucydides tell

the Athenians, that their dominion over their subjects, was none other, than a meere tvrannie; though it were fo, that they themselves were a great Citie, and a popular estate. Neither is it peradventure greatly needfull, that I should call this forme of commanding violent: fince it may well and eafily be conceived, that no man willingly performs obedience to one regardlesse of his life and welfare; unlesse himselse be either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme passion of love. The practice of tyrannie, is not alwaies of a like extremitie: for some Lords are more genrle than others, to their very flaves; and he that is most cruell to some, is milde enough towards others, though it be but for his owne advantage. Nevertheleffe, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers discretion cannot extend it selfe, unto notice of the diffe- 10 rence which might be found between the worth of feverall men; it is commonly feene. that the tafte of sweetnesse, drawne out of oppression, hat h so good a rellish, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not fuffer it to be restrained with any limits of respect. Why should he seek out bounds to prescribe unto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation . It is much that he hath gotten by extorting from fome few: by fparing none, he should have riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deale from every one: but every one could have spared more. He hath wrung all their purses, & now he hathenough but (as Covetouinefle is never fatisfied) he thinkes that all this is too little for a flock, though it were indeed a good yearly In-come. Therefore he deviseth new tricks of robbery, and 20 is not better pleased with the gains, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this and he knowes it well: but he thinkes by crueltieto change hatred into feare. So hemakes it his exercise, to torment and murder all whom he suspecteth: in which course, if he suspect none unjustly he may be said to deale craftily; but if Innocencie be not safe, how can all this make any Conspirator to stand infeare, fince the Traitor is no worse rewarded, than the quiet man? Wherefore he can think upon none other fecuritie, than to dif-arm all his Subjects; to fortifie himselse within some strong place; and, for defence of his Person and State to hire as many luftie Souldiers as shal be thought sufficient. These must not be of his owne Countrie: for if not every one, yet some one or other may chance to have a feeling of the publike miserie. This considered, he allures unto him a desperaterable of strangers, the most unhonest that can be found; such as have neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be careful to support him, by whose only favour they are maintained Now lest any of these, either by detestation of his wickednesse, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater reward than he doth give, should be drawn to turn his sword against the Tyrant himselse: they shall all be permitted to doe as he doth; to rob, to ravish, to murder, and to satisfie their owne appetites, in most outrageous maner; being thought fo much the more affured to their Mafter, by how much the more he fees them grow hateful to all men elfe. Confidering in what age, and in what language I write; I must be faine to say, that these are not dreams: though some Englishman perhaps that were unacquainted with Historie, lighting upon this leafe, might suppose this discourse to be but little better. This is to shew, both how tyrannie growes to standing need of mercenarie Souldiers, and how those Mercenaries are, by mutuall obligation, firmly affured unto the Tyrant.

†. II.

That the Tyrannie of a Citie over her Subjetts is worse, than the tyrannie of one man: and that a tyrannicall Citie must likewise use mer cenarie Souldiers.

TOw concerning the tyranny wherewith a Citie or State oppresseth her subjects it may appear some waies to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in ma ny things it is more intolerable. A Citie is jealous of her Dominion; but not (asis one man) fearfull of her life: the lesse need hath she therefore to secure her selfe by cal eltie. A Citie is not luxurious in confuming her treasures, and therefore needs the less to plucke from her subjects. If warre, or any other great occasion, drive her to necessi tie of taking from her Subjects more than ordinarie summes of money; the same neces fitie makes either the contribution eafie, or the taking excusable. Indeed no wrongs at To grievous & hatefull, as those that are insolent. Remember (faith Caligula the Empero

to his Grand-mother Antonia) that I may doe what I lift, and to whom I lift: these words were accounted horrible, though he did her no harme. And Juvenal reckons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruel Roman Dame upon her flaves, that whileft she was whipping them, she painted her face, talked with her Gossips, and used all signes of neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest grievances wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subjects, are free from all fense of indignitie: likely it is, that they will not extremely hatcher, although defire of libertic make them wearie of her Empire. In these respects it is not needfull, that she should keep a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and maintaine them in all villany, as a Dionyfius or Agathocles must doe : her owne Citizens are able to terrefie, and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. These things, considered alone by themselves, may serve to prove, That a Citie is scarce able to deserve thename of a Tyrannesse, in the proper sig-

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All this notwithstanding, it shall appeare, that the miseries, wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his people, are not so heavie, as the burdens imposed by a cruell Citie. Not without some appearance of truth, it may be faid, that Lust, and many other private passions. areno way incident to a Citie or Corporation. But to make this good, we shall have need to use the helpe of such distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not Rome lascivious, when Cato was faine to rise and leave the Theater, to the end, that the reverend regard of his gravity might not hinder the people from calling for a hew of naked Courtifans, that were to be brought upon the open stage? By common practice, and generall approved custome, we are to censure the quality of a whole State; not by the private vertue or vice of any one man, nor by metaphyficall abstraction of the univerfall from the fingular; or of the Corporation, from those of whom it is compoundded. If ay therefore, (as I have faid elsewhere) That it were better to live under one pernicious Tyrant, than under many thousands. The reasons proving this, are too many to stdowne, but few may suffice. The defires of one man, how inordinate soever, if they cannot be fatisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to fearch all corners; his humour may be found, and foothed; age or good advice, yea, or fome unexpected accident may reforme him; all which failing, yet is there hope, that his successour may prove better.

Many Tyrants have beene changed into worthy Kings: and many have ill used their ll gotten Dominion, which becomming hereditary to their posterity, hath grown into themost excellent forme of Government, even a lawfull Monarchy. But they that live under a tyrannicall Citie, have no fuch hope: their Mistresseis immortall, and will not lacken the reines, untill they be pulled out of her hands, and her owne mouth receive thebridle of a more mightier Chariotter. This is wofull: yettheir present sufferings make them leffe mindefull of the future. New flies, and hungry ones, fall upon the fame fore, out of which others had already fucked their fill. A new Governour comes yearely among them, attended by all his poore kindred and friends, who meane not to returne home empty to their hives, without a good lading of waxe and hony. These slie into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with every mans wealth, or what soever else, in all the Province, is worthy to be defired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his fears: becomming themselves, within a little space, the enemies that he seareth most. To grow imacquaintance with these masterfull guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an mdleffelabour, (yet it must be undergone) and such as every one hath not means to goe bout: but were this effected, what availeth it? The love of one Governour is purchased with gifts: the Successor of this man, he is more loving than could be wished, in respect ofafaire Wife or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goers, who seekes the ruine of all that have beene mward with them. So the miseries of this tyranny are not simple, but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities oficivillimarre. The Romans had a Law De Repetundis, or, of Recoverze, against extorting Magistrates: yet we finde, that it served not wholly to retraine their Provinciall Governours; who prefuming on the favour of their owne Citilens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold, in their Provinces, to worke these enormities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for seare of ladgement. If the subjects of Rome ground under such oppressions, what must we think of those that were Vassals unto Carthage? The Romans imposed no burthensome Pppp tributes:

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tributes; they loved not to heare; that their Empire was grievous; they condemned many noble Citizens for having beene ill Governours. At Carthage all went quite contranie: the rapines newly devided by one Magistrate, served as Presidents to instruct another; every man resolved to doe the like, when it should fall to his turne; and he was ther; every man resolved to doe the like, when it should fall to his turne; and he was the da notable Statesman, whose robberies had beene such, as might affoord a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this Carthaginian practice are not extant: the government of Verres the Roman in Sicil, that is lively set out by Tullie, may serve to informe us, what was the demeanour of these Punick Rulers, who stood in scare of no such condemnation, as Verres under-went. By prosecuting this discourse, I might inferre a more generall Proposition; That a Citie cannot governe her subject Provinces to so middly as a King: but it is enough to have shewed, That the tyranny of a Citie is far more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man.

Sutable to the crueltie of fuch Lords, is the hatred of their subjects: and againe, sutable to the hatred of the subjects, is the jealousie of their Lords. Hence it followed, that, in wars abroad, the Carthaginians durst use the service of African souldiers; in Africk it selfe they had rather be beholding to others, that were farther fetcht. For the same purpose did Hannibal, in the second Punick war, shift his Mercenaries out of their own counpose did Hannibal, in the second Punick war, shift his Mercenaries out of their own counpose did Hannibal, in the second Punick war, shift his Mercenaries out of their own countries; It Afri in Hispania, Hispanian Africa, melior procul ab domo suturus uters; miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati sipendia facerent; That the Africans might serve in Spain, the Spaniards in Africk, being each of them like to prove the better Souldiers, the farther to they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutual pledges. It is disputable, I consess, whether these African and Spanish hirelings, could properly be termed Mercenaries: for they were subject unto Carthage, & carried into the field, not only by reward, but by dutie. Yet seeing their dutie was no better than enforced, and that it was not any love to the State, but meer desire of gain, that made them fight; I will not nicely stand upon propriety of a word, but hold them, as Polybius also doth, no better than Mercenaries.

t. III.

The dangers growing from the use of mercenarie Souldiers, and forrain Auxiliaries.

He extreme danger, growing from the imploiment of fuch Souldiers, is well obferved by Machiavel: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serve, than to those against whom they serve. They are seditious, unfaithful disobedient, devourers, and destroyers of all places and Countries, whereintothey are drawne; as being held by no other bond, than their own commoditie. Yea, that which is most fearfull among such hirelings, is, that they have often, and in time of greatest extremity, not only refused to fight, in their defence, who have entertained them, but revolted unto the contrarie part; to the utter ruine of those Princes and States that have trusted them. These Mercenaries (faith Machiavel) which filled all Italie when Charls the eight of France did passe the Alpes, were the cause that the said French King wonthe Realm of Naples with his Buckler without a Sword. Notable was the example of Sforza, the Father of Francis Sforza, Duke of Millan; who being entertained by Queen Joane of Naples, abandoned her service on the sudden, and forced her to put her self into the hands of the king of Aragon. Like unto his father was Francis Sforza, the first of that race, Duke of Millan; who being entertained by the Millanois, forced them to become his flaves,e ven with the very fame armie which themselvs had levied for their own defence. But Lo dowick Sforza, the son of this Francis, by the just judgement of God, was made a memo rable example unto posterity, in losing his whole estate by the trechery of such faithless Mercenaries, as his own father hadbin. For, having waged an armie of Switzers, and committed his Dutchie, together with his person, into their hands, he was by them delivered up unto his enemie the French King, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of Loche. unto his dving day.

The like inconvenience is found, in using the helpe of forreigne Auxiliaries. We see, that when the Emperor of Constantinople had hired ten thousand Turks against he neighbour Princes; he could never, either by persuasion or force, set them agains on the sea upon Asia side; which gave beginning to the Christian servitude, that soon ass

followed. Alexander, the fon of Cassander, Sought aide of the great Demetrius: but Demetrius, being entred into his Kingdome, slue the same Alexander, who had invited him, and made himselfe King of Macedon. Syracon the Turke was called into Egypt by Sanar that Soldan, against his Opposite: but this Turke did settle himselfe so surely in Egypt, that Saladine his successor became Lord thereof; & of all the holy Land, soon after. What need we look about for examples of this kind? Every Kingdome, in effect, can furnish us. The Britaines drew the Saxons into this our Countrie; and Mac Murrough drew the some some looks of those two kingdomes.

Against all this may be alledged, the good successe of the united Provinces of the Neiherlands, using none other than such kinde of Souldiers, in their late warre. Indeed thele Low-countries have many goodly and strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthie, industrious, and valiant in their kinde. They are stout Sea-men, and therein is their excellencie; neither are they bad at the defence of a place well fortified: but in openfield they have seldome bin able to stand against the Spaniard. Necessity therefore compelled them to feeke helpe abroad: and the like necessity made them forbeare to ame any great numbers of their owne. For, with money raised by their Trade, they maintained the Warre: and therefore could ill spare unto the Pike and Musket, those hinds, that were of more use in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? they sped well. Surely they sped as ill as might be, whilst they had none other than mermarie Souldiers. Many fruitlesse attempts, made by the Prince of Orenge, can witnesse it and that brave Commander Count Lodowicke of Nassau ; felt, to his griefe , in his muit from Græningham; when, in the very instant that required their service in fight, his Mercenaries cried out aloud for money, and fo ranne away. This was not the onely time, when the hired Souldiers of the States, have either fought to hide their cowardize under a shew of greedinesse; or at least, by meere coverousnesse, have ruined in one hourethe labour of many moneths. I will not stand to prove this by many examples: for they themselves will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of Monfurthe Duke of Anjou, brother to the French King; fave that it is folly to conceale what all the world knowes. He that would lay open the danger of forraine Auxiliaries, mdeth no better patterne. It is commonly found, that such Aiders make themselves lords over those, to whom they lend their suctour: but where shall we meet with such mother as this Monfieur, who, for his protection promifed, being rewarded with the lordship of the Countrie, made it his first worke, to thrust by violence a galling yoake won the peoples necke? Well, he lived to repent it, with griefe enough. Even whilest hewas counterfeiting unto those about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imagimicforrow for the poore Burghers of Antwerpe, as verily believing the Towne to be impifed and wonne; the death of the Count S. Aignan, who fell over the wall, and the Cannon of the Citie, discharged against his owne troupes, informed him better what had hapned; shewing, that they were his own French who stood in need of pittty. Then was his feigned pallion changed into a very bitter anguish of minde, wherein, micing his breaft, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, Helis, mon Dieu, que veux infaire de moy ? Also, my God, what wilt thoudow with me? So the affaires of the Nethers lands will not ferve to prove, that there is little danger in using mercenarie Souldiers, or thehelpe of forraine Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding, they were obedient unto neeffice, and fought helpe of the English, Scots, and French: wherein they did wifely, and Mospered For when there was in France a King, partaker with them in the same danger; when the Queen of England refused to accept the Soveraignty of their Country, which they offered, yet being provoked by the Spaniard their enemie, pursued him with contimall war, when the heir of Enoland reigned in Scotland, a King too just and wise (though not ingaged in any quarrell) either to make profit of his Neighbours miseries, or to help those that had attempted the conquest of his owne inheritance : then might the Netherlunders very fafely repose confidence in the forces of these their Neighbour-countries. The Souldiers that came unto them from hence, were (to omit any other commendation) ons) not onely regardfull of the pay that they should receive, but well affected unto the that they tooke in hand: or, if any were cold in his devotion, unto the fide wherethe fought, yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his owne home, where he English would have rewarded him with death, if that his faith had beene corrupted Pppp 2

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by the Spaniard. They were therfore trufted with the custodie of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons, the necessitie of the poorer fort was relieved, before the pay-day came, with lendings, and other helpes, as well as the abilitie of the States could permit. When three luch Princes, reigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintain against the power of a fourth, injurious (or at least so seeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Country of the same religion, and to which they all are lovingly affected then may such a countrie be secure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other businesse, in hope of like fuccesse. But these circumstances meet so seldome, as it may well hold true in generall: That mercenary and forrain auxiliary forces are no lesse dangerous, than the enemy against whom they are entertained.

t. IIII.

That the moderate government of the Romans gave them assurance to use the service of their owne subjects in their wars. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyrannie. which hindrerh the use and benefit of the like moderation.

Ere it may be demanded, whether also the Romans were not compelled to use fervice of other fouldiers in their many great wars, but performed all by their Lown Citizens for ifit were their maner to arm their own subjects, how happed it, that they feared no rebellion; if strangers, how then could they avoid the inconveniences above rehearled? The answer is, That their Armies were compounded usually of their own Citizens, and of the Latines in equall number: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of Campanes, Hetrurians, Samnites, or other of their subjects as were either interessed in the quarrell, or might best be trusted. They had, about these times, (though seldome they did imploy so many) ten Roman Legions; agood ftrength, if all other helpe had bin wanting; which served to keepe in good order their fubjects, that were alwayes fewer in the armie than themselves. As for the Latines, if confanguinitie were not a sufficient obligation, yet many priviledges and immunities, which they injoied, made them affured unto the State of Rome: under which they lived almost a libertie, as being bound to little else, than to serve it in war. It is true, that a yoke, howesfie foever, feems trouble for to the neck that hath bin accustomed to freedom. Therfore many people of Italie have taken occasion of severall advantages, to deliver themselves from the Roman Subjection. But still they have bin reclaimed by war, the Authors of rebellion have sharply bin punished, and the people by degrees have obtained such liberty, as made them effeem none otherwise of Rome, than as the common citie of all Italy. Yes, in processe of rime it was granted unto many Cities, and those far off removed, even to Tarfue in Cilicia, where Saint Paul was born, That all the Burgesses should be free of Rome it selfe. This favour was conferred absolutely upon some; upon some, with restraint of giving voyce in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation as was thought fir. Hereunto may be added, that it was their maner, after a great conquest, to release unto their new subjects halfe of their tribute which they had bin wont to pay to their former Lords, which was a ready way to bring the multitude into good liking of their prefent condition; when the review of harder times past, should rather teach them to feareast laple, than to hope for better in the future, by feeking innovation. Neither would ith forgotten, as a special note of the Romans good government, That when some, for their well-deferving have had the offer to be made Citizens of Rome, they have refused itam held themselves better contented with their owne present estate. Wherefore it is no marvell, that Petellia, a Cirie of the Brutians in Italie, chose rather to endure all extre mitie of war, than, upon any condition, to forfake the Romans; even when the Roman themselves had confessed, that they were unable to helpe these their subjects, and there fore willed them to looke to their owne good, as having bin faithfull to the utmost. Su love purchased these mild Governors, without impairing their Majesty thereby. fum of all is they had, of their own, a ftrong Armie; they doubled it by adjoyning the unto the Latines; and they further increased it, as need required, with other help of the own subjects: all, or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperitie of Rome toll the common good.

The moderate use of soveraigne power being so effectuall, in affuring the peop

of the History of the World. unto their Lords, and consequently, in the establishment or inlargement of Dominion: irmay seeme strange, that the practice of tyranny, whose effects are contrary, hath been fo common in all ages. The like, Iknow, may be faid of all Vice and Irregularity, whatfoever. For it is lesse disficult, (who soever thinke otherwise) and more safe, to keepe the way of Justice and Honestie, than to turne aside from it; yet commonly our passions doe lead us into by-paths. But where Lust, Anger, Feare, or any the like Affection, seduceth our reason; the same unruly appetite, either bringeth with it an excuse, or, at least-wife, takethaway all cause of wonder. In tyrannie it is not so: for as much as we can hardly descry the passion, that is of force to infinuate it selfe into the whole tenour of a Goto vernment. It must be confessed, that lawlesse desires have bred many Tyrants: yet so, that these desires have seldome bin hereditary, or long-lasting; but have ended commonly with the Tyrants life, fometimes before his death; by which meanes the government hath bin reduced to a better forme. In fuch cases, the faying of Ariffotle Ariff. polls. G. 12. holds, That tyrannies are of a short continuance. But this doth not satisfie the question in hand. Why did the Carthaginians exercise Tyranny ? Why did the Athenians? Why have many other Cities done the like ? If in respect of their generall good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill course for the safety of the Weale publique ? If they were led hereunto by any affection; what was that affection wherein so many thousand Citizens, divided and subdivided within themselves by sactions, did all concurre, notwithstanding the much diversity of temper, and the vehemencie of private harred among them ! Doubtleffe, we must be faine to fay, That Tyrannie is, by it felfe, a Vice distinct from others. A Man, we know, is Animal politicum, apreven by Nature, to command, or to obey; every one in his proper degree. Other defires of Mankinde, are common likewise unto brute beasts; and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: but the desire of rule belongeth unto the nobler part of reason; wheremto is also answerable an aptnesse to yeeld obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are givenby nature not only to Man and Beast, but unto all sorts of Vegetables, for the sustenation of their life: as Feare, Anger, Lust, and other affections are likewise naturall, in convenient measure, both unto Mankinde, and to all creatures that have sense, for the shunning or repelling of harme, and seeking after that which is requisite: even so is this defire of ruling or obeying, ingraffed by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man onely as a reasonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a civill forme of Justice. All these in-bred qualities are good and usefull. Neverthelesse, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttony and Drunkennesse, which, in reproach, are called beastly, by an unproper terme : fince they grow from appetites, found in leffe worthy creatures than balls, and are yet not so common in bealts, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Passions as descend no lower than unto brute beasts, are held lesse vile; and perhaps not without good reason: yet are they more horrible, and punished more grievously, by sharper Lawes, as being in generall more pernicious. But, as no corruption is worse, danof that which is best; there is not any Passion, that nourisheth a vice more hurtfull mo Mankinde, than that which issueth from the most noble root, even the depraved Affection of ruling. Hence arise those two great mischiefes, of which hath beene an old question in dispute, whether be the worse; That all things, or That nothing should belawfull. Of these, a dull spirit, and over-loaden by fortune, with power, whereof tisnotcapable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary disternet, whose vehemency the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Under the extremity of eiter, no Country isable to subsist: yet the desective dulnesse, that permitteth any hing, will also permit the execution of Law, to which meerenecessity dorn enforce cordinary Magistrate; whereas Tyranny is more active, and pleaseth it selfe in the teeffe, with a false colour of justice. Examples of stupidity, and unaptnesse to rule, renot very frequent, though such natures are every where to be found : for this quality Toubles not it selfe in seeking Empire; or if by some errour of fortune, it encounter rewithall, (as when Claudius, hiding himselfe in a corner, found the Empire of Rome) one friend, or else a wife, is not wanting to supply the desect, which also cruelty oth helpe to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing unknowne, is without a name. yrannie is more bold, and feareth not to be knowne, but would be reputed honouole: for it is prosperum & fælix scelus, a fortunate mischiefe, as long as it can sub-There is no reward or honour (faith Peter Charron) a signed unto those, that know

Liv.Dec.1.1.3.

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Liv,ibid.

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hereunto.

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how to increase or preserve humane nature: all honours greatnesse exiches dignities, Empires. now to increase or press. are appointed for those, that know how to afflict, trouble, or destroy it. Casar and Alexander, have un-made and flaine, each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behinde them. Such is the errour of Mans judgement in valuing things according to the common opinion. But the true name of Tyranny, when it growes to ripenesse, is none other than Feritie: the same that Aristotle saith to be worse than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, issuing from the paffions incident both to Man and Beaft; no leffe than Perjurie, Murder, Treafon, and the like horrible crimes, exceed in villanie, the faults of Gluttony & Drunken. nesse, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof Sciron, Procrustes, and Pityo-10 camptes, that used their bodily force to the destruction of Mankinde, are not better examples, than Phalaris, Dionysim, and Agathocles, whose mischievous heads were asfifted by the hands of deteftable Ruffians. The fame barbarous defire of Lordship, transported those old examples of Feritie, and these latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reason: neither of them knew the use of Rule, nor the difference betweene Freemen

The rule of the husband over the wife, and of parents over their children, is naturall. and appointed by God himselfe; so that it is alwayes, and simply, allowable and good. The former of these, is as the dominion of Reason over Appetite; the latter is the whole authoritie, which one Freeman can have over another. The rule of a King is no more, 20 nor none other, than of a common Father over his whole country: which he that knowes what the power of a Father is, or ought to be, knowes to be enough. But there is a greater, and more Masterly rule, which God gave unto Adam, when he said : Have dominion over the fish of the Sea, and over the fowle of the aire, and every living thing that moweth upon the earth: which also he continueth unto Noah and his children, faying, The feare of you, and the dread of you, shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowle of the aire, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the Sea; into your hands are they delivered. He who gave this dominion unto Man, did give also an aptitude to use it. The execution of this power hath fince extended it selfe, over a very great part of Mankinde. There are indeed no small numbers of men, whose disabilitie to Arif. Pol. 12.63. governe themselves, proves them, according unto Ariftotles doctrine, to be naturally

Yet finde I not in Scripture any warrant to oppresse men with bondage: unlesse the lawfulnesse thereof be sufficiently intimated, where it is said, That a man shall not be punished for the death of a servant, whom he hath slaine by correction, if the servant live a day or two, because he is his money or else by the captivity of the Midianits b girls, which were made bond-flaves, and the Sanctuary had a part of them for the Lords tribute. Doubtlessethe custome hath beene very ancient: for Noah laid this curse upon Canaan, that he should be a servant of servants; and Abraham had of Pharaoh, amongother gifts, men-fervants and maid-fervants, which were none other than flaves. Christian Religion is faid to have abrogated this old kinde of fervilitie: but furely they are deceived that think fo. Saint Paul defired the liberty of Onesimus, whom he had won unto Christ: yet wrote for this unto Philemon by way of request, craving it as abenefit, not urging it as a dutie. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the fame Saint Paul giveth unto servants: Let every man abide in the same calling wher in he was called: art thou called being a servant? care not for it, but if thou maist be made free use it rather. It is true, that Christian religion hath procured liberty unto many; not onely in regard of pietie, but for that the Christian Masters stood in fear of being discovered by their slaves, unto the persecuters of religion. Mahomet likewise, by giving libertie to his followers, drew many unto his impietie: but whether he forbade it, as unlawfull, unto his sectators, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tels lave that by the practice of the Tarki and Moores, it seemes he did not. In England we had many bond-servants, until the time of our last civill wars; and I think that the Lawes concerning Villenage are still in force, of which the latest are the sharpest. And now, since slaves were made free, which force, of which the latest are the inarpert. And how, ince have of great use and service, there are growned a rabble of Rogues, Cutpurses, and mintate the unspeakeable goodnesse, rather than the inaccessible majestie, with both of which him the inaccessible majestie, with both of ther the like trades; flaves in Nature, though not in Law.

But whether this kinde of dominion be lawfull, or not; Aristotle hath well proved that it is naturall. And certainly, we finde not fuch a latitude of difference in a

creature, as in the nature of man; wherein (to omit the infinite distance in estate of the elect & reprobate) the wifest excell the most foolish, by far greater degree, than the most foolish of men doth surpasse the wisest of beasts. Therefore when Commiseration hath given way to Reason, we shall finde, that Nature is the ground even of Masterly power, and of servile obedience, which is thereto correspondent. But it may be truely said, that fome countries have substitted long without the use of any servilitie; as also it is true, that some countries have not the use of any tame cattell. Indeed the affections which uphold civill rule, are (though more noble) not fo fimply needfull, unto the fuftentation either of our kinde, as are Luft, and the like; or of every one, as are hunger and thirst; which notwithflanding are the lowest in degree. But where most vile and servile dispositions have liberty to shew themselves begging in the streets, there may we more justly wonder, how the dangerous toile of sea-faring men can finde enough to undertake them, than how the swarme of idle vagabonds should increase, by accesse of those, that are weary of their own more painfull condition. This may suffice to prove, that in Mankinde there is found, ingraffed even by Nature, a defire of absolute dominion: whereunto the generall custome of Nations doth subscribe; together with the pleasure which most men take in flatterers, that are the basest of slaves.

This being so, we finde no cause to marvell, how Tyranny hath been so rife in all ages, and practifed, not only in the fingle rule of some vicious Prince, but ever by consent of whole Cities and Estates: since other vices have likewise gotten head, and borne a generall fway, notwithstanding that the way of vertue be more honourable, and commodious. Few there are that have used well the inferiour Passions: how then can we expect, that the most noble affections should not be disordered ? in the government of wife and children, some are utterly carelesse, and corrupt all by their dull connivencie: others, bymasterly rigour, hold their owne bloud under condition of slavery. To been good Governour is a rare commendation: and to preferre the Weal publike above all respects what foever is the Vertue justly termed Heroicall. Of this Vertue many ages affoord not many examples. Hellor is named by Aristotle as one of them; and deservedly, if this praise bedue to extraordinary height of fortitude, used in defence of a mans owne Country. But if we confider, that a love of the generall good cannot be perfect, without reference unto the fount aine of all goodnesse: we shall finde, that no morall vertue, how great soever, an, by it felfe, deserve the commendation of more than Vertue, as the Heroicall doth. Wherefore we must fearch the Scriptues, for patternes hereof; fuch as David, Josaphat, and Josias were. Of Christian Kings, if there were many such, the world would soone behappy. It is not my purpose to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praise where isdue, or by preferring a leffe excellent. But he that can finde a King religious, and realous in Gods cause, without enforcement, either of adversitie, or of some regard of fate; a procurer of the generall peace and quiet; who not only ufeth his authority, but addes the travell of his eloquence, in admonishing his Judges to doe justice; by the vigorous influence of whose Government, civilitie is infused, even into those places, that have been the dens of savage Robbers and Cut-throats; one that hath quite abolished a lavish Brehon Law, by which a whole Nation of his subjects were held in bondage; and one, whose higher vertue and wisedome doth make the praise not only of Nobility and other ornaments, but of abstinence from the bloud, the wives, and the goods of those that are under his power, together with a world of chiefe commendations belonging uto some good Princes, to appeare lesse regardable: he, I say, that can find such a King, fideth an example, worthy to adde unto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Under fuch a King, it is likely, by Gods bleffing, that a Land shall flourish, with forease of Trade, in Countries before unknowne; that Civility and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen Countries; and that the happinesse of his sublects, shall cause the Nations sarre off removed, to wish him their Soveraigne. I need not adde hereunto, that all the actions of fuch a King, even his bodily exercifes, doe parake of vertue; fince all things to nding to the preservation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who fixing his contemplation upon God, feeketh how to which himselfe is indued, as farre as humane nature is capable) doeal so belong to the utherance of that common good, which he procureth. Left any man should think mee ansported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bounds of reason; I adde

Gen.1.28. Gen.9.2.

Exod.21-21. Num.30 40.

Gen.9-25. Gen.12.16.

Epist.to Phile.

T Cor.7.20.21.

cruelties.

hereunto, that fuch a King is nevertheleffe a man, must dye, and may erre: yet wisdome and fame shall fet him free, from error, and from death, both with and without the heln of time. One thing I may not omit, as a fingular benefit (though there be many other befides) redounding unto this King, as the fruit of his goodnesse. The people that live under a pleasant yoke, are not onely loving to their Soveraigne Lord, but free of courage, and no greater in muster of men, than of stout fighters, if need require: whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as over flaves, shall be attended in time of necessity, by flavish minds, neither loving his person, nor regarding his or their own honour. Cowards may be furious, and flaves outragious, for a time: but among spirits that have once yeeldedunto flavery univerfally it is found true, that Homer faith, God bereaveth a man of halfe his to vertue that day when he casteth him into bondage.

The fifth Booke of the first part

Of these things, I might perhaps more seasonably have spoken, in the generall discourse of Government: but where so lively an example of the calamity following a tyrannicall rule, and the use of Mercenaries, the reupon depending, did offer it selfe, as is this present businesse of the Carthaginians; I thought that the note would be more effectuall, than being barely delivered, as out of a common place.

6. III.

How the war against the Mercenaries was diversly managed by Hanno and Amilcar, with 20 variable successe. The bloudy counsels of the Mercenaries; and their finall destruction.

Eing now to returne unto those Mercenaries, from whom I have thus farre digrefied, I cannot readily finde, by what name henceforth I should call them. They are no longer in pay with the Carthaginians; neither care they to pre-*unica is seased tend, that they seeke their wages already due; so that they are neither Mercenaries, nor in the greatbay Mutiners. Had they all been subjects unto Carthage, then might they justly have been that enters to-wards Carthage, termed Rebels: but Spendiss, and others, that were the principall part of them, ought none allegiance to that State, which they endevoured to subvert. Wherefore I will the Promontory of Apollo. At borrow the name of their late occupation, and still call them Mercenaries, as Polybanal.,

These using the advantage of their present strength, besieged * urica and Hippagreta, called Porto Fewina, or sugara, Cities of great importance, as being feated upon the western Haven of Carthage, where sans themselves, it is divided by a neck of land; Hippagreta standing inwards upon the great Lake, this GarelMaba. No further out upon the Sea. Neither was the Campe at Tunis abandoned, which lay fitly the town it selfe to hinder the Carthaginians from passing up into the countrie: for Matho and Spendim the place where wanted not men to follow the war in all parts at once.

How the Carthaginians were amazed with this unexpected perill, any man may concalled Magacha- ceive. But the businesse it selfe awakes them hastily. They are hardly prest on all sides; res. It was very ver. It was very and therefore travelled their brains to the uttermost, how to shake off these furious dogs ancient, and and therefore travelled their brains to the uttermost, how to shake off these furious dogs built beforecar- from their shoulders, who, sometimes by night, sometimes by day, came unto the very thage, taith Site walls of their Citie. In this exigent, Hanno was made their Generall: who failed not in fhedbefore Car- his accustomed diligence of making all good preparation: but had gotten together whatthagewas set up, soever was needfull, as well to relieve a Town besieged, as to batter and assaile any place defended against him. With these provisions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came throwne down to Utica, fo fuddenly, that the enemies, as men surprised, for sook their Trenches, and by the Romans in the third Pu- retired themselves unto a rising piece of woody ground, where they might be safe aniche warre. Fa- gainst the violence of his beasts. Hanno, thinking that he had to doe with Numidians, mousit was by the death of ca. whose custome was, after any losse, to flie two or three whole daies journy off; present the deautoite souther the Town, to shew himselfe after this his victory. But these good fellowes, a who heldit a- gainst whom he was to war, had learned of Amilear, to retire and to fight again, many gainst carjat. 1. Emerging times in one day, as need required. Therefore as foon as they perceived, that he knew Divine, was Bi- not how to use a victory; they affailed their own Camp, and with great saughter, draw shop thereof in theor thereof in the Canthaginians out of it, forcing them to hide themselves within utica; and got pot fericite Arian, session of all the store that Hanno had brought for the reliefe of the Towne. This ba who lived all the time of that beginning Hanno followed with futable indifference: lofing the benefit of many fairt opportunities, and fuffering the enemies to take possession of all the entrance from Car hath written thage to the firm land.

The Carthaginians perceiving this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therefore let fall their shere-anchor; sending to the field their great Captaine Amilear, whom they furnished with ten thousand foot of supply, and seventy Elephants. Amilear had worke enough to doe, before he should be able to meet with the enemy upon equall ground. For, besides other places of advantage that the Mercenaries had occupied, Hanno had fuffered them to win the onely bridge, by which the River Macra, or Bagradas, was passable unto these, that were to travell into the Continent. This River had not many foords, nor those easie for a fingle man to get over: but upon them all was kept such guard, as gave to Amilear little hope of prevailing in feeking way by force. As for the Bridge it felfe, Matho and his followers were there lodged: and had there built a town, wherein to lye commodiously, intentive only to the custody thereof. But Amilear had observed, that the very mouth of Bagradas used to be sometimes cloyed with sand and gravell, that was driven in by certaine customary winds, and could not be driven out againe, by force of that flow river, till the wind failing, or changing, fuffered the weight of the waters to dif-burden their channell. Hereof he made use; and taking his opportumite passed the River, contrary to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his owne

There was no need to bid Spendim looke about him, when once it was heard, that Amilear was come over Bagradas: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the newes: knowing that they were no longer to deale with the improvident gravity of Hanno, but with an able spirit, even with their owne Master in the Art of Warre, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this feare was foone changed into prefumption; when more than fifteen thousand of their owne fociety, were come from utica, and other ten thousand from the guard of the Bridge. Their Armie was farre greater, than that of Amilear; and they were, intheir owne judgement, the better men; upon which confidence, they resolved to charge him on all sides, and beat him downe, in despight of his worth and reputation. With this resolution they attended upon him, watching for some advantage, and still exhorting one another to play the men, and give the onset. Especially they that followed him in the Reare, had a great minde to begin the fight; whereunto their promptnesse was such as tooke from them their former circumspection. Amilcarheld his way towards the Bridge, keeping himselfe on plaine grounds, that were fittelt for the service of his Elephants, which he placed in front of his Armie. Neither made heshew of any desire to fight, but suffered the rashnesse of his enemies to increase, till it hould breake into some disorder. At length perceiving, that with more boldnesse than good heed, they followed him so neare, as would be little for their good, if he should turne upon them, he hastened his march, even to such a pace, as made a shew little diffeing from plaine flight. The Mercenaries presently fell upon his skirts; believing, that for feare of them he was ready to run away. But whileft they confusedly, as in sudden opinion of victory, were driven at the heeles of those that had the Reare; Amilear wheeskdabout, and met them in the face, charging them hotly, but in very good order, fo that, amazed with the apprehension of unexpected danger, they fled without making any relistance. In this overthrow there were fixe thousand of the Mercenaries slaine, and about two thousand taken, the rest sled, some to the Campe at utica, others to the town at the Bridge; whither Amilear followed them so fast, that he wan the place easily; the enemies being thence also fled unto Tunes, as not having recollected their spirits to make

The fame of this victory, together with the diligence of Amilear in pursuing it, caused many Towns revolted, partly by feare, partly by force, to return to their former obedience. Yet was not Matho wanting to himselfe in this dangerous time. He sent about Numidia and Africk, for new supplies; admonishing the people, now or never, to doe their best for the recovery of their freedome; he perswaded Spendim, and Autaritm, that was a Captaine of the Gaules, to wait upon Amilear, and alwayes to keepe the higher grounds, or at least, the foot of some hill, where they might be safe from the Elephants; and he himselfe continued to presse the Town of Hippagreta with an hard siege. It was lecessary for Amilear, in passing from place to place, as his businesse required, to take fich wayes as there were: for all the Country lay not levell. Therefore Spendius, who fill coasted him, had once gotten a notable advantage of ground; the Carthaginians lyng in a plaine, surrounded with hills, that were occupied by the Mercenaries, with their

Numidian

CHAP. 2. S.3.

Numidian and African succours. In this difficultie, the fame of Amilear his personall worth did greatly benefit his Countrie. For Naravafus, a young gentleman commanding over the Numidians, was glad of this occasion, serving to get the acquaintance and love of so brave a man, which he much defired and therefore came unto Amilear, fignifying his good aff. ction to him, with offer to doe him all fervice. Amilear joy fully entertained this friend, promised unto him his own daughter in marriage; and so wan from the enemies two thousand horse, that following Naravasus turned unto the Carthag inians side. With this helpe he gave battell unto Spendius: wherein the Numidian laboured to approve his own valour to his new friend. So the victory was great: for there were flaine ten thousand of Spendius his fellowes, and foure thousand taken prisoners; but Spendius to himselfe, with Autarius the Gaule, escaped to doe more mischiese. Amilear dealt very gently with his prisoners: pardoning all offences past, and dismissing as many as were unwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they should never more beare armesagainst the Carthaginians; threatning to take sharpe revengeupon all that should

The fifth Booke of the first part

This humanitie was vehemently suspected by Matho, Spendin, and Autarim, astending to win from them the hearts of their Souldiers. Wherefore they resolved to take fuch order, that not a man among them should dare to trust in the good nature of Amilcar, norto hope for any fafety whilest Carthage was able to doe him hurt. They counterfeited letters of advertisement, wherein was contained, that some of their company, 20 respective only of their private benefit, and carelesse of the generall good, had a purpose tobetray them all unto the Carthag mans, with whom they held intelligence; and that it was needfull to look well unto Gefco, and his companions, whom these traitors had a purpose to inlarge. Upon this Theme Spendius makes an oration to the Souldiers, exhorting them to fidelity; and the wing with many words, that the feeming humanity of A milcar, toward some, was none other than a baite, wherewith to intrap them all at once together; as also telling them what a dangerous enemy Gesco would prove, if he might escapetheir hands. While he is yet in the midst of his tale, were letters come to the fame purpose. Then steps forth Autarius, and speakes his minde plainly : saying, that it were the best, yea, the onely way, for the common safetie, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with Carthage; that if some were devising to make their owne peace, it would goe hard with those that had a care of the warsthat it were better to make an end of Gefto his life, than to trouble themselves with looking to his custody; that by such acourse every one should be ingaged in the present Action, as having none other hope left, than in victory alone; finally, that fuch as would speak here-against, were worthy to be reputed Traitors. This Autarius was in great credit with the Souldiers, and could speak fundry languages, in such fort, that he was understood by all. According to his motion therefore it was agreed, that Gefce, and all the other prisoners, should forthwith by put to horrible death, by torments. Nevertheleffe there were fome, that for love of Gefco fought to alter his intended cruelty; but they were forthwith stoned to death, as a Document unto others; and so the Decree was put in execution. Neither were they therewithall contented, but further ordined, that all Carthaginian prisoners which they tooke, should be served in like fort: and that the subjects or friends of Carthage, should lose their hands, and so be sent home: which rule they observed ever afterwards.

Of this cruelty I need fay no more, than that it was most execrable feritie. As for the counsell of using it, it was like unto the counsell of Achitophel; All Israel ball beare, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then Shall the hands of all that are with thee be strong. Such are the fruits of desperation. He that is past all hope of pardon, is afraid of his owne fellowes, if they be more innocent; and to avoid the punishment of lesse of fences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the revengefull spirits of those that have been wronged, are breeders of this desperation: to which may be added fome deficiencie of Lawes, in diftinguishing the punishments of malefactors, acded fome deficiencie of Lawes, in change the parameter of their feverall crimes. A coward thinkes all provision too lightly for the decree of their feverall crimes. A coward thinkes all provision too lightly for the decree of their feverall crimes. A coward thinkes all provision too lightly for the decree of their feverall crimes. A coward thinkes all provision too lightly for the decree of their feverall crimes. A coward thinkes all provision too lightly for the decree of their feverall crimes. A coward thinkes all provision too lightly for the decree of their feverall crimes. cording to the decree of their reverse to the for his owner fecuritie. If Phocas be a coward (full the Emperour Mauritius) then there, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they have many times, by ortain of honour things a reverse is thought a point of honour things. tle for his owne iecuritie. If route ve under times, by orbe murderout. To be stedfast and sure, intaking revenge, is thought a point of honour
be murderout. To be stedfast and sure, intaking revenge, is thought a point of honour
be murderout. To be stedfast and sure, intaking revenge, is thought a point of honour
be murderout. and a defensative against new injuries. But wrongfully: for it is opposite to the rule of Christianitie; and such a quality discovered, makes them deadly enemier, who other

wife would have repented, and fought to make amends, for the wrong done in paffion. This was it which wrought fo much woe to the Carthaginians; teaching Matho, and his Africans, to suspect eventheir gentlenesse, as the introduction to extreme rigour. Like unto the errors of Princes and Governors, are the errors of Lawes. Where one and the same punishment is awarded unto the lesse offence, and unto the greater, he that hath adventured to rob a man, is eafily tempted to kill him, for his own fecu-

Against these inconveniences, Mercie and severitie, used with due respect, are the best remedies. In neither of which Amilear failed. For as long as these his own souldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed by gentle courses, his humanity was ready to invite them. But when they were transported with beastly outrage, beyond all regard of honesty and hane, he rewarded their villanie with an swerable vengeance, casting them unto wild heafts to be devoured.

Untill this time Hanno, with the Armie under his command, had kept himselse apart from Amilear, and done little as may feem, for that nothing is remembred of him fince his late losses. Neither was Amilear forry to want his help; as being able to doe better without him. But when the war grew to fuch extremity, as threatned utter ruine to the one or the other fide: then was Hanno fent for, and came to Amilear, with whom he joynedhis forces. By this accesse of strength Amilear was not enabled to doe more than in former times; rather he could now perform nothing: fuch was the harred between him and his unworthie Colleague. The Towns of utica and Hippagreta, that had stood alwaves firm on the Carthaginians partie, did now revolt unto the enemie, murdering all the Souldiers that they had in Garrison, and casting their bodies forth, without suffering them to be buried. The provisions brought by sea, for maintenance of the Armie, were lost in foule weather; and Carthage it selfe stood in danger of being besieged, about which Matho and Spendius consulted, whilst one of the Carthaginian Generals did (as it were) bind the others hands.

It hath in all Ages been used as the fafest course, to send forth, in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Armie. This was the common practice of those two mighty Cipites Athens and Rome, which other States and Princes have often imitated; perfwading memselves, that great Armies are not so well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excell each other, will use the greater diligence. They have also joyned two diefe Commanders in equal commission, upon this further consideration; the better to refraine the ambition of any one, that should be trusted with so great a strength. For been fall Common-weals have been jealous, having been taught by their examples that have made themselves Tyrants over those Cities and States that have imployed them. In this point the Venetians have bin so circumspect, as they have, for the most part, tuffed strangers, and not their own, in all the wars which they have made. It is true, that the equall authority of two commanding in chiefes serveth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning upon the Prince or State that hath given them trust: but in managing the war it felfe, it is commonly the cause of ill successe. In wars made Mar unto Romeit selse, when two good friends were Consuls, or such two at least, as concurred in one defire of Triumph, which honour (the greatest of any that Rome could gwe) was to be obtained by that one years fervice; it is no marvell, though each of the Consuls did his best, and referred all his thoughts unto none other end than victory. fermall dangerous cases, when the Consuls proceeded otherwise than was defired, one Dictator was appointed, whose power was neither hindred by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner, to fend forth both the Confuls to mewar; but each went whither his lot called him, to his owne Province; unleffe one businesse seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be joyned in the administration. Now although it was so, that the Romans did many times prevaile with heir joynt Generals: yet was this never or feldom, without as much concord, as any ohervertue of the Commanders. For their modesty hath often been such, that the lesse browes; whereof in the fecond Funick warre we shall finde examples. On the contray fide, in their warres most remote, that were alwayes managed by one, they seldome

failed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter shall appeare. Now of those ten Generals, which ferved the Athenians at the Battell of Marathon, it may truely be faid, that had not their temper beene better, than the judgement of the people that fent them forth, and had not they submitted themselves to the conduction of Militades; their affaires had found the fame successe which they found at other times, when they coupled Nicias and Alcibiades together in Sicil: the one being so over-warie, and the other so hastie, as all came to nought that they undertook: whereas Camon alone, as also Aristides, and others, having fole charge of all, did their Countrie and Common-weale most remarkable service. For it is hard to finde two great Captaines of equall discretion and valour; but that the one hath more of fury than of judgement, and fo the contrary, by which the best to occasions are as often over-slipt, as at other times many actions are unseasonably undertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of Conde was flain after the Battell of Jarnac, which Prince, together with the Admiral Chastillan, had the conduct of the Protestant Armie) the Protestants did greatly bewaile the losse of the said Prince, in respect of his Religion, person, and birth; yet comforting themselves, they thought it rather an advancement, than an hinderance to their affaires. For fo much did the valour of the one out-reach the advisednesse of the other, as whatsoever the Admiral lintended to win by attending the advantage, the Prince adventured to lose, by being over-confident inhis own courage.

But we need no better example, than of the Carthaginians in this present businesse: 20 who, though they were still ficke of their ill grounded love to Hanno, and were unwilling to difgrace him; yet feeing that all ran towards ruine, through the difcord of the Generals, committed the decision of their controversies, unto the Armie that served under them. The judgement of the Armie was, that Hanno should depart the Camp: which he did, and Hannibal was fent in his stead, one that would be directed by Amilcar, and that

was enough.

After this, the affaires of Carthage began to prosper somwhat better. Matho and Spendies had brought their Armieneere unto the Citie; and lay before it, as in a fiege. They might well be bold to hope and adventure much; having in their Campe above fifty thousand, besides those that lay abroad in Garrisons. Neverthelesse, the Citie wastoo ftrong for them to win by affault: and the entrance of victuals they could not hinder, if

any should be fent in by friends from abroad.

Hieron, King of Syracuse, though during the warres in Sicil he affilted the Romans, and still continued in their alliance, yet now sent succours to the Carthaginians: searing their fall, and consequently his owne; because if no other State gave the Romans fomewhat to trouble their difgestion, the Principalitie of Syracuse would soon be deyoured by them. The Romans also gave them some slender assistance, and, for the prefent, refused good offers made unto them by the Mercenaries. This they did, to shew a kind of noble disposition; which was indeed but counterfeit, as the sequell manifelty

Whilest Matho and his followers were bufily preffing the Citie, Amilear was as dilgent in waiting at their backes, and cutting off all that came to their supply: so that finding themselves more streightly befieged by him, than Carthage was by them, they purposed to desist from their vaine attempt, and try some other course. Hereupon they issue into the field: when Spendius, and one Zarcas an African Captaine affifting the rebellion, take upon them to finde Amilear worke; leaving Matho in Tunis, to negotiate with their friends, and take a generall care of the businesse. The Elephants of Carthage, and horse of Naravasus, made Spendius fearefull to descend into the Plaines. Wherefore he betooke himselfe to his former method of warre, keeping the mountaines and rough grounds, or occupying the streightest passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might shew it self, with little disadvantage. But Amilear had more skill in this Art, than could be matched by the labour of Spendius. He drew the enemy to ma ny skirmishes; in all which the successe was such, as added courage to his owne men and abated the strength and spirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, provoking then night and day: Itill intrapping some of them, and sometimes giving them the over throw in plaine battell: untill at length he got them into a ftreight, whence ere they should get out he meant to take of them a good account. Their judgement was enough to perceive their owne disadvantage; and therefore they had the lesse stomackets

fight; but a waiting for helpe from Tunis. Amilear prudently foreleeing, that necessity might teach them to dare impossibilities, used the benefit of their present searc, & shut themclose up with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miserably for succour, that came not: and having spent all their victualls, were so pinched with hunger, that they fed upon the bodies of their prisoners. This they suffred patiently, as knowing that they had not deserved any favour from Carthage; and hoping, that their friends at Tunis would not be unmindfull of them. But when they were driven to fuch extremity, that they were faine to devoure their own companions, and yet faw none appearance or likelihood of reliefe: their obstinacie was broken, and they threatned their Captains with what they deferved, unlesse they would goe forth to Amilear, and seeke such peace as might be gotten, So Spendins, Zarxas, and Autaritus, fell to confulration, wherein it was resolved to obey the multitude, and yeeld themselves, if it were so required, unto the death, rather than perish by the hands of their owne Companions. Hereupon they lend to crave parlie, which is granted; and these three come forth to talke with Amilear inperson. What they could say unto him, it is hard to conjecture: yet by the conditions which Amilear granted, it seemes that they tooke the blame upon themselves, and craved pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the Carthaginians should choose, out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remaine at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in his shirt, or in one fingle coate. When the peace was thus concluded; Amilear told these Ringleaders, that he chose them presently, as part of the ten, & so commanded to lay hands on them: the rest he forthwith went to setch with his whole Army in order. The Rebells, who knew nor that peace was concluded upon so gentle articles, thought themselves betrayd and therefore amazedly ran to armes. But they wanted Captaines to order them; and the same astonishment, that made them breake the Covenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gave unto Amilear both colour of justice, in accomplishing revenge, andease in doing the execution. They were all slaine: being forty thousand, or more, in

This was a famous exploit : and the newes thereof exceeding welcome to Carthage; pand terrible to the revolted Cities of Africk. Henceforward Amilear, with his Narava-[m,and Hannibal, carried the warre from Towne to Towne, and found all places ready to yeeld: Mtiea and Hippagreta onely standing out, upon feare of deserved vengeance; & Tunis, being held by Matho, with the remainder of his Army. It was thought fit to begin with Tunis, wherein lay the chiefe strength of the enemie. Comming before this Towne, they brought forth Spendius, with his fellowes, in view of the defendants, and encified them under the walls; to terrefie those of his old companions, that were ftill in ames. With this rigour the siege began; as if speedy victory had been assured. Hannibal quartered on that part of Tunis, which lay towards Carthage; Amilear on the opposite lide: too far afunder to helpe one another in fixiden accidents; and therefore it behooved

meach to be the more circumfpect.

Matho from the wals beheld his owne destiny, in the misery of his companion, and hew not how to avoide it otherwise than by a cast at dice with fortune. So hee brake outupon that part of the Carthaginian Army, that lay fecure, as if all danger were past, under the command of Hannibal: and with fogreat and unexpected fury he fallied, that ter an exceeding flaughter, he tooke Hannibal prisoner; on whom, and thirty the most oble of the Carthaginian prisoners, he presently revenged the death of Spending by the me torture. Of this Amilear knew nothing, till it was too late; neither had he ftrength mough remaining, after this great loffe, to continue the fiege; but was faine to breake it and remove unto the mouth of the River Bagradas, where he incamped.

The terrous was no leffe within Carthage, upon the fame of this loffe, than had beene e joy of the late great victory. All that could beare armes, were fent into the field, undr Hanno; whom, it feemes, they thought the most able of their Captaines surviving the late accidents of Warre. If there were any Law among them forbidding the im-Poyment of one fole Generall neere unto their Citie (for they are knowne to have trufedone man abroad) the time did not permit, in this hafty exigent, to devife about realing it. But thirty principal men are chosen by the Senate, to bring Hannoto Amilears anpand by all good perswasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one W. It neerly touched Amilear in his honour, that the carelefnesse of Hannibal seemed

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to be imputed unto him, by fending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Neverthelesse after many conferences, the authority of the Senators prevailed; Amilear & Hanno were made friends; and thenceforth, whilest this warre lasted, Hanno tooke warning by Hannibals calamiries, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the meane feafon Mathe was come abroad, as meaning to use the reputation of his lare successe, whilest it gave some life unto his businesse. He had reason to doe as he did. but he wanted skill to deale with Amilear. The skirmishes, and light exercises of warre. wherein Amilear trained his Carthaginians, did fo farre abate the strength, and withall diminish the credit of Matho; that he resolved to try the fortune of one battaile:wherein to either his owne desire should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the Carthaginians were no leffe prone, than Matho: as being weary of these long troubles. and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their owne men, which had anproved it selfe in many trials; and well affured of Amilear his great worth, whereunto the enemie hath not what to oppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making provision: inviting their friends to helpe; and drawing forth into the

field, all that lay in Garrison. The issue of this battaile might have beene foretold, without helpe of witchcraft. Matho, and his followers, had nothing whereon to presume, fave their daring spirits, which had bin well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how 20 to runaway. The Carthaginians had reason to dare, as having been often victorious: and in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a Commander, as was not easily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely that the defire of liberty should worke so much, in men accustomed to servitudesas the honour of their State would, in citizens, whose future & present good lay all at once ingaged in that adventure. So the Carthaginians wan a great victory, wherein most of the Africans their enemies were flain; the rest sled into a Town, which was not to be defended, & therefore they all yeelded; and Matho himselfe was taken alive. Immediatly upon this victory, all the Africans that had rebelled, made submission to their old masters: Utica onely, and Hippagreta stood out, as knowing how little they deferved of favour. But they were soone forced, to take what conditions best pleased the victours. Matho and his fellowes were led to Carthage in triumph; where they suffered all tormens that could be devised, in recompence of the mischieses which they had wrought in this war. The warre had lasted three yeares, and about foure moneths, when it came to this good end: which the Carthaginians, whose subjects did not love them, should with lesse expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, have prevented in the beginning.

6. IIII.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: and were afterwards driven out by the Ilanders. The faithlesse dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrary to the peace.

Hilest Matho and Spendius were making terrible combustion in Africke; other Mercenaries of the Carthaginians had kindled the like fire in Sardinia: where murdering Bostar the Governour, & other Carthaginians, they were in hope to get, & hold that Iland to their own use. Against these, one Hanno was fent with a small Army (such as could bee spared in that busie time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, levied on the fudden. But these companions that followed Hanno, finding it more for their safety, & present profit, to joyne themselves with those that were alread revolted, than to indanger themselves by battaile, for the good of that common-wealth of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the Sardinian Rebells; of fering to runne one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offerwas kindly taken; but their faith was suspected. Wherefore, to take away all jealousie and distrust, they resolved to hang up their Commander Hanno, and performed it. A com mon practice it hath beene in all Ages, with those that have undertaken the quarte of an unjust warre, to enjoyne the performance of some notorious aud villainous a

to those that come in to them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to affish the impious purposes which they have in hand. It is indeede the best pawne, that desperate men can deliver to each other, to performe some such actions, as are equally unpardonable

By such a kinde of cruelty did the ungratefull Mantineans murder a Garrison of Achaians, sent unto them for their defence against the Lacedamonians, by Aratus; who, when he had formerly possest himselfe of their Citie, by right of warre, did not onely spare the sacke and spoile thereof, but gave them equall freedome, with the rest of the Cities united. These Revolts are also common in our Court wars; where, in the 10 conquests of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, without the depression or destruction of old friends, we cannot be received and trusted by old enemies, Ce sont les coups de vieille escrime. These, (say the French) be the blowes of the old

These Mercenaries in Sardinia were no whit lesse violent in their purpose, than were spendaus, and his affociates: only they wanted a Matho among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Province. The Ilanders were no leffe glad, than the fouldiers, that the Carthaginians were expelled the Countrie: but they could not agree about the profirof the victory. The Sardinians thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the foldiers for their paines taken. Contrariwife, the fouldiers were of opinion, that the title of the Carthaginians to that Ile, was devolved unto themselves, by right of conquest. The same quarrell would (in likelihood) have risen, between Spendius with this Mercenaries, & their African friends; if the common defire of both had once taken effect: unless the riches of Carthage had served to content them all. But in Sardinia, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Countrie; the matter was not eafily taken up. So they fell to blowes; which how they were delt, I know not; but finally, the Mercenaries were driven out, and compelled to fave themselves in Italy. Before their departure out of Sardinia, they had invited the Romans into it; with as good right, as the Mamertines had called them into Sicil. Yet this offer was refused, upon

Some Italian Merchants had relieved Matho and Spendius with corne: of whom the Carthaginians tooke almost five hundred, and held them in prison. Hereof was made a great complaint: fo that the Romans sent Embassadours to Carthage, requiring satisfaction It was no time for the Carthaginians to dispute: they quietly yeelded to release them all. This was so kindely taken, that they forbad all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carry all provisions to Carthage. And upon the same reason, did they for beare to meddle with Sardinia, or to accept the Citie of Mica, offering it selfe unto their subjection. This might have served, as a notable example of the Roman faith, to all posterity: had not the issue proved, that it was meere regard of greater profit, which kept them so temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of thriving better thereby, than they should have done by open breach of faith. The whole effate of Carthage depended at that time, upon the vertue of Amilear: who, had hee bin overthrowne by Spendim or Matho, in one maine battaile, that mighty City must either have fallen into the barbarous hands of mercileste villaines, or have humbledher selfe under protection of the Romans, with whom she had lately striven for superiority. That extreme necessity, whereinto Matho reduced the City, by the fortune of one fallie made out of Tunis, is enough to prove, that Carthage was not farre from such a miserable choice. Wherefore it was not unwisely done of the Romans, to make fuch demonstration of kindnesse, and honourable dealing, as might invite a rich, but finking ship, to runne her selse aground upon their shore. But when all was well onded in Africke, and the Carthaginians began to prepare for the recovery of Sardinia: then did Ambition put off her goodly vizour. The Romans perceiving that Carthage, beyond their hope, had recovered her feet againe; began to strike at her head. They Intertained the proffer of those Mercenaries, that were fled out of Sardinia; and they denounced warre against this enseebled and impoverished City, under a shamelesse pretence; that the preparations made for Sardinia, were made indeede against Rome it ffe.The Carthaginians knew them felves unable to refige; and therefore yeelded to the Romans demand; renouncing unto them all their right in Sardinia. But this was not mough. They would have twelve hundred talents, in recompence belike (for Ifee

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request, fince his request shall have the vertue of a command.

not what reason they could alledge) of the great feare which they had endured, of an invasion from Carthage. It is indeede plaine, that they impudently sought occasion of warre. But necessity taught the Carthaginians patience; and the mony was payed, how hardly soever it was raised. From this time forward, let not Rome complain of the Punick faith, in breach of Covenants: she her selfe hath broken the peace already, which Amilear puposeth tomake her dearly repent; but what Amilear lives not to performe, shall be accomplished by Hannibal his renowned sonne.

How the affaires of Carthage went betweene the African Rebellion, and the Second Punicke Warre.

He injurious dealing of the Romans, expressing their desire to picke a quarrell; ferved to instruct the Carthaginians in a necessarie lesson; That either they must make themselves the stronger, or else resolve to be obedient unto those that were more mighty, In a City long accustomed to rule, the braver determination easily tooke place: and the best meanes were thought upon, for the increase of puissance and Empire. The strength, and the jealousie of the Romans, forbad all attempts upon the Mediterran Seas; but the riches of Spaine, that lay upon the Ocean, were unknown to Rome: wherefore that Province might serve, both to exercise the Carthaginians in war, and to repaire 20 their decayed forces, with all needfull supplies. Of the Spanish Expedition, the charge and soveraigne trust was committed unto Amilear: upon whom his Countrey did wholly repose it selfe; in hope to recover strength by his means, that had saved it from

Hanno, with some other envious men that were of his faction, tooke little pleasure in the generall love and honour, which daily increased towards. Amilear and his friends. Yet could they not denie him to be the most worthy of command in all the City : onely they commended peace and quietnesse; advising men to beware of provoking the Romans, in whose amity they said, that the felicity of Carthage did consist. By such difcourses, harsh to the eares of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their 3 Common-weale; they got none other reputation, than of fingularity: which the ignorant

fort suspected to be wisedome. But the glory of Amilear was continually upheld & enlarged, by many notable fervices that he did, to the fingular benefit of his Country. He passed the streights of Hercules, (now called the fireights of Gibraltar) and landed on the western coasts of Spaine; in which Country, during nine yeeres that he lived there, he subjected unto the State of Carthage the better part of all those Provinces. But finally, in a battaile that he fought with a Nation in Portugale, called the Vettones, (defending himselfe a long time with an admirable resolution) he was invironed and slaine: carrying with him to the grave the fame great honour and fame, by which in many fignall victories, he had acquired the

name of a second Mars.

After the death of Amilear, Afdrubal his fon in law was made Generall of the Carthaginian forces in Spaine. This was a good man of warre; but farre better in practice and cunning than in deeds of armes. By his notable dexteritie in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of Carthage: adding so many subjects and confederates thereunto, that the Romans began to grow jealous againe of this hastie increase. He built a goodly Citie, upon a commodious Haven, in the Kingdome of Granado, opposite to that of Oranin Africa, & gave it the name of New Carthage, which to this day The Spaniards it neerely retaineth, being called now * Carthagena. With this successe of the Carthagibuilt a Citie of nians in Spaine, the Romans were not a little troubled; but began to accuse their own nethe same gligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much paines to beate them out of the in the West Ha of sind on Sufan Asian painth and the west Ha of s In the West Ile of Sicil, as suspecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbring thembeing peopled selves in a warre of farre lesse importance, (whereof I shall speake anon) given them bythem in the leifure, without interruption, to recover upon their owne Continent, a Dominion by far yeere 132-was fack by the exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in revenue, that which the Romans had taken English in the from them. But how to helpe this, at the present they knew not; for they daily expected years 1880. to be invaded by the Gaules, their ancient enemies, and neerest neighbours to the West. But he needeth little helpe of force, that knoweth himselfe to be feared: it is enough if he

Yet were the Romans utterly destitute of all good colour, that might helpe them to inremieddle in Spaine. The Spaniards were then unacquainted with Rome, whereof (in probability) they scarce had heard the name: so that there were no Mamertines, nor other fuch Rebells, to call in Roman succours. But in the enterprise of Sardinia, the Romans had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serve their turne in Spaine. Forthough iwere apparent, that the Spanish affaires had no relation to the peace between these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that Afdrubal had any purpose, to extend his victories unto the gates of Rome, or to any of the Roman frontiers: vet (as if fome such matter had bin suspected) they fent unto him, requiring that he should forbeare to proceede any further, than to the River of Iberus. In addressing their messengers. rather to Afdrubal, than to the City of Carthage; they feeme to have hoped, that howsoever the generalitie of the Carthaginians had sweetly swallowed many bitter pilles, to avoide all occasion of warre with Rome, yet the bravery of one man might prove more faltidious, and presenting the injurie, returne such answer, as would intangle his whole

once they had found apparent cause. But Asdrubal finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of diflike at all : and whereas they would have this infolent covemin inserted into the Articles of peace; he tooke upon him to doe it, of his own power, with fuch appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their wayes contented,

Countrie in the quarrell, that they fo much defired; and might embrace at leifure, when

and fought no further.

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If it had been fo, that the State of Carthage, there unto preffed by the Romans, for feare of present warre, had ratified this new composition made by Asdrubal; yet should it not have flood bound in honour, to observe the same carefully, unlesse an oath had also bin extorted, to make all fure. But fince all passed quietly, under the bare authority of Asdrubal, this Capitulation was none other in effect than a fecond breach of peace; whereof the Romans might be accused more justly, than they could accuse the Carthaginians

ofperjurie, (as they after did) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treaty with Afdrubal, the Romans wan some reputation in Spaine. For when it was once conceived by the Spaniards, that the Citie which would needes be mistreffe over them, stood in feare her selfe, of receiving blowes from a stouter Dame; there were some found some, that by offering themselves to the protection of Rome, became (as they thought) fellow-fervants with Carthage. But the Carthaginians will shortly teach them another leffon. The Saguntines, a people on the South-fide of Iberus, entred into confederacie with the Romans, and were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawfull unto the Romans, to admit the Saguntines, or any other people (neither fubject, nor open enemy inwar to the Carthaginians) into their fociety: & unlawfull it was unto the Carthaginians, to use violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with Rome. Nevertheleffe, if we confider the late agreement made with Afdrubal, we shall finde that the Romans could have none other honest color of requiring it, than an implicit covenant ofmaking the River Iberus a bound, over which they themselves would not passe, in any Discovery or Conquest by them intended to be made upon Spain: in which regard, they might have some honest pretence to require the like of the Carthaginians; though Rome as yet had no foot, on the one fide of Iberus, whereas Carthage, on the other fide of that River, held almost all the Countrie. Howsoever it were, this indignity was not so easily digested, as former injuries had beene. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the Carthaginian, should behold Saguntum resting securely among them, upon considence of help from a more mighty Cithe. Wherefore either in this respect, or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest inh Juries, or rather for that now the Carthaginians were of power to doe themselves right: war against Saguntum was generally thought upon, let the Romans take it how they list. Inflichtermes were the Carthaginians, when Aldrubal died, after he had commanded in Spaine eight yeares: (being flaine by a flave, whose master he had put to death) and the Great Hannibal, sonne of the Great Amilear, was chosen Generall in his stead.

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The estate of Greece from the death of Pyrrhus, to the reigne of Philip the fonne of Demetrius in Macedon.

N the long terme of the first Funick war; and the vacation following, betweeneit & the second; the estate of Greece, after the death of Pyrrhus, was grown somewhat Like unto that, wherein Philip of Macedon had found it; though farre weaker, as in anafter-spring. The whole Country had recovered by degrees, a forme of liberty: the 10 perty tyrannies (bred of those inferiour Captaines, which in the times of generall combustion, had seised each upon such townes as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, & reformed; and some States were risento such greatnesse, as not only served to defend themselves, but to give protection to others. This conversion to the better, proceeded from the like diffentions and tumults in Macedon, as had bin in Greece, when Philip first began to encroach upon it. For after many quarrels & great wars, about the Kingdome of Macedon, between Antigonus the elder, Cassander, Demetrius, Lysimachu, Seleucus, Pyrrhus, & the Gaules : Antigonus, the fonne of Demetrius , finally got and held it, reigning fixe and thirty yeares; yet fo, that he was divers times thence expelled, not only by the Gaules, & by Pyrrhus, as hath bin already shewed, but by Alexander the 10 fon of Pyrrhus the Epirot, from whose father he had hardly wonit. This happened unto him, by the revolt of his fouldiers, even at fuch time, as having overthrowne with great flaughter an Army of the Gaules, hee was converting his forces against the Athenians, whom he compelled to receive his Garrisons. But his young sonne Demetrus raised an Army, wherewith he chased Alexander, not only out of Macedon, but out of his own Egirus, and restored his father to the Kingdome.

By the help of this young Prince Demetrius (though in another kind) Antigonus got into his possession the Citadell of Corenth; which was justly termed the fetter of Greece. The Citadell called Acrocorinthus, flood upon a fleepe rockie hill on the North fide of the towne, and was by nature and art fo ftrong, that it feemed impregnable. It 30 commanded the townswhich was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the Isthmus , that running between the Egean and Ionique Seas , joy neth Peloponnefus to the maine of Greece. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle, was able to cut off all pussage by land, from one halfe of Greece unto the other; besides the commodity of the two Seas, upon both of which, this rich and goodly City had commodious havens. Alexander, the fon of Polysperchon; and after his death, Cratesipolis his wife, had gotten Corinth in the great shuffling of Provinces and Townes, that was made between Alexanders Princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, untill it came, I knownot how, to one Alexander; of whom I finde nothing eife, than that he was thought to be poisoned by this Antigonus, who deceived his wife Nicea thereof, and got it from her by atricke. The device was this. Antigonus fent his yong Demetrius to Corinth, willing him to court Nicea, and feeke her marriage. The foolishold widow perceived not how unfit a match she was for the yong Prince, but entertained the fancie of mairiage; wherto the old King was even as ready, to confent as was his sonne to defire, and came this

and got into the Castle beguiling the poore Lady, whose jealousse had bin exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not containe himfelfe within the gravity befeeming his old age. But as he had stollen it; so was it againe stollen from him: neither lived he to revenge the losse of it, being already spent Demetrius, the son of this Antigonus, succeeding unto his father, reigned tenyeeres. with age.

ther in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all Corinth was filled with sacrifices, feasts,

plaies, and all forts of games: in the middest of which, Antigonus watched his time,

He made greater proofe of his vertue before he was King, than after. The Dardanians, Ætolians, and Achaans, held him continually busied in war; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About the fe times the power of the Macedonians be

gan to decay : and the Gracians to cast off their yoke. Philip, the only fon of Demetrius, was a young child when his father died; and there fore Antigonus, his uncle, had the charge of the Kingdome, during the minority of the

Prince; but he affumed the name and power of a King, though he respected Philip as his own sonne, to whom hee left the Crowne at his death; This Antigonus was called the Tutor, in regard of his protectorship; and was also called Doson, that is a much as; willoire, because he was slow in his liberality. Hee repressed the Dardanians & The Salians, which molested his Kingdome, in the beginning of his reigne. Upon confidence of this good service, he took state upon him, as one that rather were King in his own right, than onely a Protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutinie; but were soone appealed by faire words, and a feeming unwillingnesse of his to meddle any more with the Government. The Achaians tooke from him the city of Athens, soon after Demetrius his death; in and likely they were to have wrought him out of all, or most that he held in Greece if their own estate had not bin endangered by a neerer enemy. But civill diffention, which had overthrown the power of Greece, when it flourished most soverthrew it easily now againe, when it had scarcely recovered strength after a long sicknesse; and gave to this Antigenus no leffe authority therein, than Philip the father of Alexander, got by the like advantage.

These Achaians from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and fame: fo that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the Greeks. By the equality of their Lawes, and by their elemencie (notwithstanding that they were a long time held under by the Macedonians and Spartans) they did not only draw all others by their love and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of Pelovonnesw, to be governed by one Law, and to use one and the same fort of weights, meafure, and mony.

Aratus, the Sicyonian , was the first that united them againe; and gave them courage, after that they had bin by the Macedonian Captains divided into many Principalities. In elder times they were governed by Kings, as most of the great Cities of Greece were; to which kinde of rule they first subjected themselves, after the descent of the Heraclidas when Tilamenus the son of Orestes possest the Territory of Achaia. In this estate they continued to the time of Gyees; after whom, when his fons fought to change the Legall government of their Predecessors into Tyrannie, they expelled them, and made their p State popular; as feeming most equall. This forme of Common-weale, had continuance, with some small changes according to the diversity of times, till the reigne of Philip and Alexander Kings of Macedon: who tempest-like overturned all things in that part of the world. For those twelve Cities, called the Cities of Alliance, whereof Helice, and Bura or Olenin; the Sea had eaten up a little before the Battaile of Leudres; were, by difurbance of the Macedonians, divided from each other, and trained into a war, no leffe foolish than cruell, among themselves. But in the one hundred and foure and twentieth Olympiad, in which, or neere it, Ptolomy the fon of Lagus, Lysimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolong Ceraunus, left the world; two of ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the Patrenses and the Dimei, united themselves, and laid the foundation of that generall acord, and re-union, which after followed. For having been, some of them Partisans with fundrie Macedonian Captaines, and others having bin governed by petry Kings; they began to fasten themselves in a strong league of amitie, partly, in the Olympiad before spoken of and partly at such time as Pyrrhus made his first voyage into Italy. Now after the uniting of the Patrenses and Dimei, to whom also the Cities of Titrea, and Phara, joyned themselves; Agira chased out her Garrisons: and the Burians, lilling their Kings, entred with the Ceraumans into the same Confederacie. These Cities, for twenty and five yeares, used the same forme of Government with the Achaians, who by a Senatory and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Common-weale; and soone atter, by one Prætor, or Commander : of which, Marcus Carynenfis was the first, and Aratusthe fecond.

This Aratus was a noble young Gentleman of Sicyon, who living at Argos in exile, whileft his Countrie was oppreffed by Tyrants, found meanes, through the helpe of other banished men, to enter their own Citie by night, with ladders; whence they chaled the Tyrant, and restored the people to liberty. This was in the time of Antigonus Gonatas King of Macedon, a Prince more busie in watching what to get among the Greeks, than wise in looking to his owne. For feare of Antigonus, the Sicyonians enter into the Achaian league: which though at that time it received more increase by their accession than it added strength to them; yet the benefit of this conjunction served well enough

against Antigonm, whose subtilty was somewhat greater than his valour. As the industry and counfaile of Aratus delivered his Country from bondage, and fortified it by the Acharan league; fo further, by his great liberality, with the exceeding great cost of 150. talents, he pacified the inexplicable controversies, between the banished Sicyonians, which returned with him, & the other Citizens that had possession of these mens Lands; as also with the same money he drew many others to affift him in those enterprises following, that redounded to the fingular good of all Achain. The mony he obtained of Ptolomy Energetes King of Egypt; who partly had a desire to hold some strong & sure friendship in Greece's partly was delighted with the conversation of Aratus himselfe, that made a dangerous voyage to him into Egypt, and fed his pleasure in goodly pictures, with the to gift of many curious peeces, wherein the workemen of sign excelled.

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The first of Aratus his great attempts, was the surprize of the Acrocorinthus or Citadell of Corinth; which he wanne by night, being thereinto guided by fome theeves that he had hired for the purpose, who living in the place, had practised to rob Antigonus his treasurie, passing in and out by a secret path among the rockes. Yet was he faine to fight for it, ere he could get it : though indeed Antigonus his fouldiers were rather overcome by their owne feare, than by any force of the affailants; as mistrusting lest the Athai ans were more in number, than in truth they were, and having loft the advantages of the place already, upon which they had prefumed, before they were aware of any

In these kinde of night-services, ambushments, surprises, & practices, Aratus was verie cunning, adventurous, and valiant: in open field, and plaine battaile, he was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he ministred argument of disputation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approved) might looke pale and tremble, when he began battaile; and when ther the vertue of Fortitude were diversified, by the fundry natures of men, & in a manner confined unto severall forts of action. In resolving which doubts it may be said; that all vertue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a naturall inclination standeth in need of little practice; whereas the defect hereof must be supplied with much instruction, use, good successe, and other helpe, yet hardly shall grow absolute in generall. Such was Aratus in matter of Warre. In sincere affectionto his Countrie he was unreproveable, and so acknowledged: as his following actions will truely testifie.

When Acrocoringhus was taken, and joyned unto the Common-wealth of Achaia, the Megarians revolted soone after from Antigonus, and entred into the same Corporation. So did the Trazenians, and the Epideurians: whereby this new erected State grew fo powerfull, that it adventured to take Athens, from the Macedonians, & Argos & Megalopolis, from tyrants that held them. The enterprise upon the Athemans was of none effect. For though Aratus wasted the He of Salamis, to shew his strength, and sent home the Athenian prisoners, without ransome, to allure the City by shew of love ; yet the Athenians stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now growne honest slaves to the Macedonians. Upon Argos the adventure was carried more strongly. The Achaians came sometimes to the gates of the Citie, but the people stirred not: once they entred it, and might have wonne it, if the Citizens would have lent any helpe to the recoverie of their owne freedome; fundry times, and with divers events, they fought with the Tyrants, (who rose up one after another in Argos) in open field, and slue one of them in bartaile ; but all sufficed not : untill at length Arzstomachus the Tyrant was so terrefied, perswaded, and hired, by Aratus, that he consented to resigne his Estate. The like did Xenon the Tyrant of Hermione, and Cleonymus, that had oppressed the Phliasians.

Whilest this businesse with the Argives was on foot, Lysidias the Tyrant of Mega lopolis, was so well handled by Aratus, that, without compulsion, he gave liberty to his Citie, and annexed it to the Councell of Achaia: whereby he got such credit, that he was chosen Generall of their forces (which was a yearely Office, and might not be held two yeeres together by one man:) every fecond yeare, for a certaine while, he and Ara tus succeeded one another by turnes. But those late Tyrants, and new Citizens, Ly dias and Aristomachus, were carried with private passion from care of the generall good in which courses they opposed Aratus, to the great hurt of Achaia, as shall appeared in due time.

The Achaans having obtained fo much puissance & reputation, that Ptolomy King of Egypt was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) Generall of their forces by Sea & Land; made open War upon Demetrius the son of Antigonus Gonatas, for the liberty of Athens. It is strange and worthy of noting, That when Aratus in this quarrell had loft a battaile, the Athenians wore Garlands, in figne of joy, to flatter their good Lords the Macedonians, that had won the victory. Such were now the Athenians become; in whom the rule was verified, that holds true in generall of the multitude, Aut humiliter fervit, aut superbe domination; It is either base in service, or insolent in command. Nevertheleffe when Demetrius Wasdead, Aratus performed that by money, which he could not by force; and corrupting the Captaine of the Macedonian Garrison, purchased liberty to the Athenians, who thenceforth held good correspondence with the Achaans, loving them, and speaking well of them, which was all that they could doe: but into their Corporation they entred not, scorning it belike, in regard of their owne out-worne glory.

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Now as the Common-wealth of Achaia daily increased within Peloponnesus, by jufice and honestie; so did the Atolians, in the utter part of Greece, yea and within Peloponnesses it selfe, waxevery powerfull, by sturdinesse of body, and rude courage in fight, without help of any other vertue. They had floutly defended them felves against Antipater and Craterus; partly by daving to do & suffer much, partly by the natural strength joand fastnesse of their Country; but especially by the benefit of the time, which called away these famous Captaines to other businesse, as hath bin related. They had molested Callander, in favour of Antigonus, & were themselves as much plagued by him, & by the Acamanians, a little, but a fout Nation, that tooke his part. Afterwards they had to do with Demetrius, the fon of the first Antigonus, & more or leffe with all the Kings of Maadon succeeding him. They likewise held often War with the Acarnanians, Athamanians, Epirots, and many Cities in Peloponnefus: so that they were hardned with perpemall travaile; seldome putting off their Armour. But their hardinesse ill deserved the name of valour, seeing they had no regard of honesty or friendship, measuring all things by their own insolent wills, and thinking all people base minded, that were not as sierce and outragious as themselves.

These Etolians had lately made great spoiles in Peloponnesus, and occupied a good part of the Countrey. They had invaded the friends of the Acheans; taken and facked Pallene; where although they were foundly beaten by Aratus, yet their defire of gaine made them make a new voyage thither, as to a Country wherein somewhat was to bee gotten. But they were forced to looke another way, by Demetrius the foune of Antigomu Gonatas: who preffed them fo hardly, that they were driven to feeke helpe of the Atheans; which they obtained. The warre which the Acheans made upon Demetrius, without Peloponnessus, in Atrica, though it tended to expelling the Macedons out of Greece, yet the benefit thereof redounded chiefly unto the Etolians, at whose instance iwas fet on foot : for therby were the Macedonian forces diverted from them. Neither was this good turne unacknowledged; though very basely the Etolians, giving thanks inwords, devised how to requite the benefit with some great mischiefe. They saw that the Achaens were defirous to bring all Peloponnessus into their Alliance & Corporation: of which intent , the Laced amonians were very jealous. Wherefore these Etolians laboured earnestly, to fet the Lacedemonians and Achaens together by the eares: hoping that if this might come to passe, they themselves should be called in to helpe (it skilled not on what side) & so get no small share, both in bootie & Territory. Neither did they forbeare to communicate this their device unto Antigonia; offering to make him partaker of their gaine, whom they knew to bee offended with the many loffes, that this Kingdom had fustained by the Acheans. Of this plot Aratm was aware: who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to give the Laced amonians cause to take Armes. But this resolution was taken somwhat too late: & not altogether in his own power to hold. He had bin meddling with the Arcadians, that were dependants of Lacedamon: and thereby had provoked the Lacedamonians to looke about them; seeing that all Peloponness, excepting themselves, the Eleans, and a few Artadians their friends (who also were attempted) was already become Achean.

The City of sparta was in ill case about these times; & subject to the injuries of any Itonger neighbour Pyrrhus had greatly weakned it; The Etolians entring Laconia with

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an Armie, had carried away fifty thousand flaves; and, which was worse, their discipline was corrupted, Avarice & Luxury reigned among them, the poore was oppresfedby the rich, and the generofity of spirit, that had sometime bin their generall vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in Sparta no more than feven hundred naturall Citizens; of whom not above one hundred had Lands all the rest were needie people, and desirous of innovation. Hereupon followed intestine sedition, which endangered the City most of all. Agis a good King, who fought to reforme the disorders of the State, exhorted the people to a strict observation of Lycurgus his lawes. To which purpose he caused them to passe an Act, for the abolishing of all debts, and equall division of Lands. All the younger, and poorer fort were glad of this: but the 10 rich men opposed it. These had recourse unto Leonidas the other King, (for in Sparta were two Kings) who tooke their part: being himselfe a dissolute man, as one trained up in the Court of Syria, whence also he had his wife. In this contention Leonidas was expelled the Citie, and a new King chosen in his stead. But Agis his friends & Counsailors in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their owne private commodity. They were hafty to take away all debts, and cancell all bonds, for they themselves were deeply indebted : but the division of lands they afterwards hindred, because their owneposfessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in Sparta, which these men increased by their foule oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, Leonidas was brought home, and reflored to his Kingdome, and the two adverse Kings driven to take Sanctuarie; out 10 of which , Cleombrorus, the late-made King, was dismissed into exile: but Agis was trained forth, drawn into prison, and there by his enemies condemned and strangled, together with his Mother, and his old Grand-mother. The like to this was never known in Sparta: and (which is the more odious) this cruelty proceeded from the Ephori, Magifirstes that should have given Patronage to the lawes, using their power, and more power than to them belonged, against a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the City, as the law required.

The death of Agio was much lamented by all good Citizens; and ferved to establish the imporent rule of a few tyrannicall oppressors. In which case Aratus might well hope to adjoine Lacedamon to the Achaans Common-wealth: though it were great injuffice 34 to take such advantages, and attempt by force, that which would have redounded to the generall good of Peloponnesus, and to the benefit of Sparta it selfe, if it could have bin

wrought by perswasion.

But the same man who redressed the disorders of Sparta, and revenged the deathof Ago, did also requite the injust attempts of the Achaans, even in their own kinde: obtruding upon them by force an union of all Peloponnefus, though little to their good liking, for that the Lacedemonians and their King, should have bin the principall; not they and their Prætor. Leonidas having thus caused agis to be flaine, tooke his wife that was very rich and beautifull, and gave her in marriage (perforce) to his owne fon Cleomenes. This young Prince fell greatly enamoured on his wife, and fought to win her af- 4 fection, as well as he had her person. Hee discoursed much with her about the purpose of her former husband Agis, and by pittying his misfortune, began to entertaine a defire of accomplishing that, wherein Agis had failed. So comming himselfe to be King, whilest hee was very young, he gladly embraced all occasions of Warre: for that he hoped by ftrong hand to effect that, which Agis by proceeding formally, in fo corrupt an estate of the City , had attempted to his own ruine. Therefore when the Ephori gave him in charge, to take and fortifie Athenaum, a Temple on the marches of Laconia, to which both they and the Megalopolitans pretented title; he readily performed it Hereof Aramade no complaint but fought to take by furprize Tegea & Orchomenus, Cities then confederate with the Laced emonians: wherin, his intelligence failing, he loft the labor of a painful nights travel, & discovered his enmity to Sparta; of which Cleomenes was nothing forrie. By these degrees the war began. In the entrance whereto Aratus had discovered the Livilian practice, and therefore would have staied the quarrell from proceeding too far. But Lyfiadas and Aristomachus would needs fight, and he could doe none other than be ruled by them; especially seeing Cleomanes was so urgent. Aristomachus was atthat time Generall of the Achaans, (He and Lyfiadas being of great account, fince they had abandoned their tyrannie) who fent unto Ararus, lying then in Athens, and require his affaitance in a journie to be made into Laconia. No distivations of Aratus would serv

therefore he came in person, and tooke part of abusinesse, little pleasing him in the prefort, and leffe in the future . When he met with Cleomenes, he durft not fight; but oppofed himselfe against Aristomachin, who defired to give battaile. Yet had the Acheans twenty thousand foot, and one thousand horse, in their Army whereas Cleomenes had nomore than five thousand in all. This gave reputation to the Laced amonian, and raised anill report upon Aratus; which Lyfiadas helped to make worfe, by accufing his cowar-Aire. Nevertheleffe the Acheans would not fall out with Aratus their Benefactor, but chose him their Generall the yeare following against Lystadas his accuser that fired for the place. Being Generall himselfe, it behooved him to confute, with deeds, the flandes nois words of Lyfiadus. Therefore he purposed to fet upon the Eleans : but was mer withall on the way, neere unto the Mount Lycetti, by Cleomenes; who vanquished him in a great battaile, and drave him to hide himfelfe all night for feare, fo that he was thought to have bin flaine. This misadventure Agatus recompenced by a tricke of his owne more naturall occupation: performing with his broken Army, that which could hardly have bin expected, had he bin victorious. For whilest there was no suspicion of any great matter that he could undertake; he fuddenly wrought with fome of the Mantineans, who did let him into their city. These Mantineans, (whom he had thus brought whis purpose) had once before joyned themselves with the Achaians; but shortly upon feare, or some other passion, they gave themselves to the Atolians; and from the Atol lians, presently after this victory to Cleomenes, from whom immediatly they were thus won For this their levity they were not punished, but freely admitted now again into the Ashean fociety. As this good fuccesse repaired the credit of Aratus; so another battaile almost ruined it. Cleomenes and he encountred neere unto Megalopolis; where the Achiean had fomewhat the better at the first, but their Generall durst not follow his advanage. Thereupon Lyladas, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger; & taking with him all the horse, brake upon the Lacedemonians, whom he routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too far into places of hard passage, he was slaine by them, and his followers driven backe upon their own Companions; in fuch fort, that fimlly all the Army was difordered and put to flight. This was a great loffe, and incenfed the Achains against Aratus: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of those Mercenaries which hehad waged. This Aratus tooke patiently, & followed the warre neverthelesse; whereinthough Cleomenes wanne fome Townes, and Aratin got the better in one finall fight. yelittle of importance was done; the Acheans being wearie, and the Spartan King intentive to another businesse.

Cleomenes having ledde into the field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painfull journies, for fooke the Achiean warre on a fudden, and came unexperced home to Sparta, where he flue the Ephori, and reftored by force the ancient discipline of Lycurgus. Then gave he an account of his doings: and shewing by what degrees the Ephori had incroched upon the power of Kings, & many diforders had grown in the Citie; hee justified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equal division of the Lands, reducing all to the first institution. He also supplied the defect of Citizens, by choofing new out of fuch as were friends to the State, and valiant men: so that henceforth his Country might not altogether stand in need of Mercenarie helpe, as it lately had done, to fave it felfe from the Etolians, Illyrians, and fuch other enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the Spartans well satisfied; and Cleomenes himlefe ready in the field, ere his enemies could take any advantage of these his domestical troubles.

The Acheans hearing of this great alteration in Sparta, thought that it would be long ere Cleomenes durst iffue forth of the City, for feare of some rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had wasted all the Country of Megalopolis; had ranged over all Arcadia at his pleasure; and was admitted into Mantinea; and ready to take other places, even of Achaia. These newes displeased them not a little: but they must patientyendure to heare worse. For when Cleomenes had shaken off the power of the Ephoris that curbed his authority, he proceeded more roundly in his worke, being better obeyed and by better men. His Lacedemonians refumed their ancient courage; and he himfelfe had the heart to demand the Principality of Greece. He did not therefore henceforth contend about the possession of a few Townes: but adventured to winne or lose all. The Atoleans, in favour of his accompt declared themselves on his fide : and whereas he had gotten Mantinaa, Tegea, and other places, to which they had fome title, they willingly renounced all their interest unto him.

Aratu did apprehend the danger of his Country, and faw that Antigonus, with the *Etolians, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which Cleome. nes had thus begunne. Therefore he devised how to provide against the worst, and either to repaire all, or (if it could not be) to fave all from utter rune. The office of Ge. nerall, when it was next put upon him, he refused, fearing to be so far prest, as to hazzard in one battaile all the force of his Country, to which as he had never any affection, nor perchance courage lo was his maner of warfare otherwise. For he commonly attempted in by surprise, & desended upon the advantage of place, after the maner of the Irish, and of all other Nations, over-charged with numbers of men. Yet did hee not forsake the care of the Weale-publique, though in aiming at the generall good, it seemes that private passion drew him into an ill course. He saw, that Megalopolis could not bedefen. ded without making a dangerous hazzard of battaile; that Mantinea had not onely opened her gates unto Cleomenes, but flaine the Achean Garrison that lay therein; that other Townes had veelded unto him, without compulsion; and that Aristomachus, once Tyrant of Argos, and fince Generall of the Acheans, was now revolted unto the one. mie, following the fortune of Cleomenes. Ptolomy was too farre off to helpe; and the neernesse of Antigonus was very dangerous; yet might be usefull, if this King would (as Polybius faith) like others, bee friend or enemie, as should best agree with his owne profit. To make triall hereof, Aratus practifed with some of Megalopolis, whom he found apt unto his purpole; and instructed them how to deale both with Antigonm, and

The City of Megalopolis had beene well affected to the Macedonians, ever fince the time of Philip the Father of Alexander, who had obliged it unto him by some especiall benefits. At this time it lay neerest unto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore deserved succour; yet could not well be releeved by the Acheans, with their owne proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadours should be sent unto the generall Councell of Achaia, requesting leave and good allowance, to trie the favour of Antigonus in their necessitie. This was granted, for lacke of what else to answer: and the same Embassadours dispatched away to Antigonus. They did their owne errand briefly; telling him of the good will and respect which their City had of long time borne unto him and his Predecessors; of their present need; and how it would agree with his honour to give them aide. But when they delivered the more generall matter, wherein Aratus had given them instruction; shewing how the ambition of Chomenes, and violence of the Atolians, might redound to his owne great loffe or danger, if the one and the other were not in time prevented; how Aratus himselfe did ftand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the Achaens under the Patronage of Macedon: then beganne Antigonus to lend a more attentive eare to their discourse. He embraced the motion : and to give it the more life, he wrote unto the Megalopolitans, that his helpe should not be wanting, so farreforth, as it might stand with the Acheans good liking. Particularly he commended himselfe, by these Messengers to Aratus; affuring them, that he thought himselfe highly bound to this honoursble man, whose former actions he now perceived, not to have beene grounded upon any hatred to the Macedonians, but onely upon a just and worthy love to his owne Nation. With this answer they returned to Megalopolu: & are presently sent away to the Councell of Achaia; there to make some speedy conclusion, as the necessity of the time required. The Acheans were glad to heare, that Antigonus was fo inclinable to their defire; & therefore were ready to entertaine his favour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto Aratus gave his consent; and praised the wisedome of his Countrimen, that so well difcerned the best and likeliest meanes of their common safety : adding neverthelesse, that it were not amisse, first of all to try their owne ability; which if it failed, then should they do well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he shewed himselfe moderate, in that which himselfe of all others did most wish: to the end, that he might not afterward fustaine the common reprehension, if any thing onely followed, and that leifurably, the generall consent.

Neverthelesse, in true estimation, this finenesse of Aratus might have bin used, with his greater commendation, in a contrary course. For it had bin more honourable to make an end of the war, by yeelding unto Cleomenes that power which they gave unto Anticonus: fince thereby he should both have freed his country from all further trouble; and withall, should have restored unto the universall state of Greece, that honourable condition, whereof the Macedonians had bereft it. But it is commonly found, (which is great nittie) that Vertue, having risento honour by degrees, and confirmed it selfe, (as it were) in the feat of Principality, by length of time, and successe of many actions, can ill endure the hastie growth of any others reputation, wherewith it sees it selfe likely to be overtopped. Other cause to despise the Laced amonians there was none, than that they lately had bin in dangerous case:neither could any reason be found, why Aratus should preferre Antigonus before Cleomenes, than that he had stood in doubt of the one, when he thought himselfe more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was justly plagued, when he saw hisown honours reverfed by the infolent Macedonians; and in stead of living as a comnanion with Cleamenes, that was descended of a long race of Kings, the posterity of Herrules, was faine to doe facrifice unto Antigonus, as unto a god, and was finally poyfoned by Philip, whose Nobilitie was but of five descents, and whom perhaps hee might have feenehis fellowes, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the Macedonians, the love of Ptolomie was lost: who forthwith tooke part with Cleomenes, though hedid not supply him with such liberality, as he had used to the Achaans; being warned, as may feeme, by their example, to be more wary both in trusting and disbursing. Chomenes himselfe, whilest this businesse with Antigonus was a-foot, passed through Arcadia with an Armie, and laboured by all meanes to draw the Achaans to battell. At the Citie of Dymes in Achaia were affembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded to make triall, whether perhaps they might amend their efate, without feeking helpe of the Macedonian. Thither went Cleomenes, & there fought with them; where he had fo great a victory, that the enemy was no longer able to keepe theopen field. The calamity was fuch, that Aratus himselfe durst not take upon him to betheir Generall, when his turne came in the next election. Wherefore the Achaens pwere compelled to fue for peace; which was grunted upon this eafie condition: That they hould not arrogate unto themselves the command of Peloponnesw, but suffer the Laced amomans (as in former ages) to be their Leaders in war. Hereunto if they would condefand, he promised unto them, that he would presently restore all places taken from them, and all his prisoners ransom-free; also that they should enjoy their own Lawes and Liberus without molestation. This gentle offer of Cleomenes was very pleasing to the Achiem; who defired him to come to the Citie of Lerna, wherea Parliament should be held, forthe conclusion of the War.

Now feemed the affaires of Greece likely to be fettled inbetter order, than they had ever bin fince the beginning of the Peloponnesian Wars, yea, or fince the Persian invasia on: when God, who had otherwife disposed of these matters, hindred all, with a draught fold water, which Cleomenes dranke in great heat, and thereupon fellextreme ficke, and so could not be present at Lerna, but caused the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Nevertheleffe he fent home the chiefe of his prisoners, to shew that he meant one other than good faith. By this faire dealing he confirmed the Acheans in their dereofhis friendship: who assembled againe at Argos, there to establish the League. But Aratus was violently bent against it; and sought by great words, and terrible threats, to make his Countrimen afraid of refolving. When all would not serve turne, he betooke inselfe to his cunning; and sent word to Cleomenes, that he should doe well to leave his Armie behinde him, and come alone into Argos, receiving hostages for safetie of his Erson. Cleomenes was already far on his way, when he met with this advertisement; and tooke it in ill part, that he should be thus deluded. For it had bin an easie matter, to have told him so much at the first, and not have made him come so far with an Army, which afterwards he must dismisse. Yet that which chiefly seemes to have troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners; who fought therby, either to make him wait without the gares, and deale only with themselves and their Messengers, or if he would adventure imfelse into the Citie, then to deprive him of all Royall shew, that might breed refellout amisse; fince it might appeare, that he had not beene Author of this Decree, but the multitude. This was that indeed which Aratsus feared, & for which he hught to hinder his comming thither in person; lest the people, hearing the promises

Neverthelelle

of Cleomenes ratified by his owne mouth, should presently be wonne with his gentle words, and finish the bargaine without more adoe. Therefore Cleomenes wrote unto the whole Councell, bitterly complaining against these juggling tricks : and Aratus was not farre behind with him, in as bitter an Oration. So betweene feare of the one, and reverence of the other, the Affembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake up.leaving all, as it were, to fortune. Cleomenes tooke his advantage of their present weakeneffe, and renewed the Warre. Many Cities yeelded unto him willingly; many he forced; and partly by force, partly by terrour, he wan Argos, which never King of Sparta before him could doe. In this case Araim sent his owne sonne to Anigonus, intreating him to deferre no time, but come presently to relieve the distressed Acheans. Anizonus, gave good words as could be wished: faving that he utterly refused to doe any thing. unlesse he might first have Acrocorinthus put into his hands. This demand was some. what like unto that of the Hunter, who promifed to helpe the Horse against his enemy the Stagge: but with condition, that the horse should suffer himselfe to be saddled and bridled. Arauwwas herewithall contented, but wanted all honest colour to doe it feeing the Corinihians had no way deserved to be thus given away to the Macedonians. Yet at length an occasion was found; for that the Corinthians, perceiving what hee intended, were minded to arrest him. So he withdrew himselfe out of their Citie, and fent word to Antigonus, that their Castle should be ready to let him in- The Corinhians on the other fide ranne to Cleomenes; who lost no time, but made haste with them to a Corinib, where he fought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to save it from Antigones, by furrounding it within Trenches, that none might iffue nor enter without his leave. Whilest this was doing, he tooke speciall order, that Aratus his house and goods, within the Towne, should be kept for the Owner; to whom he sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the barbarous Macedonians, and Illyrians, to Peloponne fus; promiting, that if he would hearken to thele perswasions, then would be give him double the same pension, which he had been wont to receive of King Ptolomie: As for the Castle of Corinth, which was the gate of Peloponne fu, and without which none could hold affured foveraigntie of the Countrey; he defired that it might not be committed unto his own disposition, but be joyntly keptby the Lasedamonians and Achaans. All this entreaty served to no purpose. For Araungejecting utterly the motion, fent his owne sonne as an Hostage to Anigonus; and laboured with the Achaans, to put Acrocorinibus into his hands. Which when Cleomenesunderstood, he seised upon the goods of Anatus in Corinth, and wasted all the Countrey of Szcyon, whereof this his Adversary was native.

Antigonus in the meane time drew neere to the Ishmus; having passed with his Amy through Eubæa, because the Erolians held the streights of Thermopyle against him. This they did, either infavour of Cleomenes, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatnesse, whereunto the Macedonians might attaine by the good successe of this jourmy. At his comming thither he found the Lacademonians ready to forbid his entrance: and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazzard battell, but rather to weary him thence with hunger, against which he came nor well provided. Antigons therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able fo to doe: hee fecretly got into the Corinthian Haven; but was violently driven out againe, withgreat losse of men; finally, he resolved to turne aside, and seeke a passage over the gulfe of Corinth, to Szcyon, or some other part of Achaia; but this required much time, and great

preparation, which was not eafily made.

In this perplexity, newes from Argos came by Sea, that greatly comforted Anigone and no leffe troubled his enemies. The Achaans were gotten into that Citie; and the Garrison which Cleomenes had left therein, though it was not driven out of the Cittade, yet was hardly diffressed, and stood in need of present helpe. Argos had alwayes been enemy to Sparta, and well affected to the Kings of Macedon. When Cleomenes tooking he forbare to chace out those whom he most suspected partly at the entreaty of friends and partly for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperity. They were glading deed of Cleomenes his victories, both in Argos and elsewhere, as many as hoped that would cause all debtors to be discharged from their creditors, as he had lately done

fuch as were disappointed of their unjust hopes, began to turne good Common-wealths men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because hee would not doe the like abroad. So they tooke their time, invited the Acheans, affailed his Garrison, cut in peeces the rescue that he sent, and compelled him at length to forsake the desence of Corinth, and looke unto the enemies that were behind his back. For when he understood by continuall messages, that his men which held the Cittadellat Argos were almost lost be began to feare left his labour in guarding the entry should grow frivolous; the Acheans in the meane while spoyling all that lay within. Therefore he for sooke his custody of the 1sthmus, and made all haste rowards Argos: which if he could fave, he meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so farre he prevailed at his comming to Argos, that both Argives and Acheans were glad to house themselves, leaving him Master of the treets: when the horsemen of Antigonus were discovered afarre off, hasting to relieve the Citizens; and Antigonus himfelfe (to whom Corinth was yeelded, as soone as the Spartan had turned his backe) following apace with the body of his Armie. Cleomenes therefore had no more to doe, than to make a fafe retrait. This hee did, and got him home into Laconia: lofing in short space all, or most of that which he had bin long in

Antigonia having shewed himselfe at Argos, and commended the Citizens, went into Arcadia; where he wan such Castles as were held for Cleomenes, and restored them to theold Possessions. This done, he tooke his way to Egium, where was held a Parliament by the Acheans; to whom he declared the cause of his comming, and spake brave words, that filled them with hope. The Achaans were not behinde with him; but made him Captaine-Generall over them and their Confederates: and further entred into covenant with him, That they would not deale with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embaffadour, without his consent. All this while, and somewhat longer, Aratin was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to Sicyon his owne Towne, (for Winter was come on) where he not only feafted him as a great Prince, but suffered more than humane honours, as facrifices and the like, to be done unto him. This example of Aratus and his Sicyonians, was followed by the rest of Achaia: which had made (forfooth) a very wife bargaine, if in stead of Cleamenes, that would have bin a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poore, and wanting wherewith to pay his Masedonians, imposed the burthen upon the Asheans. This was hardly taken; yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither was Araten himfelfe over-carefully respected; when the statues of those Tyrants, which he had throwne downe in Argos, were againe erected by Antigonius; or when the statues, which he had trefted, of those that had taken Acrocorinthus with him, were all throwne downe by the fame King, and one onely left unto himselfe at his earnest intreaty. It might therefore appeare, that this God was also spightfull. Nevertheleffe in taking revenge upon thosethat offended him, Aratus did satisfie his own passion by the aide of these Macedoonians. For with extreme torments he did put Aristomachus to death, who had bin once Tyrant of Argos; afterwards Generall of the Acheans, and from them revolting unto Cleomenes, did fall at length into their hands. In like fort handled he (though not as yet) the Mantineans, for their ingratitude and cruelty shewed to the Acheans. For he slue all the principall Citizens, and fold the rest, men, women, and children, all for bondflives dividing the spoyle; two parts to the Macedonians, and the third to the Atheans. The Towne it felfe was given by Antigonus to the Argives; who peopled it with a Colony of their own; and Aratus having charge of this businesse, caused it to be new-named Antigonia. Surely of this cruelty there can be no better excuse, than even the flattery which Aratus was driven to use to Antigonus: for a finuchas it was a token of servility, whereinto they had urged and brought him; whom he, as in revenge thereof, did thus requite. But leaving to speake of this change, which the comming in of the Macedonian Wrought in the Civill state of the Acheans; let us returne unto his war against the Lace-

The next Summer Antigonus wan Tegea, Mantinaa, Orchomenus, Heraa, & Telphuffa: Mantinea he dispeopled, as was said before; in Orchomenus he placed a Garrison of is Macedonians; the rest he restored to the Achaans, with whom he wintred at Agi-Sparta. But that which Clemenes had done in Sparta, was agreeable to the Spartaninh my where they held a Parliament. Once only Clemenes had met him this yeare; and that third in other places, where it would have been tyrannicall, he did it not. Thereupon was on the borders of Laconia, where he lay ready to defend his owne Territory. The 348

reason why he stirred no further, nor followed Antigonus to Mantinea, & to those other Townes that he wan, was this: He had few Souldiers, and had not money enough to wage more. Ptolonie the Egyptian promised much, but would performe nothing, unlesse he might have Cleomenes his own Mother, and his children in pledge. These were fent into Egypt, yet the aide came not. For Ptolomie was flow; as dealing in the bufinesse of Greece, rather for his mindes sake, than upon any apprehension of necessity. Cleomenes therefore provided for himselfe, as well as his own ability would serve. Hemanumifed all the Heilotes, which were the Lacedamonian flaves: taking mony for their liberty, and arming two thousand of them after the Macedonian fashion. Having thus increased his forces, he came on the sudden to Megalopolis; that lay secure, as having defended it felfe in more dangerous times, and having now Antigonia neere at hand in &gium. The towne he wan: but after he was entred, all that were fit to beare Armes role hastily against him; and though they could not drive him out, yet faved the multitude, to whom they gave a Port free for their escape. He sent after the Citizens, offering their Towne and goods to them againe, if they would be of his party. But they bravely refused his offer: wherefore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to Spartaagreat bootie that he found therein. These newes astonished the Achaans at Agrum: who thereupon brake up their Parliament. Antigonus sent hastily for his Macedonians, out of their wintering places: but they were so long in comming, that Cleomenes was fafely gone home. Therefore he returned them back to their lodgings, and went him- 20 felfe to Argos, there to passe the rest of his unluckie winter, somewhat further from the eyes of the grieved Achaens. When he had laine a while at Argos, Cleomenes was at the gates, with no great number of men, yer with more than Antigonus had then about him. The Argives perceiving that their Country would be spoyled, if Antigonia did not issue into the field, were very earnest with him to goe forth and fight. But he was wifer than tobe moved with their clamors; and suffered them to see their villages burnt; tobid him religne his Office of Protector unto some that were more valiant; and to satisfie their pathons with foolish words; rather than he would be overcome in fight, and thereby lose more honour than could easily be repaired. By this Cleomenes had his defire, inweakning the reputation of his enemie: though he thereby added neither followers, nor other Arength unto Lacedamon.

Afterwards, when the leason was more fit for war, Antigonsus gathered togetherall his troups; meaning to requite these bravadoes of his enemie, with the conquest of sparta. Cleamenes, on the other fide, laboured to keepe the war from his owne gates; and therefore entred upon the Country of Argos, where he made such havock, as drew Antigonus thirher, from his intended invation of Laconia. Many great affronts the Macedoman was faine to endure, in coasting of the Spartan King; that ranging over the Country of the Argives, Phliafians, and Orchomenians, drave a Garrison of his out of Oligyrin; and did factifice, as it were, before his face, in the suburbs of Argos, without the Temple of Jano, that was thut up; fending unto him in scorne, to borrow the keyes. Thesewere light things; yet ferved to dif-hearten the Achean fide, and to fill the enemie with conrage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazzard; by fetting up his rest, with our any more delay, upon Sparta it selfe. He had in his Army eight and twenty thoufand foot, and twelve bundred horse, collected out of fundry Nations, as Macedonians, Illyrsans, Guules, Epirots, Boeotians, Acarnanians, and others; together with the Athans, and their friends of Peloponnesm. Cleomenes had of all forts twenty thousand, with which he lay at Selasia: fortilying slightly the other passages into Laconia, through which the Matedonians were not likely to seeke entrance. Antigonus, comming unto Selafia, found his enemie to ftrongly incamped, upon and between the hils of Eva and Olympsu, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could advance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blowes, which he greatly defired, without the hazzard of his whole Armie, in affailing their well-defenced Camp But at length (as it happens, when men are wearie both of their hopes and feares) both Kings being refolved to make an end one way or other; Antigonus attempted with Illyrians to force that part which lay on the hill Eva. But his Illyrians were foill fecon ded by the Achean foor, that the Spartanhorse, and light-armed foor, incampeding Areight valley betweene those hills, iffuing forth, fell upon their skirts, and not only

disordered them; but were like to have endangered all the rest. If Cleomenes himselfe had food in that part of the battell, hee would have made great use of such a faire beginning. But Euclydas, his brother, a more valiant than skilfull Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this advantage, nor tooke such benefit as the ground affoorded, whereon he lay . Philopæmen the Arcadian of Megalopolis, who afterwards proved a famous Captaine, served then on horse, as a private young man, among the Acheans. Hee feeing that all was like to goe to rout, if their Illyrians were driven to fall backe upon the Annie following them; perswaded the Captaines of the Achean horse, to breake upon the Spartan Mercenaries. But they would not : partly despising his youth and want of charge; partly, for that Antigonus had given order, that they should keepe their places, 10 untill they received a figne from him, which was not as yet. Philopæmen perceiving them to be more orderly than well advised, intreated some of his own Countrimen to follow him, gave a charge on the Spartans, and forced them, not only to leave the Illyreans, but feek how to fave themselves. Being so far advanced, he found the place which the Illyrians had attempted, like enough to be won, through the unskilfulnesse of him that held it. Wherefore he allighted, and perswaded the men at Armes his Companions to doe the like : the folly of Euclydas being manifest, who kept the top of the hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plaine, where they might fight upon even termes. So he recovered the Hill top; where though he was foreiturt, yet he made good the place that he had gotten, untill the whole Armie came up to him; by which the Lacedamonians were beaten from it, with great flaughter of them in their descent. This overthrow, and death of Euclydas, made Cleamenes lose the day: who fighting bravely on the other fide, upon Olympus, against Antigonus himselfe, was like to have beene furrounded and lost, if he had not withdrawne himselfe with an extraordiw speed. In this battell ended the glory of Laced emon, which, as a light ready to goe out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in many ages paft;

Cleamenes fled unto Sparta; where he had no defire to flay; finding onely two hundred left, of fixe thousand Spartans that he had led unto this battell, and most of his hipred Souldiers dead; or gone away. So he perswaded his people to yeeld themselves unto Antigonus; and promifing to doe all that should at any time lye in his owne power, for their good, he hafted away to the Sea-fide (where he had shipping long before provided against all that might happen) and imbarqued himselfe for Egypt. He was lovingly emertained by Ptolomie Euergetes; who undertooke to restore him to his Kingdome, and (perhaps) meant no leffe, as being much delighted with his gallant behaviour, and qualities. In the meane feafon, he had a penfion allowed him, of foure and twenty Talents, yearely. But this Ptolomie died; and his son Ptolomie Philopater succeeded him: avicious young Prince, wholly governed by lewd Women; and base Men, unmindefill of all vertue, and hating any in whom it was found. When therefore Cleomenes was defirous to returne into Greece, whither the troubles in Peloponnesus did feeme to invicehim; Ptolomie and his Minions, would neither give him aide; nor yet dared to difmisse him (as he desired) to trie his own friends in Greece, because he was too well acquainted with the weakenesse of Egypt: nor well knew how to detaine him against his will. At length they devised matter against him, and made him prisoner. The last act of him was, that with thirty of his Countrimen, he undertooke a desperate enter-Prize: breaking out of the prifon, and provoking the Alexandrians to rebell and seeke their liberty. In which attempt he flew some enemies of his that he met; and having walked up and down the streets without refishance (no man offering to take his part, or which is very strange, to fight against him on the Kings behalfe) hee, and his Companions, agreed together to be ministers of their own death. Upon his dead body Prolomie was bold to shew his indignation: and flue his Mother and Children, that had beene fent thither as Hostages, together with the wives of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending upon the old Queene. Such was the end of Cleomenes, a generous Prince, but Son of Leonidus, who had caused Agis, with his Mother and Grand-mother, to come to such a bloudy end, as now befell his owne Wife, Son, and Grandchildren.

After the victory at Sellasia, Antigonus without resistance entred Sparta: whereintonever the force of any Enemy, before him, could make way. He kindely intreated Rrrr 3 L 507 3

the Citizens, and left them to their own lawes and Government: tarrying there no longer than two or three dayes; after which he haftened out of Peloponness, and never returned. The cause of his speedy departure was, an advertisement that he received out of Macedon; how the Illyrians over-ran, and destroyed the Countrie. Had these newes come a little fooner, or had Cleomenes either deferred the fight, a few dayes longer, or at least-wise tarried a few dayes after the fight, in Sparta; the Kingdome of Lacedamon would have stood, and perhaps have extended it self over all Greece. But God had otherwise determined.

Antigoniu fought a great battell with the Illyrians, and overcame them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any wound, but by over-ftraining his voyce; wherewith he to brake a veine that bled inwardly, and in short space finished his life, who was troubled before with a confumption of the lungs. His Kingdome descended unto Philip, the son of Demetrim, being then a boy as also about the same time it was, that Antiochus, surnamed (I know not why) the Great; and Ptolomy Philopater, began to reign in Afia, and Egypt; Boyes all. Of these, Ptolomie, though old enough to love Harlots, when he first was king, yet continued a Boy all the feventeen years of his reign. The unripe age of Philip & Antiochin, bred fuch intestine inconvenience to their Kingdomes, as is usuall in the minority of Princes: but their elder years brought them acquainted with the Romans; upon which occasion, when it comes, we shall more seasonably speak of them, and of their kingdoms, more at large.

6. VII.

How the Illyrians infested the coast of Greece, and how they were subdued by the Romans.

Hilft things thus passed in Greece, and whilst the Carthag mians were busie in their conquest of Spain; the Romans had found themselves work among the Sardinians and Corficans, that were eafily subdued at first, & easily vanquished again, when they rebelled. They made also war with the Illyrians, wherein they got much honour with little pain. With the Gaules they had much adoe, that lasted not long; being rather, as Livie faith, a tumult than a war. So that by all these light exercises their valour was hardly kept from rust. How they got the Ilandsin the Mediterran Sea, it hath bin shewed before: of their dealings with the Illyrians and Gaules, it is not meet

to be utterly filent.

Liv.lib.21.

The Illyrians inhabited the Country now called Slavonia; a troublesome Nation, inpatient of rest, and continually making war for gaine, without either regard of friendor foe. They were invited by Demetrin, king of Macedon, to help the Mydiomans his friends, that were befieged by the Etolians; for that they refused to be of their society. Before the Illyrians succours came, the Mydionians were so far spent, that the Atolians contended about the booty: the old Prætor, or chiefe Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his office, claiming to have the honour of the victory, and the division of the fpoyle to be referred unto him; for that he had in a manner brought the fiege to an end, and won the towne: others, that were in hope to be chosen into the Office, contradicting this, and defiring that old orders might be kept. It was a prettie strife, and somwhat like to that of the French in later ages, who thought upon dividing the prey, before they had won the victories, which anon they loft, at Poitiers and Agincourt. The Etolians wifely compounded the difference, ordering it thus, That the old, and the new Prætor should be joynthy intitled in the victory, and have equal authority in distribution of the gettings. But the Illyrians finished the strife much more elegantly, and after another fashion. They arrived, and landed ere any was aware of them; they fell upon the Etolians; and though good refistance was made, yet got the victory, partlyby force of their multitude, partlyby the help of the Mydionians, that were not idle in their own busines, but foutly fallied out of the town. Many of the Etolians were flain, more were taken, their camp and all their baggage was loft: the Illyrians took the spoyle, and went their way; the Mydionians etc. Ated a Trophie, inscribing the names both of their old and new Magistrate (for they also chofe new Officers at the same time) as the Atolians had directed them by example. The successe of this voyage highly pleased Agron King of the Illyrians: not only

regard of the mony, wherewith Demetrius had hired his affiftance; or of the booty than was gotten; but for that having vanquished the stoutest of the Greeks, he found it not uneasie to inrich himselfe by fetting upon the lesse warlike. For joy of this he feasted, and dranke so immoderately, that he fell into a Pleurise, which in few dayes ended his life. His Kingdome, together with his great hopes, he left unto Teuta his wife.

of the History of the World.

Teuta gave her people free liberty to roball forts at Sea, making no difference berweenfriend and foe; as if she had beene sole Mistresse of the salt Waters. She armed a fleet, and fent it into Greece; willing her Captaines to make warre where they found advantage, without any further respect. These fell with the western coast of Peloponnessus wherethey invaded the Eleans, and Messenians. Afterwards they returned along by Evirus, and stayed at the Citie of Phanice, to take in victuals and other necessaries. There lav in Phanice eight hundred Gaules, that having bin Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, went about to betray, first Agrigentum, then Eryx, to the Romans; but failing to doe either they neverthelesse revolted, and were for their misdeeds disarmed and sent to sea by the Romans, yet entertained by these Epirots, and trusted to lye in Garrison within their Towne. The Gaules were foone growne acquainted with the Illyrians, to whom they betrayed Phanice; which deserved none other, intrusting them. All Epirus was presently in armes, and hastned to drive out these unwelcome guests. But whilest the Epirots lay before the Towne, there came newes into their Campe, of another Illyrian Armie, that was marching thitherward by Land, under one Scerdilaidas, whom Queene Testa had fent to help his fellowes. Upon this advertisement, a part of them is sent away towards Antigonia, to make good that Town, and the streights adjoyning by which these new commers must enter into their Countrey; another part of them remaines at Phanice, to continue the fiege. Neither the one nor the other fped well in their business. For Scerdilaidas found meanes to joyne with his fellowes; and they that were befreged within Phanice, fallied out of the town, and gave fuch an overthrow to the Epirots, as made them despaire of saving their Country, without great and speedy help from abroad. Wherefore Embassadors were sent to the Acheans and Atolians: craving their help, with very pitifull terms of intreaty. They obtained their fuit; neither was it long, before an Army, sent by these two Nations, was ready in Epirus, to present battell unto Sterdilaidas. But Scerdilaidas was called home by letters from Tenta the Queene, that fignified a rebellion of some Illyrians against her: so that he had no mind to put his fores to hazzard, but offered composition, which was accepted. The agreement was, That the Epirors might ranfome their Towne, and all their people that were prisoners; and that the Illyrians should quietly depart with all their booty and slaves. Having made this profitable and honourable bargain, the Illyrians returned into their own country by lands fending their booty away by Sea.

Attheir comming home, they found no such great trouble, as that which they brought, orhad occasioned in this voyage. For, in fulfilling the commandement of their Queene, otheyhad taken many Italian Merchants, whilest they lay at Phænice; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made unto the Roman Senate, were so frequent, that Embaffadours were fent to require of Teuta, that she should abstaine from doing such injuries. These Embassadours found her very jolly; both for the riches which her sleet had brought in; and for that she had, in short space, tamed her Rebels, and brought all to good order, save only the Town Issa, which her forces held streightly besieged. Swelling with this prosperity, she could hardly afford a good look to the Romans, that found full with her doings; and calling them by a true name, Pyracy, required amends. Yet when their speech was ended, she vouch safed to tell them, That injury in publike shee would doe them none: as for private matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the maner of Kings to forbid their subjects to get commodity, how they best could by Sea. But (faid the younger of the two Embaffadours) we Romans have a maner, and a very laudable one, to take revenge in publike, of those private wrongs that are born out by publike authority: therefore we shall teach you, God willing, to reforme your kingly maners, and learn better of us. These words the Queen took so impatiently, that no revenge could fatisfie her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, she caused him to be slain: as if that had bin the way to fet her heart at rest; which was indeed the mean to disquiet and afflict

iteverafter.

The

The Romans, provoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, confisting of two hundred faile, commanded by C. Fulvius; the other by Land, ledby A. Posthumus. They trouble not themselves any more with requiring satisfaction: for this injurie is of such nature, as must be requited with mortall war. It is indeed contrary to all humane Law, to use violence towards Embaffadours: the reason and ground whereof. feemes to be this; that fince without mediation, there would never be an end of warre and destruction, therefore it was equally received by all Nations, as a lesson taught by Nature, that Embassadours should passe freely, and in safety, between enemies. Neverthelesse, as I take it, this generall Law is not without limitation. For if any King or State lay hold upon Embassadours sent by their enemies, not unto themselves, but unto some 10 third, whom they should draw into the quarrell; then it is as lawfull to use violence to those Embassadors (thus employed to make the war more terrible) as it is to kill the men of war, & fubiects of an enemy. And fo might the Athenians have answered it, when they flew the Laced amonian Embaffadours, that were fent to Xernes, to draw him into a war upon the Athenians. Neither are those Embassadours, which practise against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any law whatsoever. For whereas the true office of an Embassadour residing, is the maintenance of amirie, if it be not lawfull for one Prince to practife against the life of another, much lesse may an Embassadour doe it without incuring justly the same danger of punishment, with other Traitors; in which case, his place gives him no priviledge at all. But we will leave this 20 dispute to the Civilians; and go on with the revenge, taken by the Romans, for the flaughter of their Embassadour Coruncanus. The Illyrian Queen was secure of the Romans, as if they would not dare to stir against

her. She was indeed in an errour, that hath undone many of all forts, greater and leffe than she, both before and since : Having more regard unto fame, than unto the substance of things. The Greeks were at that time more famous than the Romans; the Etolians and Epirots had the name of the most warlike people in Greece; these had she easily vanquished, and therefore thought, that with the Romans she should be little troubled. Hadshe confidered, that her whole Army, which wrought fuch wonders in Greece, was not much greater than of ten thousand men; and that neverthelesse, it prevailed as much by oddes of number, as by valour, or skill in armes; shee would have continued to use her advantage against those that were of more fame than strength, with such good caution, that she should not have needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mighty than her selfe. But she was a woman, and did what she listed. She sent forth a greater fleet than before under Demetrius of Pharos; with the like ample commiffion to take all that could be gotten. This fleet divided it felfe, and one part of it fell with a Dyrrachium, a Dyrrachium, the other with Corcyra. Dyrrachium was almost surprised by the Illyrifomtime called ans; vet was it rescued by the stout Citizens. In b Corcyra the Illyrians landed, wasted Epiaamus, and now Duracto, the Isle, and besieged the Towne Hereupon the Etolians and Achaens were called in feated upon the to helpe; who came, and were beaten in a fight at Sea: losing, besides others of lesse Adviation to helpe; who came, and were peated in a right at Sea: 10 ling, believes others of lefter adviation for the tweenethelnote, Marcus Carynensis, the first Prætor of Achaia, whom Aratus succeeded. The lands of Pharas Towne of Corcyra, difmayed with this overthrow, opened the gates unto Demetriand coreyra.

b coveyra, and - 205 Pharing, who tooke possession of it with an Illyrian Garrison: fending the rest of his landofthe 4- forces to besiege Dyrrachium. In the meane season, Teuta was angry with her Captain

Confinand in the. The Romans were even ready to put to Sea, though uncertaine which way to take, postellion of the when advertisement was brought to C. Fulving the Confull, of Demetring his feare and discontent. Likely it was that such an occasion might greatly helpe to advance the bufinesse in hand. Where fore the consult sailed thither; where he found the Towne of Coregra so well prepared to his hand by Demetrius, that it not only received him willingly, but delivered into his power the Illyrian Garrison, and submitted it felf unto the Roman protection.

After this good beginning, the Confull failed along the coast to Apollonia; accom panied with Demetrius, whom he used thenceforth as his counsellor and guide. To Apol raze upon the lonia came also Posthumus, the other Confull, with the Land-Armie, numbred at twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they hasten towards Dyrrachium, which the Illyrians had belieged; but upon newes of the Roman armie they differ fe themselves

From thence the Romans enter Illyria, and take Parthenia; beat the Illyrians by sea, take twenty of their ships, and enforce the Queen Tenta to forfake the coast, and to cover her felfe in Rison, far within the Land. In the end, part of the Romans haste them homeward, and leave the best places of Illyria in the hands of Demetrius; another part staies behind, and profecutes the war, in such fort, that Teuta was forced to beg peace; which she obtained upon miserable conditions; to wit, That she should quit the better part of Illyria, and pay tribute for the rest; and from thenceforth never send any of her ships of war towards the coasts of Greece, beyond the Iland of Liffa: except it were some one or two vessels. unarmed, and by way of Trade.

After this Illyrian war, the Romans fent Embassadours into divers parts of Greece signifying their love to the country, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made war with good successe upon Teuta, and her people. They hoped, belike, that some distressed Ciries would take this occasion, to defire their patronage: which if it hapned, they were wife enough to play their own games. But no fuch matter fell out. The Embaffadours were only rewarded with thanks; and a decree made at Corinth, That the Romans thenceforthmight be partakers of the Ishmian pastimes. This was an idle courtesie, but well meant by the vain Greeks, & therefore well taken by the Romans: who by this Illyrianexpedition got nothing in Greece, save a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

6. VIII.

Of the war between the Romans and Gaules, somewhat before the comming of Hannibal into Italie.

He Gaules that dwelt in Lombardie, were the next, against whom the Romans tooke Armes. These were a populous Nation, and often molested Rome; sometimes with their own forces, and sometimes with the affistance of those that inhabited France. Once their fortune was good, when they tooke Rome, and burnt it: though the issue of that war proved not answerable to the beginning, if we may give oredicunto Roman Historians. In following times their successe was variable, and commonly bad. Many overthrowes they received; and if they got any victory, it yeelded them no profit, but was foone extorted out of their hands. They were indeed more fercethan well advised: lightly stirred up to war, and lightly giving over. At the first brunt, they were faid to be more than men; but when that was past, lesse than women. The Romans were acquainted with their temper, by long experience, and knew how to handle them: yet gave alwayes carefull heed to their approach, were it onely bruited. For the danger of them was fudden, and uncertaine; by reason of their neighbourhood and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts upon Rome were called wars, but turnalten Gallici turnults of the Gaules: and rightly . For they gave many alarms 10 Italie, and used to rise with great Armies: but after a few dayes march, and fometimes before their fetting forth, any fmall occasion served to disperse them. Having received moverthrow, they would rest ten or twelve yeares, sometimes twenty or thirty: till they were stirred up again, by younger heads, unacquainted with the danger. Whilest they rested, the state of Rome, that against these made only defensive war, had leisure to grow, by fetting upon others. Herein God provided well for that Monarchie, which he intended to raise: that the Gaules never fell upon Italie with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous war. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilest Pyrhus was travelling in the same enterprise; or in either of the two former Punicke wars: it may be doubted what would have become of this imperious Citie. But it ferns that the Gauls had no better intelligence in the affairs of Italie, than strangers had in Gaule. At least, they knew not how to use their times: and were therefore like to smart, whenfoever the enemies, whom they had much provoked, and little hurt, should finde leisure to visit themat their own home: which was now after the first Punicke Warre. Once before this, the Romans had been bold, to fet upon the Gaules in their own Counmy and that was three yeares before the comming of Pyrrhus into Italie. At that time the Senones, a Tribe of the Gaules, invading Hetruria, and besieging Arretium, had won a great battell, and flaine L. Cacilius, with the most of his Armie. Mannius Curius the new Confull, fem Embaffadours to them, to treat about ransome of prisoners. But these Embassa-

driatich fea, not Demetrius: I know not why; but fo, as he resolved to trie any other course, rather than far from Duraz- to trust her.

c Appollonia, a City neer Dyra vachium, or Dutuscals it Siffo

were of French race, and dwelt about the mouth of the river Po.

Embassadors they slue. Therfore when fortune turned to the better, the Romans followedit fowell, that they expelled these Senones out of their Country, and sent a colonie of a There were their own to inhabit it. This caused the Bojz, another people of Gaule, to scare the like a there were their ownto matter who thereupon tooke armes, and drew the Hetrurians to their fide. But the of the Boje, as in measure: who thereupon to the of the Boje as in measure: who thereby made them fue for peace, Pannonia, Illyia, Romans overthrew them in two great battels; and thereby made them fue for peace, Germany, in Bour- which lasted untill the end of this Illyrran war.

It yexed the Gaules to see a Roman colony planted in their Countrys who had bin acand in Aquitant; but there soji customed to enlarge their bounds, by driving out their neighbours perforce. Wherefore they laboured with the Transalpines (so the Romans called those in France, as lying from them beyond the Alpes, thoughto us they were neerer; like as they called Cifalpines, or 10 by-bither the Alpes, those who dwelt between them and the Mountaines) to draw them to their party: reasonably presuming, that as their dis-junction had caused their losse, so their union might recompence it, with large amends. But the businesse was so foolishly carried, that the Cisalpines and Transalpines fell together by the ears, putting the Romans only to a turnult, without further trouble of war. Soone after, they were urged by agreater indignity, to go more substantially to work. For C. Flaminius, a popular manin Rome. proposed a Decree, which was ratified by the people; That, besides one Colony already planted in the territory of the Senones, as many more should be carried thither, as would serve to people the whole Country between Ancona and Ariminum: exterminating utterly those Gaules . Such an offer, were it made in England, concerning either Virginia, or 20 Guiana it felf, would not over-joy the Multitude. But the commonalty of Rome took this in so good part, notwithstanding all danger joyned with the benefit, that Flaminus had ever after their good will.

This dreadfull Prefident extremely displeased the Boji; who being neighbours to A. riminum, feared the like displantation. And because the rest of the Gaules had reasonto resolve, that themselves also should be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the Insubrians, which inhabited the Dutchy of Milan, joyned with the Boji, & upon a common purse entertained the Geffates, nations about Rhodanus, wageable as the Switzers in these times. The Geffates having received a great imprest, come to the field under the conduct of their Kings Concolinanus and Aneroeftus: who with the Boji and Infubrians, com-3 pound an Armie of fifty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that ever invaded the Roman Territorie; to whom the Semgalli, that had bin beaten out of their possessions, gave a great increase of strength. On b Cenomanniare the contrary fide, the Venetians, and the Cenomanni, adhered to the Romans as better beleeving in their prosperitie and rising fortune. For feare of whose incursions therefore, the Gaules were forced to leave a good part of their Armie, on the frontier of Milan: fide of theriver with the rest of their forces they entred into Tuscane. The Romans hearing of this dan-Po in Italy.

Therewere al- ger, fend Emilius to Rimine, to stop their passage; and in the place of C. Afilius theirofoof the Come ther Conful, who then was in Sardinia, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the defence

Being at this time greatly troubled with the confideration of this powerfull Armic, which the Gaules had affembled, they caused a view to be taken, as well of all their own forces, as of those of their Allies: who were no lesse willing than themselves, to oppose the incursions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their owne destruction could not be prevented otherwise, than by the good fortune of Rome. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserve to be recorded: because they set out the power of the Romans in those dayes. With the Consuls they sent forth to the war foure Legions of their owne: every Legion confilting of five thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse, and of their Allies, thirty thousand foot, and two hundred horse. There were also appointed for supplies (if any misadventure came to these) of the Sabines and 5 Hetrurians fifty thousand foor, and foure thousand horse, which Armie was to be lodged in the border of Hetruria. Of the umbri and Sarfinates, which inhabited the Apenines, there were twenty thousand; and of the Venetians and Cenomans, other twenty thoufand: which latter Armies were directed to invade the Boji, that forcing them to defend their own Territories, the generall Armie of the Gaules should be thereby greatly diminished. There were besides these, to be ready against all uncertaine chances of warre, thirtie thouland foot, and fifteene hundred horse, garrison'd in Rome it selfe, of their own people; and of their Allies, thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Over and

above these great troupes; in the Roll of the Lairnes, that was sent unto the Senate, there were numbred fourescore thousand foot, and five thousand horse; in that of the Sammies, seventie thousand foot, and of horse seven thousand; in that of the 3 Japages & Mes- g Japages and Capyges, fifty thousand foot, and fixteene thousand horse; the Lucans sentalist of thir- Messayyes seem tie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the Lucans sent a lit of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the harries, k Ferentani, and on; who are althe Vestini, of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse. The Romans had also two so colled salenLegions in Sicil, and about Tarentum, containing eight thousand four hundred borse. So as of the Romans of contents when the sale of the sale o foure hundred horse. So as of the Romans and Campan's joyntly, reckoning men armed, Calabrians. The and fit to be are armes, there were registred two hundred and fifty thousand foot; and of Country is now hards three and two two two housands of Applia, contains horse three and twenty thousand: of which reckoning the Romans apart, there were an ming the Norhundred and fifty thousand foot, and about fixe thousand horse. Casting up the whole the most land of calibria. forces of all the Provinces in Italie, both of the Romans and their confederates, it amount hap people of ted to seven hundred thousand foot, and seventy thousand horse. But the number is some the kingdom of what mil-cast by Polybius; not with a purpose to enrich himselfe by the dead payes: for Naties. where he reckons nine hundred horse too many, hee fals short nine thousand two hun-thema people dred of the foot.

How great foever this Muster was, it seemes to have been like unto that, which Lodo-campania, calwick Sforza made, when Lewis the twelfth invaded Milan: at what time, the better to led to this day encourage himselfe, and his subjects, he tooke a Roll of all persons able to beare armes, Leander, within the Dutchie, though indeed he were never able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certaine it is, that the battels of Trebia, Thrasymene, and Canna, did not confume any fuch proportion, as was answerable to this large accompt. Yet were the Romans faine to arme their flaves,, even for want of other Souldiers, after their overthrow at Canna. Wherefore the marvell is not great, that the Carthaginians and others were little terrefied, with report of fuch a multitude. For all heads are not fit for Helmets: though the Roman Citizens were, in generall, as good fighting men, as elsewhere might befound.

Notwithstanding all these counter-preparations, the Gaules keepe on their way : and entring into Tuscane, destroy, and put to fire and sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards Rome; hoping to find the Roman's rather in deliberation, than in the field . But their intelligence failes them . For the Roman Army, fent into Tufcane, having taken fome other way than they did, & finding that it had miffed of them. ame againe fast after them to arrest them in their journy. Hereof when they heard the numor, fearing to be charged on their backes, they turned head: and in the fame evening discovered the Roman Army by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparent necessity, that fight they must. Wherefore they helped themselves with a stratagem: that hewed no great fine neffe of wit, but fuch as well beformed those that had none other ocupation than war; and flood them in good flead at the prefent. In the dead of the night, they cause their foot to march away, but not far, leaving their horse in guard; to whom they give order, to come offat the first light of day, with such a speed, as might rather argue arunning away, than a retrait; as if they had not dared to abide battell. The Romans, interpreting this their hafty departure as the Gaules defired they should, follow them in diforder. The Gaules returne, charge them, and kill fixe thouland upon the place; the rest take a piece of ground of advantage, and defend themselves, till L. Emilia, being at Ariminum, comes to their fuccour. Upon the comming of the Confull, the Gaules confult. whether they should give the Romans battell, or forbeare. In which dispute, Aneroestus, one of their Kings, perswades them, rather to return into their own Countries; where, aftrithey had disposed of the great spoiles and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the war, being without carriage, pefter, or other impediment. This advice they allembrace-for, seeing they that were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoyles of their enemies, they thought it wisedome, to hazzard neither it, nor themselves, any further.

This indeed had been a good resolution, if they had taken it, before the enemie had beene in fight. But as well in the warres of these later ages, as in former times, it hath ever beene found extreme dangerous, to make a retrait in the Head of an Enemies Army. For although they that retire doe often turne head; yet in alwayes going on from the purfuing enemy, they finde, within a few miles, either streight, hedge, ditch, or place Ordifadvantage, which they are inforced to passe in disorder. In such cases, the Souldier

manni in France and inhabited the Countrie of Maine

HAP 2, S. 8.

knowes it, as well as the Captaine, that he which for fakes the field, perceives, and feares some advantage of the Enemies. Feare, which is the betrayer of those succours that reafon offereth, when it hath once possess the heart of man, it casteth thence both courage and understanding. They that make the retrait, are alwayes infeare to be abandoned; they that lead the way, feare to be ingaged: and fo the hindmost treads on his heels that is foremost, and consequently, all dis-band, run, and perish, if those that favour the retrain be not held to it by men of great courage. The miserable overthrow that the French received in Naples, in the yeare 1503. upon a retrait made by the Marques of Sal, dothtestifie no lesse. For although a great troupe of French horse sustained the pursuing Enemy a long time, and gave the foot leifure to trotaway; yet being retarded by often tur- 10 nings, the Spanish foot overtooke, and defeated them utterly. During the wars between the Imperials and the French, Boisi and Mont were lost at Brignolles, who in a bravery would needs fee the Enemy, before they left the field. So was Stroft overthrowne by the Marques of Marignan, because he could not be perswaded to dislodge the night before the Marques his arrivall. Therefore did the French King Francis the first wifely: when without respect of point of honour, he dislodged from before Landersey, by night; as many other, the most advised Captaines, (not finding themselves in case to give battell) have done. Jenetrouve point (faith the Marshall Monluc) au fait des armes chose si difficile, qu'une retraitte; I finde nothing in the art of war so difficult as to make a safe retrait. A fure rule it is, that there is leffe dishonour to dislodge in the darke, than to be beaten in the light. And hereof M.de la Noise gives this judgement of a dayes retrait, made in France, presently before the battell at Moncountour, For (faith he) staying upon our reputation, in shew, not to distodge by night; we lost our reputation indeed, by distodging by day: whereby we were forced to fight upon our disadvantage, and to our ruine. And yet did that worthy Gentleman Count Lodowick of Nassau, brother to the late famous Prince of Orange, make the retrait at Moncountour with fo great resolution, as he saved the one half of the Protestant Army, then broken and disbanded; of which my selfe was an eye-witnesse, and was one of them that had cause to thanke him for it.

Now the Gaules, embracing the safe advice(as they take it) of one of their Kings, turn their backs to the enemy, and their faces homeward. Emilius followes them, as neer as 3 he can, without ingaging himfelte, attending his advantage. In the mean while, C. Atilius the other Confull, with the Legions of Sardinia, lands at Pifa; fo as the Gaules, inclofed betweene two Armies, are forced to fight. They therefore equally strengthen their Rear and Front. To fustaine Amilius, they appoint the Gessard the Milanois; in the Front they range the Piemontois, and the rest of the Gaules inhabiting upon the River of Po. The manner of the fight Polybim describeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the Gaules fell; and so did Atilius the Consull: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the Gaules, Concolitanus and Aneroeftus; with

forty thousand of their Vassals.

After this farall overthrow, the Gaules lost courage; and, ere long, all that they held in Italie. For they were invaded the yeare following this overthrow, by the new Confuls, Fulvius and Manlius. The Romans knew well how to use their victory: they gave not ten, twentie, or thirtie yeares time to the Gaules, to repaire their forces, as the Gaules had done to them. These new Consuls beat the Boji; but by reason of the great raines that fell, and the great pestilence that reigned, they were compelled for that present to furcease. In the second years, Furius and Flaminius invade the Milanois; and prevailevery far, being strongly assisted by the Cenomanni and the Venetians. Neverthelesse these Confuls were revoked out of their Province, by the Senate of Rome, and compelled to refigne their Office: because the Augures; or South sayers, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all forts of their divination, the Romans were extremely superstitious) had not onely foreshewed little good, when they were chor sen, but had also nullified the election. C. Flaminius, receiving letters of this revocation from the Senate, and being otherwise advertised of the contents, was not hastic to open them: but first gave battell unto the enemies, vanquished them, and spoyled their theas far as their ambition could reach. Country; then peruled the letters; and returning home obtained a triumph, fore against the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that he sided in faction with the Commonaltie, though a man of great No

This was that Flaminius, who had propounded the Decree, for dividing the Country of the Senones among the people of Rome. He was the first, or one of the first, that understanding the Majesty of Rome to be indeed wholly in the people, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by away of Delegacie, or grand Commission, did not stand highly noon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and use their power, over himselfe and his fellow-Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the furer fide, and found imitators, that rose by the same art, which in processe of time, grew the onely or chiefe way to preferment.

Flaminius and his Colleague, being deposed, M. Claudius Marcellus, & Cn. Cornelius Sapio, were chosen Confuls, for the rest of that yeer. The Gaules about this time defired peace; & were like to have obtained it: though the new Confuls were against it, as feaing to want work. But when thirty thousand of the Geffates, following their King Briumaru, were come over the Alpes, & joyned with the Infubrians: all other discourse. than of present warre, was at an end. So the Confuls hasted into their Province, where they befreged Acerra, a town not farre from Novaro (fo far had the Romans pierced already) in the Duchy of Milan. To divert them from this fiege, Britomarus fat down before Clastidium, a towne in the same Tract, with great part of his forces: leaving the rest. with the Insubrians, to attend upon the Consuls at Acerra, and to looke to the defence of Milan. But this would not fuffice to make the Romans breake up their fiege. Marcellan, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, and fixe hundred foot lightly armed. thought to deale well enough with those at Clastidium. Britomarus heard of the Confiscomming, and met him upon the way: fo fuddenly, that the Komans had no leifure orest themselves after their journy, but were compelled instantly to fight: Herein Briomarus had done well, if he had not forthwith, in a rash bravery, lost his game at a cast. Hehad advantage chough in number, both of horse and foot: but he thought so well of his owne personall valour, that he rode out fingle before his Army, provoking any one with him. Marcellus was no leffe daring than the barbarous King: whether more wile in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to commend him . He flue and difarmed Britomarus, in presence of both Armies: whereby his owne men tooke fuch courage, and his enemies were fo difmaied, that without much would of fight the Romans obtained a great victory.

This was the third and last time, that ever any Roman Generall slue the Generall of heenemies, with his owne hand. To this kinde of victory, belonged a peculiar triumph, whereofonly Romules, Coffus, and this Marcellus, had the honour : yet I dare fay, that the two Scipio's, and divers of the Roman Captaines, especially Cafar, were better man of warre than any of these three; though they never offered up to Jupiter, Opima plias. The Armour of a Generall staine by themselves, when they were Generals, nor per-

laps affected fo to doe.

After this victory, Acerra was yeelded to the Romans; & Milan soone after: with all har belonged to the Cifalpines, or Gaules, that dwelt in Lumbardie. Thus was that valiand mighty Nation, that had so many yeers vexed the State of Rome, and in former ims taken the Citie it felfe, brought to nothing in a short time; their pleasant and fertile ferritory possest by the Romans; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting Italy, many as would not subject their necks to the Roman yoke, either forced to abandon heir Countries, or to hide themselves in the cold and barren Mountaines, like Outwes and Theeves. And thus did the Romans spend the three and twenty yeeres, folwing the peace made with Carthage. In part of which time, they were at such leisure, that they closed up the Temple of Janus: which they never did before, (it standing alwayes open, when they had any war) fave once, in the reigne of Numa; nor in long time after, untill the reigne of Angustus. But this their present happinesse was not to last long: adangerous warre, and perhaps the greatest that had ever been, was to come unto their which being well ended, they might boldly undertake, to extend their Monar357

CHAP. III. Of the Second Punick Warre.

The warres of Hannibal in Spaine. Quarrels betweene the Romans and Carthaginians. Hannibal befiegeth and taketh Saguntum, whileft the Romans are busted with the Illyrians. Warre proclaimed betweene Rome and Carthage.

ANNIBAL, the fonne of Amilear, was about fixe and twenty yeers old, when he was chosen Generall of the Carthaginian forces in Spaine. He was elected by the Armie, as soone as Asdrubal was dead: & the election was ratified by the State of Carthage; wherewith Hanno & his Complices were nothing pleased. This was now the third of the Barchine family (so called of Amilcar, whose furname was Barcas) that had command in chiefe, over the men of warre. Which honour would perhaps have beene leffe envied, by

these domesticall enemies; if the Allies and Friends of the Barchine house, had not also borne the whole fway in government, and beene the onely men regarded, bothby the Senate and the people. This generall good will, as it was first purchased by the most worthy deferts of Amilear, in faving his Country from imminent ruine, inlarging the Dominion thereof, and inriching it with treasures and great revenues; so was it retained, by the fame good arts, among his friends and followers. Hanno therefore, and his Partifans, being neither able to taxe the vertue of their enemies, that was unreproveable; nor to performe the like services unto the Common-weale; had nothing left, whereby to value themselves, excepting the generall reprehension of Warre, and cautelous advice of not provoking the Romans. This they scaloned other-whiles with detraction; saying, that the Barchine faction went about to oppresse the liberty of the City. But their malicious words were unregarded; and if it were factious, to beare ill will to Rome, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no leffe Barchine, than Hannibal himselfe. For it was long fince apparent, that the oath of the Romans, to the articles of peace, afforded no fecurity to Carthage, were she never so quiet, and officious; unlesse she would yeeld to become their Subject. Since therefore the peace was like to hold no longer, than untill the Romans could finde some good advantage, to renew the warre: it was rather defired by the Carthaginians, that whilest their owne state was in good case, the warre should begin; than that in some unhappy time of famine or pestilence, or after some great losse of Army or Fleet, they should be driven to yeeld unto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to give away basely their lands and treasures, as they had lately done; or miserably fight, upon termes of disadvantage.

This disposition of his countrimen, Hannibal well understood. Neither was he ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time devised of this businesse) that in making war with the Romans, it was no small advantage to get the start of them Ifonce he could bring an Arme into Italy, without molestation; there was good hope, that he should finde friends and affistance, even of those people, that helped to increase the Roman armies in forreigne wars. But this could never be effected, if the matter were openly disputed at Carthage. For it was to be doubted, that the Carthaginians, how glad soever they would be, to heare that he had fet the war on foot, would nevertheleffe be flow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprises, if the matter were referred to their deliberation. Which if it should happen; then were the Romans like to be made acquainted, not onely with the generalities of his purpose, but with fuch particulars as must be discoursed of, in procuring allowance to his designe. This might suffice to disorder the whole Project. Wherefore, he resolved to lay siege unto Saguntum, which might feeme not greatly to concerne the Romans, and would highly please the Carthaginians, that had fresh in minde the indignity of that Spanish Towner alliance with their halfe friends. So should he assaie both the patience of his enemies

and the disposition of his owne Citizens.

Having thus concluded, heneverthelesse went faire and orderly to worke: and beginning with those that lay next in his way, approaching unto Saguntum by degrees. This he did (faith Livie) to give some colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the warre against Saguntum, but had beene drawne thither by course of businesse. Yet reason teacheth plainly, that without regard of such formalities, it was needfull to finish the conquest of the rest, before he did any thing that should provoke the Romans. First therefore hee entred upon the Territory of the * Oleades; and having belieged Althea * A people (Livie calleth it Carteia) their chiefe Citie, he became, in a few dayes, Master not onely (faith Stephanius) neere the thereof, but of all the other Townes of their Countrie. This Nation which he first un-River of Ebro. odertooke, being subdued, and the winter at hand, he rested his Army in new Carthage, But in the old or Carthagena; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the spoiles he had gotten in his spaine, in Orec.

In the Spring following, he pursued the warre against the * Vaccai: and without any found neere great difficulty, wan first Salmantica, now called Salamanca; and after it, b Arbucala, by Sunday, not far fault: though not without a long fiege, and great difficulty. But in his returne, he was from New Carput to the height, both of his courage, and of his Martiall judgement. For all fuch of the hage Vaccei, as were able to be are armes, being made desperate, by the spoile of their counces, the old. my, with those of Salamanca; and of the Oleades, that had escaped in the late over-Albicala, or throw, joyning themselves with the Toletans; compounded an Army of an hundred in land City of thousand ablemen: and stayed Hannibal on the bankes of the River Tagus, which run- the Vaccai in neth to the Sea by Lisborne in Portugale. These foure Nations, having had experience of Hannibals invincible courage, and that he never faw enemy, upon whom he durit not give charge; were throughly refolved, that his naturall valour would at this time no leffe reglect the cold advise of discretion, than at other times it had seemed to doe, when the like great occasion perswaded him to use it. But he that makes himselfe a body

of Crystall, that all men may looke through him, and discerne all the parts of his dispolition; makes himselfe (withall) an Affe: and thereby teacheth others, either how

wide, or drive him. Wife men, though they have fingle hearts in all that is just & ver-

tious; yet they are like Coffers with double bottomes: which when others looke intobeing opened, they see not all that they hold, on the sudden, and at once. It is true, that dissubtile Carthaginian, when he served under Asdrubal, was, of all the men of marke mthe Armie, the most adventurous. But that which may beferme a Captaine, or inseriour Commander, doth not alwaies become a Chiefe; though it hath fometime succeedidwell with such great ones, as have beene found more fortunate, than wise. At this ime, our great Man of warre knew as well how to diffemble his courage, as at other unesto make it good. For he with-drew himselfe from the River-side, as if searefull whord it; thereby to draw over that great multitude, from their bankes of advantge. The Spaniards, apprehending this in such fort, as Hannibal desired that they hould; thruit themselves in furie and disorder, into the swift streame, with a purpose to charge the Carthaginians, abandoning (as they thought for seare) the desenas one the contrary side. But when Hannibal saw them in their way, and well neare over; hee turned backe his Elephants to entertaine them at their landing: and thrust his Horse-men, both above and beneath them, into the River. These carrying a linde of Lance de Gay, sharpe at both ends, which they held in the middest of the haffe; had fuch an advantage over the foor, that were in the River, under their strokes, dattered together, and unable to move or shift their bodies, as on firme ground: that they flue all those, (in a manner) without resistance, which were already entred in-

The saguntines, perceiving the danger towards them; cried before they were hurt. They sent Embassadors to Rome, and bemoaned themselves, as likely to suffer that, which afterwards they suffered indeed; onely because of their alliance and friendship with this honourable City, which the Carthaginians hated. This tale moved the Sethe, but much more a report, that Saguntum was already befreged. Hereupon somecry out, that Warre should be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as also that the two Consuls hould be sent with Armies, the one into Spaine, the other into Africk. But others went

with ewater; and pursued the rest, that shed like men amazed, with so great a slaugh-

thas from that day forward, there was not any Spaniard, on that fide the River of The-

the Saguntines excepted) that had the daring to lift up their hands against the Car-

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more Roman-like to worke, and carried it. So it was onely concluded; that Embaffadours should be sent into Spaine, to view the state of their confederates: which were indeed none other, than the Saguntines. For if Hannibal intended warre against Rome, it was likely, that he would give them, ere it were long, a more plaufible occasion to take armes against him: if he had no such purpose, yet would it be in their power, to determine what they lifted themselves upon the report of these Embassadours; and this their gravity, in being not too rash at first, would serve to countenance their following Decree. Of these Embassadours Livie reports, that they found Hannibal before Saguntum, but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to Carthage, where also they were not regarded, nor heard. But Polybins an Historian of fincerity leffe questio- 10 nable, tells, that they found him at Carthagena, & had conference with him, though such as left them doubtfull. This is more agreeable to the rest of Hannibal his whole course. And furely we might wonder, why the Carthaginians should afterwards admit amore peremptory Embassage (as Livie confesseth) & fall to disputation about the covenants of peace; if they had rejected that which was fent upon none other pretence, than prevention of warre.

Whilest the Embassadours passed to and fro, Hannibal prepared not onely his forces. but some Romane pretences, against Saguntum. He found out Mamertines, or people that should doe as the Mamertines in Sicil had done for the Romans; and implore his helpe against the Saguntines. These were the Turdetani, a Nationadjoyning to Saguntum & having many quarrels with them: (as happens commonly among Neighbours) of which, Hannibal himselfe had hatched some. Finding therefore such an occasion, whatfoever it was, as made him able to fay, that the Saguntines had first provoked him, ere he meddled with them; he made no more adoe, but fat down with his whole power before their Towne. He was now more secure, than he had formerly beene, of his owne Cirizens: for that they had not entertained the Roman Embassadors, with any trembling reverence, as of late yeeres they had been wont. Nevertheleffe, he was glad of any handfome colour, to shadow his actions, not onely because the war, which he so much desired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his course, as an open enemy, before he could fet foot in Italy. The Romans had the like, though contrary defire. They were glad of the quarrell: as hoping, that Carthage, with all thereto belonging, should thereby in short space become their owne. Yet were they not hasty to threaten, before they were ready to strike; but meant to temporize, untill they had an Army in readinesse to be sent into Spaine, where they thought to make Saguntum, the searcosthe Warre.

In the meane while, Demetrius Pharius, whom the Romans had made King over a great part of Illyraa-rebelled against them: either for that he found himselfe over-streight-Ty tyed up by them, with hard conditions, or rather because he was of an unthankefull disposition. The commotion of the Gaules, and afterward, the fame of the Carthagans an warre, emboldened him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to have defended and aided, in all perils, even with the hazzard of his whole estate, which he had received of their gift. But he was a Traitor to his own Queene; and therefore dealt according to his kinde, with those that had rewarded him for being such. First, he built ships, & spoiled the Iles of Greece, against the covenants to which he was bound. Then he adventured further, and feifed upon some places, that the Romans kept in their owne hands. If he had begun fooner, or rather if he had stayed fornewhat longer, he might have spedde better. For the businesse with the Gaules, was ended; with Hannibal, not throughly begun, when hee declared himselse, by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquished. The Roman Conful, Amilia, was sent against him: who in seven dayes wan the strong towne of Dimalum 3 and thereby brought such terrour upon the Country round about, that Embassadours were sent from all places, to yeeld themselves, without putting him to further paines. Onely the City of Pharus, in which Demetrius lay, prepared to refift: which he might have done long, if the hot-headed Rebell had not beene too foolish. Emilius landed a great part of his Army, in the Isle of Pharus, by night; and bestowed them in covert, presenting himselfe the next morning, with twenty this before the towne, and offering to force the Haven. Demetrius with all his power iffued out against the Consul, & was soone intercluded from the town, by those that lay in ambush. Wherefore he fled away through by-paths to a creeke, where he had shipping ready for him, and imbarqued himfelfe: leaving all his effate unto them, of whose liberality he first had it.

This businesse, though it were soone dispatched, yet prevented it not the siege of S_{ab} auntum; before which Hannibal fate downe, ere Amilius was landed in Illyria. In the heginning of the fiege, the Carthaginians were much discouraged, by reason of the brave fallies made by the Saguntines; in one of which, their Generall received a dangerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lie many dayes unable to move. Neverthelesse he was not unmindfull of his worke in the meane while; but gave order to raise certaine moveable Towers, that might equall those which were built on the wals of the City; and to prepare to batter the curtaines, and make a breach. These being finished and applied, had soone wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of divers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot affault was given: but it was hwell fustained by the Saguntines, as the Carthaginians were not onely beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the Towne, which upon the first fury they hadwon; but they were pursued even to their owne trenches and campe. Neverthelesse. the Carthaginian Army, wherein were about an hundred and fifty thousand men did howearie the townefinen with continuall travaile, that at length it got within the wals and was onely hindred from taking full possession of the City, by some counter-works of the Saguntines, that were also ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one Alcon assauntine, that conveyed himselfe out of the towne, to treat with Hannibal for some accord. But the conditions which the Carthaginian offered, were fo fevere, and without all compasse of honour as Alcon durst not returne to propound them to his countrimen. For Hannibal demanded all that they had; gold, filver, plate, and other riches within the Citie: yea, the City it selfe to be abandoned by the Citizens; promising, that he would affigne some other place for their habitation: not allowing them, to carry out with them any other thing, wherewith to fultaine themselves, than the cloaths on their backes; or other armes, to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they farre better have submitted themselves unto this miserable appointment, (seeing thereby they might have injoyed their lives, and faved the honour of their wives and daughters) than to have rested at the discretion of the Conquerour, as soone after they did by whom their wives and daughters were defloured before their own faces; and all put to fword, that were above fourteen yeeres of age. For it was a poore comfort. which a great number of them tooke; when not daring to fight, and fell their bloud at the dearest rate, they shut themselves up like most wretched creatures in their own hous les, and therein burnt themselves with all that they had: so dying unrevenged. The treasures found in Saguntum, which were very great, Hannibal kept, therewith to pay his Army : the flaves, and other bootie, he divided among his Souldiers, referving fome things of choice, wherewith to present his friends at Carthage, and to animate them unto the Warre.

These tidings exceedingly vexed the Romans, who had good cause to be angry at their own flownesse, in for bearing to fend helpe unto the Saguntanes, that held our eight moneths, looking still for fuccour, but in vaine. Wherefore they determined to repaire their honour, by taking sharpe revenge. To this end they fent Embassadours againe to Carthage: demanding onely, whether it were by generall confent and allowance of the Carthaginians, that Hannibal had made warre upon Saguntum: which if they granted (4s ir feemed they would) then to give them defiance. Hereunto answere was made, in the Senate of Carthage, to this effect; That this their fecond Embaffage, how foever qualified with milde words, was indeed more infolent than the former. For in that, they onely required justice against Hannibal; but in this, the very State and Commonwealth of Carthage, was urged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (faid the Carthaginian peaker) whether the Generall of our Army in Spaine in belieging Saguntum, have onely followed his owne counfaile; or whether he did it, by direction from us: it is not the question which the Romans ought to aske us. That which is indeed worthy examinationor dispute, is 3 whether it were lawfull or unlawfull, for Hannibal to doe as he hath done. For it belongs to us, to call our own Commanders in question, and to punish them according to their faults & errors; to you, to challengeus, if we have done any thing contrary to our late League and contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with Ludatius the Confull, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended but the Saguntines were

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not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement between you and Afdrubal, wherein you will fay, that the Saguntines were comprehended by name; it is you that have taught us how to answer that particular. For whatsoever you found in the Treaty between us and Luctatius, to your owne disadvantage, you cast it upon your Confuls prefumption; as promifing those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of Rome. If then it be lawfull for the Romans, to difavow the actions of their Confuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punchuall and precise warrant; the same liberty may wee also assume, and hold our selves no way bound in honour, to performe those bargaines, which Asdrabal hath made for us, to without our commandement and confent.

This was an impertinent answer, and little better than a meere cavill. For Luctatine the Conful, in his Treaty of peace with the Carthaginians, had expresly referred theallowance thereof to the people of Rome. It had beene therefore much better, to have dealt plainly; and to have alledged, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the Romans, in robbing the Carthaginians of the Isleof Sardinia, and withall of twelve hundred talents: which perjurie the State of Carthage. being now growne able, would revenge with open War. As for the Saguntanes, it little skilled that the Romans had admitted them into confederacie, and forthwith inferted their names into the Treaty of peace with Asdrubal: seeing that the Treaty with As 20 drubal, and all other businesse betweene Rome and Carthage, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away Sardinia, were no better than Roman injuries, as implying this commination, Doewhat foever we require, elfe will we make Warre, without regard of our eath, which we have already broken.

But this the Carthaginians did not alledge, forgetting, in heat of contention (as Polybiss takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet fince Livie himself doth remember and acknow. ledge, that the taking of Sardinia from the Carthaginians, did inflame the spirit of Amilear with defire of revenge: wee may reasonably thinke, that the mention of this injurie was omitted, not so much upon forgetfulnesse, as for that it was not thought convenient, by ripping up such ancient matter of quarrell, to shew that the war, now towards, had long beene thought upon, and like to be made with extraordinary force, in other maner than heretofore. In conclusion, the Carthaginian Senate moved the Roman Embassadors, to deliver unto them in plaine termes the purpoles of those that sent them, and the worlt of that, which they had long determined against them: as for the Saguntines, and the confining of their Armies within Iberm; those were but their pretences. Whereupon 2 Fabrus gathering up the skirt of his Gowne, as if somewhat had beene laid in the hollow thereof, made this short reply: I have here (quoth he) in my Gowne skirt both Peace and War: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, and purpose to imbrace. Hereat all cried out at once; Even which of them you your felfe have a fancy to offer us. Marry then (quoth Fabius) take the War, and share it among you. Which all the assembly willingly accepted.

This was plaine dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had refolved to make Warre, it was meerely frivolous. For all these disputes of breach of peace, have ever bin maintained by the partie unwilling, or unable to fuftaine the Warre. The rufty fword, and the emptie purse, doe alwaies plead performance of covenants. There have been few Kings or States in the World, that have otherwise understood the obligation of a Treaty, than with the condition of their owne advantage: and commonly (feeing peace betweene ambitious Princes and States, is but a kinde of breathing) the best advised have rather begun with the fword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the Arragonal with the French in Naples; Henry the second of France, with the Imperials, when he s Wrote to Brefac, to surprise as many places as he could, ere the War brake out; Don John with the Netherlands, and Philip the second of Spaine, with the English, when in the great Imbarge he tooke all our ships and goods in his Ports.

But Hannibal, besides the present strength of Carthage, and the common feeling of injuries received from these enemies, had another private and hereditary desire, that violently carried him against the Romans. His father Amilear, at what time he did sacrifice, being ready to take his journy into Spaine, had folemnly bound him by oath, to purfue them with immortall hatted, and to worke them all possible mischiese, as soone as he should be a man, and able. Hannibal was then about nine yeeres old, when his father caused him to lay his hand upon the Altar, and make this vow: so that it was no marvelif the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this fort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be denied. Yet for mine owne part, I doe not much doubt, but that some of those Kings, with whom we are now in peace, have received the like charge from their Predecessors, that as soone as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselves enemies to the people of England.

6. II.

Hannibal takes order for the defence of Spaine, and Africke. His journey into Italy.

Arre being thus proclaimed, Hannibal resolved not to put up his sword. which he had drawne against the Saguntines, untill he had therewith opened his passage unto the gates of Rome. So began the second Punicke Warre; second to none, that ever the Senate and people of Rome sustained. Hannibal wintred at Carthagena; where he licensed his Spanish Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselves against the Spring. In the meane while he gave instructions to his brother Afdrubal, for the government of Spaine in his absence. He also tooke order, to fend a great many troups of Spaniards into Africke, to equal the number of Africans formerly drawne thence into Spaine; to the end, that so the one Nation might remaine as pledges and gages for the other. Of the Spaniards, he transported into Africk thirteene thousand; eight hundred and fifty foot, and twelve hundred horse; also eight hundred slingers of the * Baleares. Besides these he selected soure thousand soot, all * Majorca, & young men, and of qualitie, out of the best Cities of Spaine; which he appointed to be Minorca. garrifond in Carthage it selfe, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might ferve for hostages: for among those foure thousand, the best of the spanish Citizens, and those that swayed most in their severall States, had their Sonnes or Kinsmen. He alfoleft with his brother, to guard the coast and Ports, fifty and seven Gallies; whereof thirty seven were presently armed, and appointed for the warre. Of Africans and other Nations, strangers, he left with him above twelve thousand foote, and two thousand horse, besides one and twenty Elephants.

Having in this fort taken order for the defence of Spaine & Africk; he fent Discoverers before him, to view the Paffages of the Pyrenean Mountaines, and of the Alpes. He also sent Embassadors to the Mountainers of the Pyrenes, and to the Gaules, to obtain aquiet passage: that he might bring his Army entire into Italy, and not be compelled to diminish his forces, by any Warre in the way, till he came to encounter the Romans. His Embaffadours and Discoverers being returned with good satisfaction; in the beginoning of the Spring, he past over the River of Iberm, with an Army consisting of fourescore and ten thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. All those parts of Spaine anto which he had not entred before, he now fubdued: and appointed Hanno (not that old enemie of his house, who sate still at Carthage) to govern Spaine on the East side of the-1785; to whom he left an Army of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arrived at the borders of Spaine, some of his Spanish Souldiers returned home, without afking leave: which that others might not also doe, or attempt, he courteoutly dismissed many more, that feemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to passe, that the journey kemed the leffe tedious unto those that accompanied him; as being not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his Army, consisting now but of fifty thousand foot, and nine thousand horse, he past the Pyrenes, & entred into Gaule. He found the Gaules that bordered upon Spaine, ready in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Country; but Wonthem, with genrie speech, and rich presents that hee bestowed upon their Leaders, to favour his Expedition. So without any molestation, he came to be the banke of Rhodamis; where dwelt, on each fide of the River, a people called Volca. These were unacquainted with the cause of his comming; and therefore sought to keepe him from pasling over the water. But he was greatly affifted by some of those Gauler, that inhabited on the West fide of Rhodanus, to wit, by those of Vivaretz and Lyonnois. For although many of them had transported themselves & their goods, into the Country of Dauphine,

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thinking to defend the further banke against him: yet such as remained, being very defirous to free their country of so many ill guests, were better pleased to have their Country-men well beaten, which had abandoned them, than to have their owne store of come try-men well beaten, which had abandoned them, than to have their owne store of come and cattell wasted, by the long stay of so great an Army, as lay upon them. For which and cattell wasted, by the long stay of so great an Army, as lay upon them. For which reason, they helped him to make boates; informed him of another more easie passage, reason, they helped him to make boates; informed him of another more easie passage, reason the River: and lent him guides. When the Vessels for transportion of his Arhigher up the River; and lent him guides. When the Vessels sup the River: himsels in the my were in readingssels he sent Hanno, the son of Bomilear, up the River: himsels in the meane while making countenance to enter the Foord below. The end of this labour, was: that Hanno charging the Gaules unawares upon their owne side, and Hannibal, at the same time, passage the River in their faces, the further banke was won, though with the same time, passage the River in their faces, the further banke was won, though with the same time, passage the enemies dispersed. Yet was he greatly troubled in conveying some dissillations, and the enemies dispersed. Yet was he greatly troubled in conveying some dissillations, and the enemies dispersed the water. He was therefore driven to over his Elephants; who marvellously search and Turse; whereof he fastened one to make raffes of trees, and cover them with earth and Turse; whereof he fastened one to make raffes of trees, and cover them with earth and Turse; whereof he fastened one to make raffes of trees, and cover them with earth and Turse; whereof he fastened one to make raffes of trees, and cover them with earth and Turse; whereof he fastened one to make raffes of trees, and cover them with earth and Turse; whereof he faste

Having past this first brunt, and over-come both the rage of the River, and of those that defend it, he was visited by the Princes of the Gaules Cifalpines, that inhabited Piemont and Milan, who lately had revolted from the Romans. These informed him of the passages of the Alpes; that they were not so difficult, as common report made them; and from these he received guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwith- 20 standing, he found himselfe extremely incombred by the Savoyans; and lost, both of his carriages, and of this Carthaginians, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainely assailed by them, before he could recover the plaine Countries on the other side. And whereas this journey over the Mountaines cost him fifteene dayes travaile, he was every day, more or lesse, not onely charged by those Mountainers, but withall extremely beaten with grievous weather and fnow: it being the beginning of Winter, when hee began, and over-came this passage. But the faire and fertile Plaines, which were now ready to receive them; with the affistance and conduct of the Cifalpine Gaules, who by their proper forces had so often invaded the Roman Territory: gave them great comfort and encouragement to goe on: 30 having nothing else of difficulty remaining, but that which from the beginning they made accompt to over-come, by their proper valour and resolution; namely, the Roman Armies, and refistance.

6. III.

How the Romans invaine solicited the Spaniards and Gaules to take their part. The rebellion of the Cisalpine Gaules against the Romans.

He Countries of Spaine and Gaule, through which the Cathaginians marched thus farre, had beene solicited before, by the same Roman Embassadours, who had denounced the warre at Carthage. These, as they were instructed by the Senate, tooke Spane in their way homeward from Carthage, with a purpose to draw into the Roman Alliance, as many of the Ciries and Princes as they could; at least to diffwade them from contracting any friendship with the Carthaginians. The first which they attempted, were the Volcians, a people in Spaine; from whom, in open affembly, they received by one that spake for the rest, this uncomfortable answer: With what face (faith he) can ye Romans perswade us to value your Alliance, or to prefer it before the friendship of the Carthaginans; seeing we are taught by the example of the Saguntines, tobe more wife than lo: For they, relying on your faith and promifed affiftance, have been utterly rooted out, & destroyed by the Carthaginians; whom they might else have held their assured friends, and good neighbours, as wee, and other the people of Spaine have found them. Ye may therefore be gone, with this resolution from us, That for our parts (and so I thinke, I may answer for the rest of our Country-men) the Romans henceforth are not to expect any kindnesse at our hands; who are resolved, never to make account of their protection, nor amity. From the Volcians, the Embassadors tooke their way to wards the Gaules; using their best arguments to perswade them not to suffer the Cartha ginians to passe into Italy, through their Territory : and withall greatly glorifying them

felves, their strength; and large Dominion. But the Gaules laught them to scorne, and had hardly the patience, to heare them speake. For shall we (said one of their Princes) by resisting Hannibals passage into Italy, entertaine a war which is not meant to be made against us? Shall we hold the warre among our selves, and in our owne Territory, by the Romans deserved so well of us, & the Carthaginians so ill, that we should set fire on our owne houses, to save theirs from burning? No, weeknow it well, that the Romans have already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territory and inheritance; and constrained others, as free as themselves, to pay them tribute. We will not not weethem.

With this unpleasing answer the Embassadours returned home : carrying no good newes, of friends likely to helpe them; but rather some assurance from the people of Massilia, which were confederates with Rome, that the Gaules were determined to take part with their enemie. Of this inclination, the Cifalpine Gaules gave haltie proofe. For when the newes was brought into Italy, that the Carthaginians had paffed Iberus, and were on the way towards Rome; this alone sufficed to stirre up the Bon, and Infubrians, against the Romans. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new Roman Colonies, at Cremona, and Placentia, within their Territories. Relying therefore upon the Carthaginian succour, which they supposed to be now at hand; they laid asside all regard of those hostages, which they had given to the Romans, and fell upon the new Colonies. The Townes it seemes they could not winne; for Hannibal shortly after failed to get them. But they forced the Roman Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Countrie) to flie to Modena: where they befieged them. The fiege of Modena had continued some small time; when the Gaules, having little skill in assaulting Cities, waxed wearie, & seemed desirous to have peace, and to come to some good accord with the Romans. This they did of purpose, to draw on some meeting; that they might thereinlay hand upon the Roman Deputies, thereby to redeeme their Hostages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the Romans sent out Embaffadours to treat with them, and to conclude a peace; whom they detained. Manlius the Prætor, who lay in these quarters with an Army, hearing this outrage; marched in all haste to the reliefe of the besieged. But the Gaules, having laid a strong ambush in a wood joyning to the way, fell upon the Prætor fo opportunely, as hee was utterly overthrowne, and all his followers left dead in the place, a few excepted, that recovered, by fall running, a little village, but defensible; upon the River of Po. When this was heard at Rome, C. Atilius, another of the Prætors, was hastily sent, to relieve the besieged, with a Legion, and five thousand of the Roman affociates: which forces were taken out of the Confuls Army, and supplied by a new levie.

As the Gaules were too rash and hastie: so were the Romans too slow, and indeed too ill-advised, in the beginning of this warre. They were not perswaded, that Carthage, which had almost servilely endured so many indignities, in time of the late peace; would be so brave and couragious on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of Italie it selfe. Wherefore they appointed one of their Confuls, to make warre in Spaine, the other in Africke: resting secure of all danger at home. Titus Sempronius tooke his way toward Africke, with an hundred and fixty Quinqueremes, or Gallies of five to an oare, which preparation may feem to threaten even the Citie of Carthage, to which it shall not come Reie. P. Cornelius Scipio, the other Conful, made all possible haste, by the way of Gema, into Provence; and used such diligence, having the winde also favourable, as in five dies he recovered Massilia. There he was advertised, of Hannibal his having passed the River of Rhodanus, whom he thought to have found busie yet a while in Spaine. Hanmbalhad alfo newes of the Confuls arrivall: whereof he was neither glad, nor forry, as not meaning to have to doe with him. Each of them fent forth Scouts, to discover the others number and doings: Hannibal, about five hundred Numidians; Scipio, three hundred of his better appointed Roman horse. These met and fought, and the Numidians were beaten: yet could not the Romans greatly bragge, having flaine onely two hundred, and loft of their owne, one hundred and forty. But when Scipio drew neere, have met with the Carthaginians; he found, that they were gone three dayes before; ad that (as he then found affuredly true) with an intent to looke upon the wals of Rome.

This

This interrupted his intended voyage into Spaine. Neverthelesse hee sent away thither his brother Cn. Cornelius Scipio, with the greatest part of his fleet and Army, to trie what might be done against Afdrubal & the other Carthaginian Lievtenants in that Country. He himselfe, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sea to Pisa; and so passing through Tuscane into Lombardie, drew together the broken troups of Manlin & Atilius that lately had bin beaten by the Gaules: with which forces he made head against the enemie, thinking to finde him over-laboured, with travaile of his painefull journey.

6. IV.

Scipio the Romane Conful overcome by Hannibal at Ticinum. Both of the Romane Consuls beaten by Hannibal, in a great battell at Trebia.

Tive Moneths Hannibal had fpent in his redious journey from Carthagena; what great muster he could make, when he had passed the Alpes, it is not easily found. great matter the content an hundred thousand, and his horse at twenty thousand, Some reckon his foote at an hundred thousand, and his horse at twenty thousand, others report them to have beene onely twenty thousand foot, and fixe hundred horse. Hannibal himselfe, in his Monument which he raised, in the Temple of Juno Lacinia, agreeth with the latter summe. Yet the Gaules, Ligurians, and others that joyned with him, are likely to have mightily increased his Army, in short space. But when hee mar- 20 ched Eastward from the bankes of Rhodansu, he had with him eight and thirty thousand foot, & eight thousand horse; of which, all save those remembred by himselfe in the Inscription of his Altar in Juno's Temple, are like to have perished, by diseases, enemies, Rivers, and Mountaines; which mischiefes had devoured, each, their severall shares.

Having newly passed the Alpes, and scarce refreshed his wearied Army in the Countrie of Piement; hee fought to win the friendship of the Taurini, who lay next in his These dwelt way. But the Taurini held warre at that time with the Insubrians, which were his good , friends; and refused (perhaps for the same cause) his amity. Wherefore he assaulted their Towne; and wanne it by force in three daies. Their spoile served well to hearten unto the Duke his Army; and their calamity, to terrefie the Neighbour places. So the Gaules, without of Savoy: which orsavoy: which from them took more adoe, fell unto his fide: many for feare, many also for good-will, according to their former inclination. This disposition ranne through the whole Country: which joyned, or was all in readinesse to joyne with the Carthaginians; when the newesof Scipio the Conful his arrivall, made some to be more advised, than the rest. The name of the Romans was terrible in those quarters; what was in the Carthaginians, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the Roman Conful was already gotten through the most defensible passages, ere any speech had beene heard of his approach: many sate still for very feare, who else would faine have concluded a League with these new-come friends; and some, for greater feare, offered their service against the Carthaginians, whom nevertheleffe they had wished well to speed.

This wavering affection of the Province, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals haften to the triall of a battaile. Their meeting was a Ticinum, now called Pavia; where each of them wondred at the others expedition: Hannibal thinking it strange that the Conful, whom he had left behinde him on the other fide of the Alpes, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himselfe in the Plaines; Scipio admiring the strange adventure of passing those Mountaines, and the great spirit of his Enemie. Neither were the Senate at Rome little amazed at Hannibals successe, and sudden arrivall. Wherefore they dispatched a Messenger in all haste unto Sempronius, the other Conful, that was then in Szerlea, giving him to understand hereof: & letting him further know, that whereas he had bin directed to make the warre in Africa, it was now their pleasure that he should forbeare to prosecute any such attempt, but that he should return the Army under his charge, with all possible speed, to save Italy it selfe. According to this order, Sempronius fent off his Fleet from Libbeum; with direction to land the Army at Arminum, a Port Towns not farre from Ravenna: quite another way from Car thage, whither he was making halte. In the meane while, Scipio & Hannibal were com fo neere, that fight they must, ere they could part asunder. Hereupon, both of then prepared the mindes of their Souldiers, by the best arguments they had: unto which Hamibal added the Rhetoricke of a present example, that hee shewed upon certain

prisoners of the Savoyans, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpose, into Italy. For these, having beene no lesse miserably settered and chained, than sparingly fed; and withall so often scourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their defire, than to bee delivered from their miseries by any kinde of present death, were brought into the middle of the Army: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with some other of his Companions, till the one of them were flaine, with condition, being the Victor, to receive his liberty, and some small reward. This was no fooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did Hannibal cause lots to be cast, which of them should enter the List, with such weapons, as the Chieftaines of the Gaules were wont to use in fingle combats. Every one of these unhappy men wished, that his owne lot might speed; whereby it should at least bee his good fortune, to end his miseries by death, if not to get a reward by victory. That couple, whose good hap it was to be chosen, fought resolvedly: as rather desiring, than feaing death; and having none other hope, than in vanquishing. Thus were some few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all these poore creatures were willing, upon what soever uneven termes, to ridde themselves out of slaverie. The same affection that was in these Combatants, and in their fellowes which beheld them, wrought also upon the Carthaginians, for whom the spectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the victory had gotten his liberty, together with an horse and armour: but even him also, who being staine in fight, had escaped that miserable condition, unto which his Companions were returned. Their Generall perceiving what impression this dumbe shew had wrought in them, began to admonish them of their owne condition, speaking to this effect: That hee had laid before them an example of their owne estates: seeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to runne the ame fortune, that these slaves had done; all to live victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which these prisoners esteemed farre more grievous) to live in a perpetuall slaverie: That none of them all, in whom was common sense, could promise to himselse any hope of life by flight; fince the Mountaines, the Rivers, the great distance from their owne Countries, and the pursuit of mercileffe Enemies, must needs retrench all such impotent imaginations. He therefore prayed them to remember, that they, who had even now praised the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquished, would make it their owne case; seeing that there was never any in the world, appointed with such a resolution, that had ever bin broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrary, hee told hem that the Romans, who were to fight upon their owne foile, & in view of their owne Townes; who knew as many wayes to fave themselves by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertaine such a resolution as theirs: seeing the same meeffity, (to which nothing feemes impossible) did no way presse them, or constraine them. In this fort did Hannebal, with one substantiall argument, That there was no meane httweene victory and Death, encourage his Companions. For, (faith a great Captaine of France) La commodité de la retraitte advance la fuite; The commodity of a retrait, doth greatly advance a flat running away.

Scipio on the other fide, after that he had given order for the laying of a bridge over the River of Ticenus, did not neglect to use the best arguments and reasons he could, to acourage the Army he led: putting them in minde of the great conquests and victories of their Ancestors; against how many Nations they had prevailed; and over how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Army commanded by Hannibal, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of Carthaginians, whom in their late warre they had so often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he praied them withall to confider, that at this time it was not onely fo diminished in numbers, as it rather feemed a troupe of Brigants and Theeves, than an Army likely to encounter the Romans, but so weather-beaten, and starved, as neither the men, nor horses, had strength or courage to sustaine the first charge that should be given upon them. Nay (faid he) yee Your felves may make judgement what daring they have now remaining, after formany travailes and miseries; seeing when they were in their best strength, after they had past the Reane, their horse-men were not onely beaten by ours, and driven back to the very Trenches of their Camp, but Hannibal himselse, fearing our approach, ranne head-long lowards the Alpes: thinking it a leffe dishonour, to die there by frost, samine, and pre-(upitation, than by the sharpe swords of the Romans, which had so often cut downe his

people.

Augusta Tauri-

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people, both in Africa, and in Sicil. It was not long after this, ere the two Generals met: each being far advanced before the groffe of his Army, with his Horfe; and the Roman having also with him some light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies counrenance. When they discovered the approach one of the other; Scipio sent before him his horsemen of the Gaules, to begin the fight, and bestowing his Darters in the voide ground betweene their troupes , to affift them : himselfe with his Roman men at armes. followed foftly in good order. The Gaules (whether defirous to trie the metall of the Carthaginians, or hoping thereby to get favour of the Romans) behaved themselves conragiously, and were as couragiously opposed. Yet their foot that should have aided them. thranke at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a Dart; for feare 10 of being troden downe by the enemies horse. This notwithstanding the Gaules maintained the fight, and did more hurt than they received as prefuming that they were well backt. Neither was the Confull unmindfull to relieve them: their hardinesse deserving his aide; and the haftie flight of those that should have stood by them, admonishing him that it was needfull. Wherefore he adventured himselfe so farre, that he received a dangerous wound; and had been eleft in the place, if his sonne (afterward surnamed Africanus') had not brought him off: though others give the honour of this refcue to a Liquinan flave. Whilest the Romans were busied in helping their Confull; an unexpected storme came driving at their backes, and made them looke about how to helpe themselves. Hannibal had appointed his Numidian light-horse, to give upon the Romans in 20. flanke, and to compaffe them about, whilest hee with his men at Armes sustained their charge, and met them in the face. The Numidians performed this very well: cutting in pieces the scattered foot, that ranne away at the first encounter; and then falling on the backs of those, whose lookes were fastened upon Hannibal and Scipio. By this impression, the Romans were shuffled together, and routed: so that they all betooke them to their fpeed, and left unto their enemies the honour of the day.

When Scipio faw his horsementhus beaten, and the rest of his Army thereby greatly discouraged; he thought it a point of Wisedome, having lost so many of his Fleet upon the first puffe of the winde, to take Port with the rest, before the extremest of the tempest overtooke him. For he saw by the lowring morning what manner of day it was like , to prove. Therefore his battaile of foot being yet unbroken, he in a manner stole the retrait; and recovered the bridge over Ticinus, which he had formerly built. But notwith standing all the haste that he made, he left fixe hundred of his Reare behinde him: who were the last that should have passed; and staid to breake the bridge. Hereinhe sollowed this rule of a good man of war, Si certamen quando que dubium videatur, tacitam miles arripiat fugam : fuga enim aliquando laudanda : which must be understood in this fort: If a Generall of an Army, by some unprosperous beginnings doubt the successe; or sinde his Army fearefull or wavering, it is more profitable to feale a fafe retrait, than to abide

the uncertaine event of battaile.

It was two daies after, ere Hannibal could paffe the River; Scipio the whilest refreshing his men, and easing himselfe of his wound in Placentia. But as soone as Hannibal presented his Army before the Towne, offering battaile to the Romans, who durst not accept it, nor iffue forth of their Campesthe Gaules, that hitherto had followed Scipio for feare, gathered out of his feare, courage to forfake him. They thought that now the long-defired time was come, in which better Chieftaines and Souldiers, than Ameroestus, Britomarus, & Geffates, were come to helpe them; if they had the hearts to helpe themselves. Wherefore the same night they fell upon the Roman Campe; wounded and slue many; especially of those guards that kept watch at the gate; with whose heads in their hands, they fled over to the Carthaginians, & presented their service. Hannibal received them exceeding courteoutly, and difinish them to their owne places: as men likely to bee of more use to him, in perswading the rest of their Nation to become his Consederates, than in any other fervice at the present.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Confull stole a retrait, as he had done before; but not with the like ease and security. Hannibal had a good eye upon him, and ere he could get farre, sent the Numidians after him: following himselfe with all his Army. That night the Romans had received a great blow, if the Numidians, greedy of spoile, had not staid to ransacke their campe; & thereby given time to all, save some sew in Reare, that were flaine or taken, to passe the River of Trebia, and save themselves.

being both unable to travell by reason of his wound, and withall, finding it expedient to attend the comming of his fellow-Conful; incampes himselfe strongly upon the bankes of Trebia. Necessitie required that he should so doe; yet this diminished his reputation. For every day more and more of the Gaules fell to the Carthaginian fide; among whom came in the Boji, that brought with them the Roman Commissioners, which they had taken in the late Insurrection. They had hitherto kept them as pledges, to redeeme their own hostages: but now they deliver them up to Hannibal, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whose help they conceived better hope of recovering their owne men and lands. In the meane while, Hannibal, being in great scarcity of victuals, mattempted the taking of Clastidium, a Towne wherein the Romans had laid up all their store and munition. But there needed no force; a Brundusian, whom the Romans had trusted with keeping it, fold it for a little money.

The newes of these disasters, brought to Rome, filled the Senate and People, rather with a defire of hasty revenge, than any great forrow for their losse received; feeing that in a manner, all their foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet entire. They therefore hasted away Sempronius, that was newly arrived, towards Ariminum, where the Armie, by him fent out of Sicil, awaited his comming. Hee therefore hafted thither; and from thence he marched speedily towards his Colleague: who attended him upon the bankes of Trebia. Both the Armies being joyned in one, the Confuls devised pabout that which remained to be done: Semproniu receiving from Scipio the relation of what had passed since Hannibals arrivall; the fortune of the late sight; and by what error ormifadventure the Romans were therein foiled: which Scipio chiefly laid on the revolt and treason of the Gaules.

Sempronius, having received from Scipio the state of the affaires in those parts; sought by all meanes to trie his fortune with Hannibal, before Scipio were recovered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himselfe the sole glory of the victory, which hehad already, in his imagination, certainely obtained. Hee also feared the election of the new Consuls: his owne time being well-neere expired. But Scipio perswaded the contrarie; objecting the unskilfulnesse of the new-come fouldiers : and withall, gave him pgood reason, to assure him that the Gaules, naturally unconstant, were upon termes of abandoning the party of the Carthaginians; those of them inhabiting between the rivers of Trebia and Po, being already revolted. Sempronius knew all this as well as Scipio but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made hafte to find out the dishonour which he might otherwise easily have avoided. This resolution of Sempronius was exceeding pleafing to Hannibal: who feared nothing fo much as delay and losse of time. For the strength of his Armie, confishing in strangers, to wit, in Spaniards and Gaules; he no leffe feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatience of the other: who being farre from their owne home, had many passions moving them to turne their faces towards it. To further the defire of Sempronius, it fell out so, that about the same time, the Gaules, inhabiting neere unto Trebia, complained of injuries done by the Carthagimans. They did not supply Hannibal with necessaries, as he supposed that they might have done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their akes, and to set them at libertie, he had undertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to be his owne Carver; and took from hem by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they flie to the Romans for helpe: and, to make their tale the better, fay that this wrong is done them, because they refused to joyne with Hannibal. Scipio cared not much for this: he suspeded their falshood, and was affured of their mutability. But Sempronius affirmed, that it food with the honour of Rome, to preserve their Confederates from suffering injurie: and that hereby might be won the friendship of all the Gaules. Therefore he sent out a thousand horse: which comming unlooked for upon Hannibal his forragers, and finding them heavie loaden, cut many of them in pieces, and chaced the rest even into their own campe. This indignitie made the Carthaginians fallie out against them: who caused them to retire faster than they came. Sempronius was ready to back his owne men; and spelled the enemies. Hannibal did the like. So that at length, all the Roman Armic Was drawne forth; and a battell ready to bee fought, if the Carthaginian had not re-

This victory (for fothe Confull would have it called) made the Romans in generall

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defirous to trie the maine chance in open field: all the perswasions of Scipto to the contrarie not withstanding. Of this disposition Hannibal was advertised by the Gauls, his spies. that were in the Roman Campe. Therefore he bethought himselfe how to help forward the victorie, by adding some stratagem to his forces: he found in the hollow of a watercourse, over-growne with high reed, a fit trench to cover an ambush. Therein he cast his brother Mago with a thousand choyce horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Armie. after they had well warmed, and well fed themselves in their campe, he led into the field. and marched towards the Conful. Early in the morning, he had fent over Trebia some companies of Numidian light-horse, to brave the enemie, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. Sempronius was ready to take any opportuity to fight: 10 and therefore not onely issued out of his Campe, but foorded the River of Trebia, ina most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arme-holes: which, together with the want of food, did fo enfeeble and cool their courages: as they wanted force to handle the armes they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their owne Nation, as of the Latines: having of the one fixteene, of the other twenty thousand. The masse of these they ranged in a grosse Battalion, guarded on the slanks with three thousand hosse, thrusting their light-armed, and Darters, in loose troups in the head of the rest, in thenature of a Vantguard. The Caribaginzan numbers of foot were in a manner equall to their enemies; in horse they had by far the better, both in number and goodnesse. When therefore the Roman horse, ranged on the flanks of their foot, were broken by the Numidians; 20 when their foot were charged both in front and flanke, by the Spaniards, Gaules, and Elephants; when finally the whole Armie was unawares prest in the Reare, by Mago and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush; then fell the Romans, by heaps, under the enemies swords and being beaten down, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the River, by the horsemen that pursued them, there escaped no more of six and thirty thousand, than ten thousand of all forts, Horse and Foot.

Three great errours Sempronius committed, of which every one deserved to be recompenced with the loffe that followed. The first was, that he fought with Hannibalin a Champaine, being by far inferiour in horse, and withall, thereby subject to the African Elephants, which in inclosed or un-even grounds and wood-lands, would have bin of no use. His second error was, that he made no discoverie of the place upon which he fought; whereby he was groffely over-reacht, and infnared, by the ambush which Hannibal had laid for him. The third was, that he drencht his footmen with empty stomacks, in the River of Trebia, even in a most cold and frostie day, whereby, in effect, they lost the use of their limbs. For, as one faith well, There is nothing more inconvenient and perillow, than to prefent an armietyred with travell, to an enemy fresh and fed; sincewhere the strength of body faileth, the generositie of minde is but as an unprositable vapour.

The broken remainder of the Roman Armie, was collected by Scipio, who got therewith into Placentia; ftealing away the fame night, which was exceeding rainy, from the Caribaginians, who either perceived him not, because of the showres; or would not perceive him, because they were over-wearied. Sempronius escaped with extreme danger, flying through the Countrie that was over-run by the enemies horse. He was attended by more, than were requisite in a secret slight; yet by fewer, than could have made resistance, if the enemy had met with him. Neverthelesse he got away, and came to Rome, where he did his office in choosing new Consuls for the yeere following: and then returned into his Province, with a fresh supply against Hannibal.

6. V.

The departure of Hannibal from the Cifalpine Gaules into Hetruria. Flaminius the Roman Consul flaine, and his Armie destroyed by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of Thrasymene.

He Winter growing on apace, was very sharpe, and unfit for service: to the great contentment of the *Romans*, who, being not able to keepe the field, lay warme in Placentia, and Cremona. Yet Hannibal did not fuffer them to reft very quiet; but vexed them with continuall Alarmes: affayling divers places, and tavery quiet; but vexed them with continual Alarmes; analy ing cives place; particle a write, and itay for his Colleague. But of this hee could not abide to king fome; beating the Gaules their adherents, and write the Ligurians to his particle awing, that hee came not to defend Arreium, whilefi the Carthaginians were

Treasurers, two Colonels, and five Gentlemen, the Sons of Senators, which they had intercepted. Thefe, and in general all fuch prisoners as he had of the Komans, he held in freight places, loaden with irons, and miserably fed: those of their followers hee not onely well intreated, but fent them to their Countries without ransome; with this protestation, That he therefore undertooke the Warre in Italie, to free them from the oppression of the Romans. By these meanes hee hoped, and not in vaine, to draw many of them to his partie and affishance. But the Gandes were not capable of fuch perswahons. They stood in seare, lest he should make their Countrie the seat of War, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieved than reason willed them, at his feeding upon them, and wasting their tetritorie. Wherefore some of them conspired against o his life ; others admonished him of the danger : and these that gave him the advice, were ready foon after to practife against him ; but were in like fort detected. He was therefore glad to use Perwigs of haire, and false beards of divers colours; to the end, that he might not be descried, nor knowne, to those that should undertake to make him away. Faine he would have passed the Appenines, upon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the Gaules, till he had feene more fivallowes than one. At length, when the yeare was somewhat better opened, he resolved to take his leave of thefe giddie companions, & bring the war neerer to the gates of Rome So away hewent, having his Armie greatly increased with Ligurians and Gaules; more serviceable friends abroad, than in their own Countrie. That the paffage of the Appenine Mounraines was troublesome, I hold it needlesse to make any doubt. Yet since the Roman Annies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way : the great vestaon which fell upon Hannibal, when he was travelling through and over them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes all wayes foule, than to any intolerable difficultie in that journey . Nevertheleffe, to avoide the length of way, together with the refistance and fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to have beene erected upon the ordinary paffages towards Rome! he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to travell through the Fennes and rotten grounds of Tuscane. In those Marishes and bogges, he lost all his Elephants, swe one, toget ther with the use of one of his eyes; by the moystnesse of the ayre, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deepe mire and water. In briefe, after hee had with much adoe recovered the firme and ferrile Plaines; who lodged about Arreinnes; where he somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard newes of the Roman

C.Flaminius, and Cn. Servilius had of late bin chosen Consuls for this year: Servilius atractable man, and wholly governed by advice of the Senate; Flaminius an hot-headed popular Orator; who having once been robbed (as he thought) of his Confulfitip, by a divice of the Senators, was afraid to be served so againe, unlesse he quickly finished the war. This jealous Conful thought it not best for him to be at Rome, when he entred into his Office, left his adversaries, by faining some religious impediment, should detaine him within the Citie, or find other businesse for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour that he hoped to get in the war. Wherefore he departed fecretly out of the Town; and meant to take possession of his Office, when the day came, at Ariminum. The Fathers (fo the Senarors were called) highly displeased with this, revoked him by Embassadors : but leneglected their injunction; and hasting to meet with the Carthaginians, took his way to Arrecium, where he shortly found them.

The fierie disposition of this Consul, promised unto Hannibal great assurance of victothe. Therefore he provoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the Roman: hoping thereby to draw him unto fight, ere Servilius came with the reft of the Armie. All the Countrie between Fefula and Arreisum he put to fire and fword, even under the Confuls nofe; which was enough to make him stirre, that would not have fitten still, though Hannibal had been quiet. It is true that a great Captaine of France hath faid; Pas gasten' est pas perdu; A masted Countrie is not thereby lost. But by this waste of the Countrie, Flaminius thought his owne honour to bee much impaired; and therebreadvanced rowards the Enemie. Many advised him (which had indeed been best) whave patience a while, and stay for his Colleague. But of this hee could not abide to king fome; beating the Gaules their adherents, and winning the Light who prefented him, in token of their faithfull love, with two Roman Questors, of the prefented him, in token of their faithfull love, with two Roman Questors, of the prefented him, in token of their faithfull love, with two Roman Questors, of the prefented him, in token of their faithfull love, with two Roman Questors, of the prefented him, in token of their faithfull love, with two Roman Questors, of the prefented him, in token of their faithfull love, with two Roman Questors, of the prefented him, in token of their faithfull love, with two Roman Questors, of the prefented him, in token of their faithfull love, with two Roman Questors, of the prefented him, in token of their faithfull love, with two Roman Questors, of the prefented him, in token of their faithfull love, with two Roman Questors, of the prefented him, in token of the prefented him, i

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and commanded the Armie to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Enfigues stucke so saft in the ground, as it could not be plucked up by the Ensigne-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, Tully makes a jeast; saying, That the cowardly knave diddfaintly pull at it (asgoing now to fight) having hardly pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answer of Flaminius (if it were true) disagreeable hereto: for he commanded, that it should be digged up, if search and made the hands too weaker o lift it: asking withall, whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this their jealousie, both he and the Senate that did give him cause, are likely to

The fifth Booke of the first part

All the Territorie of Cortona, as far as to the Lake of Thrasymene, was on a light fire; which whilest the Consult thought to quench with his enemies bloud, he pursued H_{an-} nibal so unadvisedly, that he fell with his whole Armie into an ambush cunningly layd for him, betweene the Mountaines of Cortona and the Lake. There was he charged unawares, on all fides, (fave onely where that great Lake of Perusia permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flye from them) knowing not which way to turne.or make refistance. So was he flaine in the place, accompanied with fifteene thousand dead carkaffes of his Countrimen. About fixe thou fand of his men, that had the Vantguard tooke courage, as for the most part it happens, out of desperation; and breaking through the enemies, that stood in their way, recovered the tops of the Mountaines. If these had returned, and given charge upon the Carthaginians backs, it was thought that they might 26 have greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. But that violence of their feare, which, kindled by necessity, had wrought the effects of hardinesse, was wellaffwaged, when they ceafed to despaire of faving their lives by flight. They flood still, in a cold sweat, upon the Hill-top, hearing under them a terrible noise, but not any way discovering how things went, because of the great foggethat held all that morning. When it grew toward noone the ayre was cleered, and they might plainely difcerne the lamentable flaughter of their fellowes. But they flayd not to lamentit: for it was high time, they thought, to be gone crethey were deferred and attached by the enemies horfe. This they should have thought upon sooner, since they had no minde to returne unto the fight. For descried they were, and Maharbal sent after them; who over-tooke them by night in a Village, which he furrounded with his horse: and so they yeelded the next day, rendring up their armes, upon his promife of their lives and liber-

This accord Hannibal refused to confirme; saying, That it was made by Maharbal without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authority to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his owne honour) what it was to keepe no faith : and fitted them with a trick of their owne. For if it were lawfull unto the Romans, to alter covenants, or adde unto them what they lifted; if the Carthaginians must be faine to pay certaine hundreds, and yet more hundreds of talents, besides their first bargaine; as also to renounce their interest in Sardinia, and be limited in their Spanish Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the Romans, whose present advantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace: then can Hannibal be as a Roman, as themselves; and make them know, that perfidiousnesse gaineth no more in prosperitie, than it loseth in the change of fortune. Fifteene thousand Italian prisoners, or thereabout, he had in his hands: of which, all that were not Romans, he fet free without ransome; protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their fakes, and to free them and others from the Roman tyrannie, that he had undertaken this war. But the Romans hee kept in ftreight prifon, and in fetters, making them learne to eat hard meat. This was a good way to breed in the people of Italie, if not alove of Carthage, yet a contempt of Rome: as if this war had not concerned the generall fafetie, but onely the preferving of her owne necke from the yoke of flaverie, which her over-firong enemies would thrust upon her in revenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by successe of many ages, is not lost in one or two battels. Wherefore more is to be done, ere the Carthaginians canget any Italian Partifans.

Presently after the battell of Thrasymene, C. Centronius, with soure thousand Roman horse, drew neere unto the Campe of Hannibal. He was sent from Ariminum by Servilius the other Consul, to increase the strength of Flaminius: but, comming too late, be increased only the misadventure. Maharbal was employed by Hannibal, to intercept this

companie; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great overthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almost halfe of them, drave the rest unto an high piece of ground, whence they came downe, and simply yeelded to mercie the next day. Servilins himselfe was in the meane while skirmishing with the Gaules; against whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the newes was brought him of his Colleagues overthrow and death in Hetruria; that made him hassen backe to the defence of Rome.

In these passages, it is easieto discerne the fruits of popular jealousie, which perswaded the Romans to the yearely change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatoly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certaine it is, that all men are fire better taught by their owne errours, than by the examples of their foregoers. Flaminius had heard, in what a trap Sempronius had beene taken up but the yeare before by this subtle Carthaginian; yet suffered hee himselfe to be caught soone after in the same manner. Hee had also belike forgotten, how sempronius, searing to be prevented by a new Conful, and ambitious of the fole honour of beating Hannibal in battell, without helpe of his companion Scipio, had beene rewarded with shame and losse: else would be not, contrarie to all good advice, have beene so hastie to fight, before the arrivall of servilius. If Sempronius had been continued in his charge, it is probable that he would have aken his companion with him the second time, and have searched all suspected places, proper to have shadowed an ambush: both which this new Consul Flaminius neglected. We may boldly avow it, that by being continued in his government of France ten years, (efar brought that mighty Nation, together with the Helvetians and many of the Germans, under the Roman yoke; into which parts had there beene every yeare a new Lievtenant sent, they would hardly, if ever, have beene subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the World can doe, to informe it selse, within one yeares compasse, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions of the Places, Rivers, and of all good helpes, whereby to profecute a war to the best effect. Our Princes have commonly left their Deputies in Ireland three years; whence, by reason of the shortnesse of that their time, many of them have returned as wife as they went out; others have profited more, and yet when they plugan but to know the first rudiments of War, and government, fitting the Country, they have bin called home, & new Apprentices sent in their places, to the great prejudice both of this and that Estate. But it hath ever beene the course of the World rather to follow olderrours than to examine them: and of Princes and Governours, to uphold their flothfillignorance, by the old examples and policie of other ages and people; though neither kenesse of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, have perswaded the imitation.

§. V I.

How Q. Fabius the Roman Distator, sought to consume the force of Hannibal, by lingring war. Minutius the Master of the Horse, honoured and advanced by the People, for bold and success of the antempting; adventures rashly upon Hannibal, and is like to perish with bis Armie, but rescued by Fabius.

Reatly were the Romans amazed at this their ill successe, and at the danger apparent; which threatned them in more terrible manner, than ever did war, since Rome it selfe was taken. They were good Souldiers; and so little accustomed between an overthrow, that when Pyrrhm had beaten them, once and againe, in open sied, all Italy was strangely affected with his successe, and held him in admiration, as one that could worke wonders. But Pyrrhm his quarrell was not grounded upon hate: hee only sought honour, and fought (as it were) upon a braverie: demeaning himselfe like a courteous enemie. This Carthagiman detested the whole Roman name; against which he burned with desire of revenge. Treinum, Trebia, and Thrasymene, witnessed his abilitie. Which to withstand, they fled unto a remedie that had long bin out of use, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Consuls, and scarcely subject unto controll of the whole Citie. Wherefore this Officer was seldome chosen, but upon some extremitie, and for no longer time than fixe moneths. Hee was to be named by one of the Consuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were so, that the Consuls is prerogative) might name whom he pleased. At this time the Tttt 3

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one Conful being dead, and the other too farre off, the People tooke upon them, as having supreme authoritie, to give the Dignity by their election, to 2. Fabius Maximus; the best reputed man of war in the Citie . Novum factum novum consilium expetit. Contrarie windes, contrarie courses. 2. Fabius chose M. Minuius Rufus Master of the horse which Officer was customarily as the Dictators Lievtenant; though this Minuius grew afterwards famous, by taking more upon him.

The fifth Booke of the first part

The first act of Fabius, was the reformation of somwhat amisse in matter of Religion: a good beginning, and commendable; had the Religion beene also good. But if it were true (as Livie reports it) that the Bookes of Sybil were consulted, and gave direction in this businesse of devotion; then must we believe, that those books of Sybil, preserved in 10 Rome, were dictated by an evill spirit. For it was ordained, that some Vow, made in the beginning of this warre to Mars, should be made anew, and amplified; as having not bin rightly made before : also that great playes should be vowed unto Jupiter, and a Temple to Venus; with such other trumperie. This vehemencie of superstition, proceeds alwaies from vehemencie of feare. And furely this was a time, when Rome was exceedingly distempered with passion: whereof that memorable accident, of two women that suddenly died, when they faw their fons returnealive from Thrasymene, may serve to beare witnesse; though it be more properly an example of motherly love. The walls and towers of the Citie were now repaired and fortified; the bridges upon Rivers were broken downe; and all care taken for defence of Rome it felfe. In this tumult, when the Dictator 26 was newly fet forth against Hannibal; word was brought that the Carthaginian fleethad intercepted all the supply, that was going to Cn. Scapio in Spaine. Against these Carthaginians, Fabius commanded Servilius the Conful to put to Sea; and taking up all the ships about Rome and Ofia, to purfue them: whilest he, with the Legions, attended upon Hannibal. Foure Legions he had levied in haste: and from Arimnum he received the army, which Servilius the Conful had conducted thither.

With these forth-with he followed apace after Hannibal; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what advantage the Numidian horse had over the Romans, he alwayes lodged himselfe on high grounds, and of hard accesse. Hannibal in the meane while, pursuing his victorie, had ranged over all the Countrie, and used all manner of 3 cruelty towards the inhabitants; especially to those of the Roman Nation, of whomhe did put to the sword, all that were able to bear arms. Passing by Spoletum and Ancona,he incamped upon the Adriatick shores; refreshed his diseased, and over-travelled Companies, armed his Africans after the manner of the Romans, and made his dispatches for Carthage; presenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the spoiles that he had gotten. Having refreshed his army, fed his horses, cured his wounded Souldiers, and (as Polybius hath it) healed his horse heels of the scratches, by washing their pasternes in old wine : he followed the coast of the Adrianick Sea towards Apulia, 2 Northerne Province of the Kingdome of Naples ; spoiling the Marrucini, and allother Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he over-ran, he had not taken any one Citie: onely he had affaied Spoleium, a Colonie of the Romans; and finding it welldefended, presently gave it over. The malice of a great Armie is broken, and the forceofit spent in a great siege. This the Protestant Armie found true at Poistiers, a little before the battel of Moncountour; and their victorious enemies, anon after, at S. Jean d' Angely. But Hannibal was more wife. He would not engage himselse in any such enterprise, as should detaine him, and give the Romans leave to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation : knowing, that when once he was absolute Master of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end he presented Fabius with battell, as soon as he saw him; and provoked him with all manner of bravadoes. But Fabius would not bite. He well knew the differences between fouldiers bred up, ever fince they were Boyes, in wat well knew the differences between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the differences between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the differences between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the differences between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the differences between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the differences between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the differences between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the differences between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the differences between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the differences between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the difference between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the difference between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the difference between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the difference between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the difference between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the difference between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the difference between foundiers bred up, ever fine truly well knew the difference between foundiers bred to do e, by the Dictator; the breach of whose command was extreme perill and in bloud, trained and nardefied in spain, made productions, and fuch, as had no of-weath. But the honour of the victory, which he held undoubtedly his owne; and the ries there, and of late by some notable acts against the Romans; and there is and the nor seen the enemy, than bin vanquished by him. Therefore the attended the Carthaginist over the Armie, and the Friends that hee had at home bearing office in Rome, were ner seen the enemy, than bin vanquissed by him. Therefore he attended the Carthaginian of the Armie, and the friends that hee had at home bearing office in Rome, were so neer, as he kept him from stragling too far; & preserved the countrie from utter spoils hought to save him from the Dictators rods and axes, tooke he the matter never so haily. Hannibal on the other side was no lesse glad, that he should play with a more adand he brought them first to looke on the Lyon afarre off, that in the end he might store sames gamester. Therefore he drew neer, & to provoke the Romans, sent forth athird his taile.

Now Minutius had a contrary disposition, and was as fiery as Flaminius; taxing Fahim with cowardize and feare. But all stirred not this well-advised Commander. For wife men are no more moved with fuch noise, than with winde bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indifcretion and danger, than to purfue misfortune: it wasteth itselfe sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the invading Army that defires battell: and this of Hannibal, was both the invading and victorious. Fabius therefore suffred Hannibal to crosse the Appenines, and to fall upon the most rich and pleasant Territone of Campania; neither could he by any arguments be perswaded, to adventure the Roman Armie in battell: but being far too weake in horse, he alwayes kept the Hils and of faff grounds. When Hannibal faw he could by no meanes drawthis wary Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on, and that the Towns stood firm for the Romans, whose Legions were in fight, though afarre off; he refolved to rest his Army, that was loaden with spoyle, in some plentifull and assured place, till the following spring. But ere this can bedone, he must passe along by the Dictators campe, that hung over his head upon the hils of Callicula, and Casilinum: for other way there was none, by which he might iffue out of that goodly garden-countrie, which he had already wasted, into places more abundant of provision for his wintering. It was by meere errour of his guide, that he first enged within these streights. For he would have bin directed unto Casinum, whence he might both affay the faire Citie of Capua, which had made him friendly promifes under whand, and hinder the Romans from comming neere it to prevent him. But his guide mifindentiood the Carthaginian pronunciation, and conducted him awry another way, from Casimum to Casilinum, whence Fabius hoped that he should not easily escape. Now began the wisedome of Fabius to grow into credit; as if he had taken the Carthaginians in arrap, and won the victory without blowes. But Hannibal reformed this opinion, and freed himselfe, by a sleight invention, yet serving the turne as well as a better. In driving hecountry, he had gotten about two thousand Kine, whose hornes he dressed with dry figgors, and fetting fire to them in the darke night, caused them to be driven up the hils. The spectacle was strange, and therefore terrible; especially to those that knew it to be aworke of a terrible enemy. What it should meane, Fabius could not tell; but thought it ndevice to circumvent him, and therefore kept within his Trenches. They that kept the bill-tops were horribly afraid, when some of these fiery Monsters were gotten beyond them; and ran therefore hastily away, thinking that the enemies were behind their backs; adfell among the light-armed Carthaginians, that were no leffe afraid of them. So Hanmal, with his whole Army, recovered fure ground without molestation: where he staid and then brought off his light footmen, with some slaughter of the hmans, that began to hold them in skirmish. After this, Hannibal made semblance of tking his journy towards Rome: and the Dictator coasted him in the wonted maner; keemgstill on high grounds, betweene him and the Citie, whilest the Carthaginian wasted Athe Plaines. The Carthaginian tooke Geryon, an old ruinous Town in Apulia, for saken with Inhabitants, which hee turned into Barnes and Store-houses for winter, ad incamped under the broken wall. Other matter of importance hee did none: but the time passed idly, till the Dictator was called away to Rome, about some uneffe of Religion, and left the Armie in charge with Minutius the Master of the

Minuting was glad of this good occasion to shew his owne sufficiency. He was fully Missaded, that his Romans, in plaine field, would be too hard for the Africans and Spanirds: by whom if they had beene foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open face, but by fubtilty and ambush, which he thought himselfe wise enough to prevent. All the Armie was of his opinion; and that so carnestly, as he was preferred, by judgemut of the Souldiers, in worthinesse to command, before the cold and warie Fabius. In this jollity of conceit, he determined to fight. Yet had he beene peremptorily forCHAP 3. S. G.

part of his Armie to waste the Countrie. This was boldly done, seeing that Minutius incamped hard by him: but it seemes, that he now despised those whom he had so often vanquished. There was a piece of high ground between the two Campes; which be vanquished it would be commodious to him that could occupie it, the Carthaginians seized upcause it would be commodious to him that could occupie it, the Carthaginians seized upon by night with two thousand of their light-armed. But Minutius, by plain force, wan it from them the next day; and intrenching himselfe thereupon; became their neerer

The maine businesse of Hannibal at this time was, to provide abundantly, not only for his men, but for his horses, which he knew to be the chiefe of his strength; that hee might keepe them in good heart against the next Summer: if besides this he could give to the Romans another blow, it would increase his reputation, incourage his owne men, terrefie his enemies, and give him leave to forrage the Country at will. Since therefore Minutius did not in many dayes issue forth of his Campe, the Carthaginian sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in harvest. This advantage Minutius wisely espied, and tooke. For he led forth his Armie, and setting it in order, presented battell to Hannibal, that was not in case to accept it, even at his owne Trenches. His horses, and all his light Armature, divided into many companies, he fent abroad against the forragers; who being differfed over all the fields, and loaden with bootie, could make no resistance. This angred Hannibal, that was not able to helpe them; but worse didit anger him, when the Romans took heart to affaile his Trenches. They perceived that 20 it was meere weakenesse, which held him within his Campe, and therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the businesse, Asarubal came from Geryon with foure thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the Roman horse. This imboldned Hannibal to iffue forth against the Romans; to whom neverthelesse he did not such hurt, as he had recei-

For this piece of service Minutius was highly esteemed by the Armie, and more highly by the people at Rome, to whom he fent the newes, with somewhat greater boast thantruth. It feemed no small matter, that the Roman Armic had recovered spirit, so farre forth that it dared to fet upon Hannibal in his own camp; and that in fo doing, it came off 30 with the better. Every man therefore praised the Master of the horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and confequently, they grew as far out of liking with Fabin, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wifely, in all his Dictatorship: faving that he chose such a worthy Lievtenant; whereas indeed in no other thing he had fo greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so joyfull of a little good lucke, as angry with the breach of discipline; and fearefull of greater danger, thereon likely to enfue. He said that he knew his owne place, and what was to bedone; that he would teach the Master of the horse to doe so likewise; and make him give account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: fpeaking it openly, That good fuccesse, issuing from bad counsell, was more to be feared, than calamitie; for as much as the one bred a foolish 40 confidence, the other taught men to be warie. Against these sermons every one cried out, especially Metellus, a Tribune of the people: which Office warranted him to speake, and doe what he lift, without feare of the Dictator. Is it not enough (faid hee) that this our onely Man, chosen to be Generall, and Lord of the Towne, in our greatest necessitie, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all Italie to be wasted before his eyes, to the utter shame of our State; unlesse healso hinder others, from doing better than himfelfe can, or dares : It were good to confider what he meanes by this. Into the place of C. Flaminius he hath not chosen any new Confull all this while; Servilius is sent away to Sea, I know not why : Hannibal andhe, have as it were taken Truce; Hannibal sparing the Dictators grounds: (for Hannibal had indeed forborne to spoyle some grounds of se Fabius, that so he might bring him into envie and suspition) and the Dictator giving him leave to spoyle all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is even this: he would have the war to last long, that he himselfe might be long in Office, and have the sole Government both of our Citie and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonalty of Rome, which gave him this authority, should againe take it from him, and conferre it upon one more worthy. But left, in moving the people hereto, I should seeme to doe him injurie; thus farre forth I will regard his honour: I will

onely propound, That the Master of the Horse may be joyned in equal authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor lesse necessary, than was the election of this Diagram, by the People.

Though all men, even the Senators, were ill perswaded of the course which Fabita had taken against Hannibal, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficiall at the prefent; yet was there none so injurious, as to thinke that his generall intent, and care of the Weale publique, was lesse than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the maner in naffing of any act, that some man of credit and authority, besides the propounder, should fland up, and formally deliver his approbation; not one of the principall Citizens was to found fo impudent, as to offer that open difgrace, bothunto a worthy Personage, and (therewithall) unto that dignity, whose great power had freed the State at several times, from the greatest dangers. Onely C. Terenius Varro, who the yeere before had heene Prætor, was glad of fuch an opportunity, to winnethe favour of the Multitude. This fellow was the some of a Butcher, afterwards became a Shop-keeper; and being of a contentious spirit, grew, by often brabbling, to take upon him as a Pleader, dealing in poore mens causes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and rose by degrees. being advanced by those, who in harred of the Nobility favoured his very basenesse. And now he thought the time was come, for him to give a hard push at the Consulfing: by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or favouring one another, either durft or would. So he made an hot invective, not only against Fabrus, but against all the Nobility; faying, That it grieved them to fee the people doe well, and take upon them what belonged unto them, in matter of Government; That they fought to humble the Commons by povertie, and to impoverish them by Warre; especially by warre at their owne doores, which would foone confume every poore mans living. and finde him other worke to thinke upon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wife; and fince they had found one (this worthy Master of the Horse) that was better affected unto them and his Countrey, to reward him according to his good deferts; and give him authority, according as was propounded by the Tribune, that so he might be encouraged and enabled to proceed as hee had begun. So the Act . paffed.

Before this busie day of contention, Fabius had dispatched the election of a new Confull which was M. Airlim Regulm, in the roome of C. Flaminius: and, having finished all requifite businesse, went out of Towne, perceiving well, that he should not be able towithstand the multitude, in hindering the decree. The newes of Minutius his advance. ment, was at the campe as soone as Fabius: so that his old Lievtenant, and new Colleague, began to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the first, in what forthee thought it best to divide their authority: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them successively, for some longer time, should command in chiefe. Fabins briefly told him, That it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the horse equall to the Dictator, but that he should never be his superiour: Hee would therefore divide the Legions with him, by lot, according to the custome. Minutial was not herewith greatly pleased; for that with halfeof the Armie he could not worke such wonders as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Neverthelesse he meant to doe his best, and so taking his part of the Armie, incamped about a mile and a halfe from the Dictator. Needfull it was (though Livie seemes to taxe him for it) that he should so doe For where two feverall Commanders are not subordinate one unto another, nor joyned in Commission, but have each intire and absolute charge of his owne followers, there are the forces (though belonging to one Prince or State) not one, but two distinct Armies: in which regard, one Campe shall not hold them both, without great inconvenience. Polybius neither findes fault with this distinction, nor yet reports, that Fabius was unwilling to command in chiefe fuccessively (as the two Consuls used) with Minutius. by turnes. He faith that Minutus was very refractary; and so proud of his advancement, that continually he opposed the Dictator: who thereupon referred it to his choyce, either to divide the forces between them, as is faid before, or else to have command over all by course. This is likely to be true. For Natures impatient of subjection, when once they have broken loofe from the rigour of authority, love nothing more, than to contest with it: as if herein confisted the proofe and assurance of their libertie.

It behoved the Master of the horse, to make good the opinion which had thus advanced him. Therefore he was no leffe carefull of getting occasion to fight, than was Fabins of avoiding the necessity. That which Minutine and Hannibal equally defired, could not long be wanting. The country lying between them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adjoyning had many & spacious caves; able, some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places Hannibal bestowed five hundred horse, and five thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discovered. But lest by any misadventure they should be found out, and buried in their holes; he made offer betimes in the morning, to feize upon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand: whereby he drew the eyes and to the thoughts of the Romans, from their more needfull care, to bufineffe little concerning them. Like unto this was the occasion, which not long before had provoked Minutius to adventure upon the Carthaginians. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like fort as he got it; he fent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that Hanmibal seconded his owne troupes with fresh companies) he followed in person with the Legions. He was foon caught, and fo horly charged on all fides, that he knew neither how to make refistance, nor any fafe retrait. In this dangerous case, whilest the Romans defended themselves, losing many, and those of their best men: Fabius drew neer, in very good order, to relieve them. For this old Captain, perceiving afar off, into what extremity his new Colleague had rashly throwne himselfe and his followers, did the office of a good Citizen; and regarding more the benefit of his Country, than the difgrace which he had wrongfully fultained, lought rather to approve himselfe by hasting to doe good, than by fuffering his enemy to feele the reward of doing ill, Upon Fabius his approach, Hannibal retired: fearing to be well wetted with a showr, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung fo long on the Hill-tops. Minuting forthwith submitted himselfe to Fabius; by whose benefit he confessed his life to have bin saved. So from this time forwards the war proceeded coldly, as the Dictator would have it; both whilest his Office lasted, which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he delivered up his charge unto the Confuls, that followed his instructions.

Servilius the Conful had purfued in vaine a Carthaginian fleet, to which he came never within kenning. He ran along all the coast of Italie; tooke hostages of the Sardinians and Corficans; passed over into Africk; and there negligently falling to spoyle the country, was shamefully beaten aboord his ships, with the lose of a thousand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all hafte, he returned home by Sicil; and (being fo required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the campe, with his fellow-Conful, where they took charge

of the Armie.

4. VII.

The Roman people, defirous to finish the warre quickly, choose a rash and unworthy Consul. Great forces levied against Hannibal . Hannibal taketh the Romans provisions in the Castle of Canna. The new Consuls fet forth against Hannibal.

Ith little pleasure did they of the poorer fort in Rome heare the great commendations that were given to Fabius by the principall Citizens. He had indeed preserved them from receiving a great overthrow; but he had neither finished the war, nor done any thing in appearance thereto tending. Rather it might feeme, that the reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the flow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worle) of those that followed him, in protracting the worke to a great length. Else, what meant the Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former custome; fince it was never heard before, that any Roman Generall had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without amy performance: as if it were honourable to doe just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what; and were ready every man to discharge the griese and anger of his own private losse, upon the ill administration of the publike.

This affection of the people, was very helpfull to C. Terentius Varre, in his fuit for the Confulship. It behaved him to strike, whilest the Iron was hot : his owne worth being little or none, and his credit over-weake, to make way into that high Dignity. But the

Comminaltie were then in fuch a mood, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Whereinto helpe, he had a kinfman, Bibim Herennim, then Tribune of the People; who spared not to use the liberty of his place, in saying what he listed, without all regard of truth, or modestie. This bold Orator stucke not to affirme, that Hannibal was drawne into Italie, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; That Minuim indeed with his two Legions, was likely to have beene overthrowne, and was rescued by Fabius with the other two: but, had all been joyned together, what they might have done, it was apparent, by the victorie of Minuitus, when he commanded over all as Mafter of the horse; That without a Plebeian Confull, the warre would never bee brought to an end; That fuch of the Plebeians as had long fince beene advanced to honour by the people, were growne as proud as the old Nobilitie, and contemned the meaner fort, ever fince themselves were freed from contempt of the more mightie; That therefore it was needfull to choose a Conful, who should be altogether a Pleberan, ameere new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples love, nor could wish more, than to keepe it, by well deferving of them. By fuch perswasions the Multitude was won, to be wholly for Terenium: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could mtendure to see a man raised for none other vertue, than his detracting from their homur; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the People, it fell out, or at least was alledged, that neither of the two present Confuls would well be spared from attending upon Hannibal, to hold the Election. Wherefore aDictator was named for that purpole; and hee againe deposed: either (as was pretended) for some religious impediment, or because the Fathers desired an Inter-regnum, wherein they might better hope to prevaile in choice of the new Confuls. This Interignum tooke name and being in Rome, at the death of Romulus; and was in use at the dath of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the Fathers, or Senators, who at the fift were an hundred, parted themselves into Tens, or Decuries; and governed successiveh, by the space of five dayes, one Decurre after another in order : yet so, that the Littors, or Virgers, carrying the Falces, or bundles of rods and axes, waited onely upon the chiefe of them with these Ensignes of power. This custome was retained in times of the Conhis; and put in use, when by death, or any casualty, there wanted ordinary Magistrates ofthe old yeare, to substitute new for the yeare following. The advantage of the Fahersherein was, that if the Election were not like to goe as they would have it, there and then was all to begin anew: by which inemption, the heat of the Multitude was commonly well affwaged. Upon fuch change ofthose, that were Presidents of the election; it was also lawfull unto new Petitioners, whe for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time linited, wherein they should publikely declare themselves to seeke those offices. But no wice would serve against the generall favour borne unto Terenius. One Inter-regnum pled over, and the malice of the Fathers, against the vertue (as it was believed) of this mane, but worthy man, seemed so manifest, that when the People had urged the buffwhere dispatch, onely Terentius was chosen Consult: in whose hand it was lest, to hold helection of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gave over For whermen of ordinary marke had stood for the place before, it was now thought meet, that, wh to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this unexpert, and hot-headed n, one of great fufficiencie, and reputation, should be joyned with him, as both Commion and opposite. So L. Æmilim Paulm, he who few yeares since had overcome the lyians, and chased Demerrius Pharius out of his Kingdome, was urged by the Nobility hand for the place; which he eafily obtained, having no Competitor. It was not the the of this honourable man, to trouble himselse any more in such great businesse of the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding his late good service, He, and M. Livins that had the his companion in Office, were afterwards injuriously vexed by the People, and and unto judgement: wherein Livius was condemned, and Amilius hardly escaped. tof this injustice they shall put the Romans well in minde each of them in his second Conful thip, wherein they shall honourably approve their worth; the one of them nobly in the most grievous losse; the other bravely winning, in the most happy victoric atever befell that Common-wealth. These new Confuls, Varro and Paulus, omitted no part of their diligence in preparing

the warre: wherein though Varro made the greater noise, by telling what wonders

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he would worke, and that he would aske no more, than once to have a fight of Hannibal, whom he promifed to vanquish the very first day: yet the providence and care of Pan-In travelled more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote unto the two old Confuls Servilius and Arilius, desiring them to abstaine from hazzard of the maine chance; but neverthelesse, to plie the Carthagmians with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when hee and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Armie which they were now levying, they might finde the foure old Legions well accustomed to the enemie, and the enemie well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate affifted him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the flanders, with which to Terentius and his Adherents had burdened them. What number of menthey raised, it is uncertaine. Fourescore thousand foot, at the least, and fixe thousand horse, they were ftrong in the field, when the day came, which Varro had so greatly defired, of looking upon Hannibal.

Hiero, the old King of Syracufe, as he had relieved the Carthaginians, when they were distressed by their owne Mercenaries; so did he now send help to Rome, a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantitie of Wheat, Barlie, and other provisions: fearing nothing more, than that one of these two mightie Cities should destroy the other, whereby his owne estate would fall to ruine, that stood upright, by having them somewhat evenly ballanced. He gave them also counsell, to send forces into Africa; if (perhaps) by that meanes they might divert the warre from home. His gifts, and good advice were lovingly accepted; and instructions were given to Titus Offacilius the Prator, which was to goe into Sicil, that he should accordingly passe over into Africke, if hee

The great Levies, which the Romans made at this time, doe much more serveto declare their puissance, than any, though larger accompt by Poll, of such as were not easily drawne into the field, and fitted for service. For, besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into Sicil, twentie five thousand, with L. Posthumius Albinus, another of the Prætors, went against the Gaules, to reclaime that Province, which the pasfage of Hannibal through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their prefent strength, might well embolden them to doe as they did. They fent Embassadors to Philip, the son of Demerrius, King of Macedon, requiring him to deliver into their hands Demetraus Pharius: who, having been their subject, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdome. They also sent to the Illyrians, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was already past. What answer they received, it is not knowne: only this is known, that Demetrius Pharius was not fent unto them; and that Philip henceforth began to have an eyeupon them, little to their good. As for the Illyrian money, by the shifts that they were driven soon after to make, it will appeare, that the one halfe of it (how little soever) would have bin welcome to Rome, and accepted, without any cavill about forfeiture for non-paiment of the whole.

Whilst the Citie was bussed in these cares, the old Consuls lay as neere unto Hanni bal as possibly they could, without incurring the necessity of a battell. Many skir milhes they had with him wherein their successe, for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not onely blemished the honour of their other services, but was indeed the occasion to draw on the miserie following. Hannibal, for the most pare of that time, made his abode at Geryon; where lay all his store for the Winter. The Ro mans, to be neere him, lodged about Cannusium; and, that they might not be driven to turne afide for all necessaries, to the losse of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their provisions in the Castle of Canna: for the towne was razed the yeere before. This place Hannibal wan, and thereby not onely furnished himselfe, but compelled his ene miesto want many needfull things, unlesse they would be troubled with farre carriage Besides this, and more to his advantage, he enabled himselfe to abide in that open Coun trie, fit for the service of his horse, longer than the Romans, having so many mouth to feed, could well endure to tarry; without offering battell, which hee most defired Of this mishap when Servilius had informed the Senate, letting them understand, ho this Peece, taken by Hannibal, would ferve him to command no small part of the Cou of Italy. Nevertheleffe, answer was returned unto Servilius, that he should have patience yet awhile: for that the Confuls would shortly be there, with a power sufficient to doe as need required.

When all things were ready in the City, and the season of the yeere commodious to take the field, the two Confuls, with their Army, fet forth against Hannibal. This was alwaies done with great folemnity : especially, when soever they went forth to warre against any noble or redoubted Enemy . For Sacrifices, and solemne Vowes, were made unto Jupiter, and the rest of their gods, for good successe and victory: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honorable traine of the principall men, (not onely fuch as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the warre, as Voluntaries, for love, but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with friendly leave-taking, and good wishes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobility, waited upon Emilius Paulus, as the onely Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honour, or likely to doe his countrie remarkeable fervice. Terentius his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troupe no leffe in greatnesse, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, Fabius the late Dictator, is faid to have exhorted the Confull Paulus, with many grave words, to shew his magnanimity, not onely in dealing with the Cathaginians, but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outragious follie of his fellow-Confull. The answer of Paulin, was, That he meant not againe to runne into danger of condemnation by offending the multitude; that he would doe his best for his Countrie: but if he faw his best were likely to be ill taken, he would thinke it lesse rashnesse to adventure upon the Enemies fword, than upon the malice of his owne Citizens.

6. VIII.

Diffention betweene the two Roman Consuls. Whether it be likely, that Hannibal was upon point of flying out of Italy, when the Romans pressed him to fight. The great battaile of Canna.

Hele new Generals, arriving at the Campe, dismissed M. Atilius, one of the last yeeres Confuls, requesting it because of his age and weaknesse: Servilius they retained with them, as their Affistant. The first thing that Emilius thought necessary, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad successe hiherto, had gathered more cause of seare, than of courage. He willed them to consider, not onely now, their victories in times past against the Carthaginians, and other more warlike Nations than were the Carthaginians, but even their owne great numbers: which were no leffe than all that Rome at the prefent was able to fet forth. Hee told dem in what danger their Country stood; how the state and safety thereof rested upon their hands; using some such other common matter of perswasion. But the most effectuall part of his Oration, was, That Hannibal with this his terrible Army, bad not yet obtained one victory by plaine force and valour: but that onely by deceit and ambushhe had stolne the honor, which he had gotten at Trebia & Thrasymene. Herewithall he taxed the inconfiderate rashnesse of Sempronius and Flaminius; of whom the one law not his enemies, untill hee was furrounded by them; the other scarce saw them, when they struck off his head, by reason of the thick mist, through the darknesse whereofhe went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their fnares. Finally, declaring what advantages they had against the Enemie; and how destitute the Enemie was of those helpes, by which he had hitherto prevailed against them; he exhorted them to play the and doetheir best. They were easily perswaded: for the contemplation of their owne multitude, and confidence of the Roman vertue in matter of Armes, gave them saufe to thinke, that under a Captaine so well experienced, and every way sufficient, Emilius was knowne to bee, they should easily prevaile against the Carthaginians, hat came short of them in all things else, save craft; which would not alwayes thrive. But in one thing they mistooke the meaning of their Generall. It was his defire that tey should have heart to fight; not that they should lose the patience of awaiting a this Peece, taken by Hannibal, would lerve nim to command no main part that they should lose the patience of awaiting a trie adjacent; it then seemed needfull, even unto the Fathers themselves, to advenue the safety for the strength of the safety for the safety trie adjacent; it then seemed needfull, even unto the Fathers the inches to bee battell with the Carthaginian, rather than suffer him thus to take roote in the grown impediments: and thereby sought to robbe themselves of their best helpe; which

was , good conduct. They remembred what talke they had heard at Rome: and were themselves affected with the vulgar defire, of ending the warre quickly; wherein fince Emilius had acknowledged, that the advantage was theirs, why did he make them forbeare to use it? Thus thought the common Souldier : and thus also thought the Confull Terenting 5 who was no leffe popular in the Campe, than hee had beene in the City. Expectation is alwayes tedious; and never more, than when the Event is of most importance. All men longed, both at Rome, and in the Army, to bee freed from the doubtfull passions of Hope and Feare: therefore Terenius, who hastened their defireto effect, was likely to win more thankes, than should his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus while the Romans thinke themselves to have the better of their Enemies, they fall into an inconvenience, than which few are more dangerous; Diffension of their chiefe Commanders . Varro would fight: Emilius would fo too, but faid that it was not yet time; why: because the enemy must shortly dislodge, and remove hence, into places lesse fit for his horse. But shall the Romans wait, till Hannibal, having eatenuphis last yeeres provisions, returne into Campania to gather a second Harvest . This would (faid Varro) favour too much of 2. Fabius: And your haste (faid Paulus) doth favour no lesse of C. Flaminius. Their deeds were like their words: for they commanded by turnes interchangeably every day. Emilius lodged fixe miles from Hannibal, where the ground was somewhat uneven. Thither if the Carthaginians would take paines to 20 come; hee doubted not to fend them away in such haste, as they should not leave running till they were out of Italy. But they came not. Terentius therefore the next day descended into the Plaines; his Colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Nevertheleffe he sate down close by Hannibal: who, as an unbidden guest, gave him but a rude wel-come and entertainment. The Carthaginian Horse, and light armature, sell upon the Roman Vant-courrers; and put the whole Army in tumult, whileft it was yet in march : but they were beaten off, not without losse, for that the Romans had among their Velites, some troupes weightily armed, whereas the Carthaginians had none. The day following, Amilius, who could not handsomely withdraw the Army out of that levell ground, incamped upon the River Aufidus; fending a third part of his forces over 3 the water, to lye upon the Easterne banke, where they entrenched themselves. Hee never was more unwilling to fight, than at this present: because the ground served wholly for the advantage of his enemie; with whom he meant to deale, when occasion should draw him to more equall termes. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himselfe; expecting when Hannibal should dislodge, and remove towards Geryon, Canna, or some other place, where his store lay, for want of necessaries: whereof an Army forraging the Countrie, was not likely to carry about with it sufficient quantity, for any long time.

Here it would not be passed over with silence, That Livie differeth much in his Relation from Polybius: telling many strangetales, of the misery into which Hannibal had a beene driven; and of base courses that he devised to take, if the Romans could have retained their patience a little longer. Hee had (faith Livie) but tenne dayes provision of meat. He had not money to pay his Souldiers. They were an unruly Rabble, gathered out of severall Nations, so that he knew not how to keepe them in order ; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Provant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the Spaniards were ready to for sake him, and runne over to the Roman side. Yea Hannibal himselfe was once upon the point, to have stolne away into Gaule with all his horse, and lest his foot unto their miserable destinies. At length for lack of all other counfaile, he refolved to get him as farre as he could from the Romans, into the Southermost parts of Apulia; to the end, that both his unfaithfull Soul-5 diers might finde the more difficulty in running from him; and that his hunger might bee relieved with the more early harvest. But whilest he was about to put this device in execution, the Romans pressed him so hard, that they even forced him to that, which hee most desired, even to fight a battaile upon open Champaine ground: wherein hee was victorious. It was not uncommendable in Livie, to speake the best of his owner Citizens; and, where they did ill, to fay, That, without their owne great folly, they had done passing well. Further also hee may be excused; as writing onely by report. For thus he faith, Hannibal de fuga in Galliam (dicitur) agitaffe; Hannibal (is faid) 10

have bethought himselfe of flying into Gaule : where he makes it no more than a matter of heare-fay; as perhaps was all the rest of this Relation. As for the processe it selfe, it is very incredible. For if Hannibal comming out of Gaule, through the Marifhes and Boos of Herruria, could finde victualls enough, and all things needfull unto his Army, the Summer foregoing: what should hinder him to doe the like this yeere; especially seeing he had plaid the carefull husband in making a great harveft; fince he had long beene Master of the open field; and besides, had gotten, by surprise, no small part of the Romans provisions: Suteable hereunto is all the rest. If Hannibal had taken nothing but come and cattell, his Souldiers might perhaps have fallen into mutinie for pay. But he brought gold with him into Italie and had fo well increased his stocke, since he came into that Countrie, that he had armed his African Souldiers, all Roman-like, and loaden his followers with spoile: having left wherewith to redeeme as many of his owne, as were taken by the Enemy; when the Romans were not willing, as finding it not easie to doe the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the generall agreement of Historians: who give it as a principall commendation unto Hannibal, That he alwayes kept his Army free from fedition, though it were composed of fundry Nations; no leffe different in Manners, Religion, and almost in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might hee fo doe, having not onely pronounced. That which of his men foever fought hravely with an Enemy, was thereby a Carthaginian; but folemnly protested and swore. (befides other rewards) to make as many of them, as should deferve and feeke it free Citizens of Carthage. The running away into Gaule, was a fenfeleffe device. Hannibal, being there with his whole Army tooke so little pleasure in the Countrie and People, that hemade all haste to get him out of it. And what should he now do there with his horse or how could he be trusted, either there or elsewhere : yea, how could he defire to live ; having betrayed all his Army, and relinquished his miserable foot, to the butcherie of their enemies: This tale therefore Plutarch omitteth; who in writing the life of Hannibal, takes in a maner all his directions from Livie. But of this and the like it is enough to fav. That all Historians love to extoll their own Conntri-men; and where a losse cannot bediffembled, nor the honour of the victory taken from the Enemy, & given unto blinde Fortune, there to lay all the blame on some strange misgovernment of their own forces: as if they might eafily have won all, but loft all through fuch folly, as no Enemy can hope to finde in them another time.

Now let us returne backe to the two Armies, where they lye encamped on the River Aufidus, Varro was perfwaded, that it concerned him in honour, to make good his word unto the people of Rome: and fince he had thus long waited in vaine, to get the confent of Paulus, now at length to use his owne authority; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his owne day came. When therefore it was his turne to command at the first breake of the day he began to passe the River, without staying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But Paulus came to him; and fought, as in former times, to have diffwaded him, from putting the estate of his Countrie to a needlesse hazzard. Against whose words and substantiall arguments, Terentius could alledge none other, than point of Honour. Hannibal had presented them battaile at their Trenches: should they endure this Bravado: He had sent his Numidians over the River but even the day before, who fell upon the Romans that were fetching water to the leffer Campe: and drave them shamefully to runne within their defences, which also they made offer to affaile: must this also be suffered : Hee would not endure it : for it could not but weaken the spirit of the Roman Souldier; which as yet was lively, and full of such courage, as promifed affured victory. When Amilius perceived, that he could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion, heetooke all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand Roman foot he caused to be left behinde, in the greater campe opposite unto the Carthaginian; to the intent, that either Hannibal might be compelled to leave behinde him some answerable number, for desence of his Trenches: (which out of his paucitie he was lesse able to spare from the battaile, than were the Romans) or that these ten thousand, falling upon the Carthaginian Campe, when the fight began, & taking it with all the wealth therin, might therby (as commonly doe such accidents) terrefie and distract the Enemies in the heate of fight. This done, the two Confuls went over the water with their Armie to the leffer Campe, whence allo they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battaile : the ground

on the East part of the River, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Army. Hannibal was glad of this, as he had great cause; and without any delay, passed likewise over formewhat higher up the streame, which ran from the South; leaving in his owne campe fo many, as he thought would ferve to defend it, and no more. To encourage hismen; He bad them looke about them, and view the ground well, upon which they were to fight. They did fo. And could you (faid hee) pray for any greater fortune than to joyne battaile with the Romans upon fuch a levell ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to prevaile? They all affented to him; and shewed by their countenances , that they were very glad of it. Well then (faid heefurther) yee are first of all to thanke the gods, that have brought them hither; and then Us, that have trained them in along, and drawne them into necessity of playing for their lives, where they are sure to lose them. As for these Romans, I was faine to encourage you against them, when yee met them first: but now yee may even encourage your selves, by calling to minde that they are the men, whom yee have as often beaten as seene. Of one thing onely I will put you in minde: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects, 35, to drive them before you out of Gaule; and to win the open Countrie, and fields of Italy; both of which yee have obtained: now are ye to fight for the Townes themselves, and all the riches within them; which this victory shall make yours. Therefore play the ftout Souldiers: and ere many houres passe, yee shall be Lords of all that the Romans

When he had faid this; his brother Mago came to him, whom he had fent to view the countenance of the Enemy. Hannibal asked him, what newes; & what worke they were likely to have with these Romans ? Work enough (answered Mago) for they are an hortible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus Hannibal replyed) I tell thee, brother, that among them all, fearch them never fo diligently, thou shalt not finde one man, whose name is Mago. With that he fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him: which gladded the fouldiers, who thought their Generall would not be fo merry, without great affurance. Whether it were fosthat Hannibal, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one Mago above many thousand Romans; or whether he intimated, that the Romans were no leffe troubled with thinking upon Mago and his Companions, than was Mago with beholding their huge multitude; or whether hee meant onely to correct the fad moode of his brother with a jeft, and shew himselfe merry unto the Souldiers: this his answer was more manly, than was the relation of his discoverer. But if Hannibalhimfelse had beene sent forth by Mago, to view the Romans, he could not have returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captain Gam, before the battalle of Agincourt, made unto our King Henry the fift: faying, that of the Frenchmen, there were enow to be killed; enow to be taken prisoners; and enow to run away. Even such words as these, or such pleasant jests as this of Hannibal, are not without their moment; but ferve many times, when battaile is at hand, to worke upon fuch paffions, as must governe more of the businesse: especially, where other needfull care is not wanting; without which they are but vaine boafts.

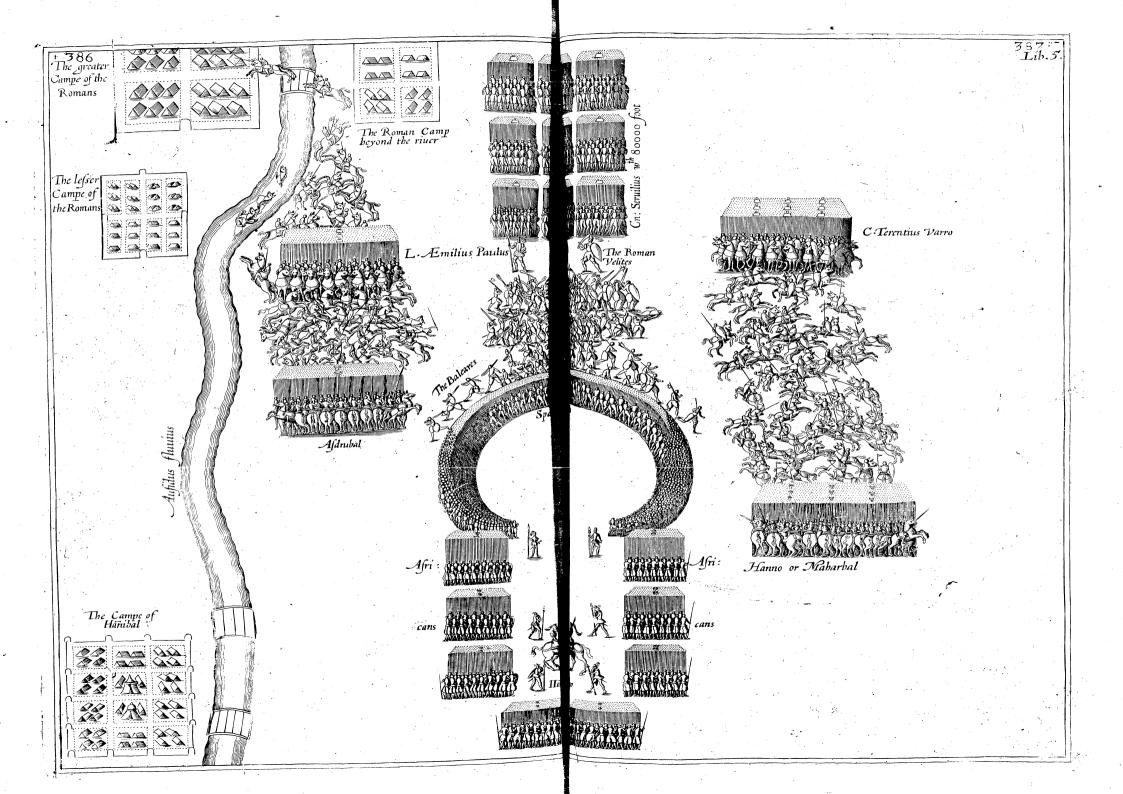
In this great day, the Carthaginian excelled himselfe; expressing no lesse perfection of his military skill, than was greatnesse in his spirit and undertakings. For to omit the commodiousnesse of the place, into which he had long before conceived the meanes to draw his enemies to battaile; He marshalled his Army in such convenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where every one might doe best service. His Darters, and Slingers of the Baleares, hee fent off before him, to encounter with the Roman Velices. These were loose troupes, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a French name Enfans perdues; but when we used our owne termes, the forlorne hope. The groffe of his Army following them, he ordered thus. His Africans, armed after the Roman maner, with the spoiles which they had gotten at Trebia, Thrasymene, or elsewhere; and well trained in the use of those weapons, that were of more advantage, than those where with they had formerly served; made the two wings, very deepe in File. Betweene these he ranged his Gaules and Spaniards, armed, each after their own Countrey manner; their shields alike; but the Gaules using long broad swords, that were forcible in a downe-right stroake; the Spaniards, short and well-pointed blades, either to strike or thrust; the Gaules, naked from their navell upwards, as confidenting their own fiercenesse: the Spaniards, wearing white cassocks embroidered with purple.

This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furnitute, as in quality, made a gallant shew; and terrible, because strange. The Gaules were strong of body, and furious in giving charge, but soone wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that come of them have inherited to this day. The Spamards were leffe eager, but more warie; neither ashamed to give ground, when they were over-pressed; nor afraid to returne, & renew the fight, upon any small encouragement. As the roughnesse of the one, and patience of the other, served mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firme temper; fo the place which they held in this battaile, added confidence joyntly into them both. For they faw themselves well and frongly flanked with Carthaginians and other Africans; whose name was growne terrible in Spaine, by their Conquests; and in Gaule, by this their present war. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamity should fall upon them, whilest the wings on either fide flood faft: the fe Barbarians had no cause to shrinke, or forbeare to imploy the uttermost of their hardinesse, as knowing that the enemy could not presse farre upon them, without further engaging himselfe than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great advantage, which the Carthaginian had in horse: by which he was able, if the world had happened, to make a good retrait. The effect of contraries ismany times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but not greater, nor so lively, as doth affured Confidence. Hannibal therefore caused these Gaules and Spaniards to adovance; leaving voide the place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall backe, when they should be overhardly pressed. So, casting them into the forme of a Crescent, He made them as it were his Vant-guard : the two points of this great halfe Moone, that looked toward the empty space from which he had drawne it, being narrow and thin, as serving onely to guide it orderly backe, when need should require; the foremost part of the Ring, swelling out toward the enemies, being well strengthened & thickned against all impression. The circle hereof seemeth to have beene so great, that it fladowed the Africans, who flood behinde it: though fuch figures, cut in braffe, as I have sene of this Battaile, present it more narrow; with little reason, as shall anon appeare: asalfo in the same figures it is omitted, That any Companies of Africans, or others, were pleft in the Reare, to second the Gaules and Spaniards, when they were driven to tetrait; though it be manifest, that Hannibal in person stood between the last rankes of his long battalions, and in the head of his Reare, doubtleffe well accompanied with the choice of his owne Nation. Betweene the left battalion and the River Aufidus, were the Gaules & Spanish horse, under the command of Asdrubal: On the right wing, toward the wide Plaines was Hanno (Livie faith Maharbal) with the Numidian light-horse. Hannibal hinselfe, with his brother Mago, had the leading of the Reare. The whole summe of Hannibals Army in the field this day, was ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot; his enemies having two to one against him in foot; and He, five to three against them in

The Roman Army was marshalled in the usuall forme: but somewhat more narrow, and deepe, than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had beene found convenient against the Carthaginians, in the former warre. It was indeed no bad way of resistance against Elephants, to make the Ranks thack and short, but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Reare, that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, under shelter whereof the disordered troupes might re-ally themselves. Thus much it seemes, that Terentius had learned of fome old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battailes accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his understanding. But the Carthagnians had here no Elephants with them in the field: their advantage was in Horse; against which, this manner of embattailing was very unprofitable, for a since as their charge is better fustained in front, than upon a long flanke. As for Amilius, it was not his day of command: He was but an Affistant; and in such cases it happens often, that wise men yeeld for very wearinesse unto the more contentious. Upon the right hand, and toward the River, were the Roman horse-men, under the Consult Panlus: On the left wing, Was C. Terentin Varro the other Confull, with the rest of the horse, which were of the Latines, and other affociates: Cn. Servilius the former yeeres Confull, had the leading of thebattaile. The Sunne was newly risen, and offended neither part; the Carthaginians having their faces Northward, the Romans toward the South.

After some light skirmish, betweene the Roman Velices and Hannibal his Darters and V v v v 3

flingers of the Baleares: Astrubal brake upon the Confull Paulus, and was roughly encountred; not after the manner of fervice on horfe-backe, used in those times, wheeling about Alman-like; but each giving on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as having the River on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand; so that there was no way left, but to pierce and breake thorow. Wherefore they not onely used their Lances and Swords; but rushing violently amongst the Enemies, grasped one another: and so their horses running from under them, fell many to the gound; where starting up againe, they began to deale blowes like foot-men. In conclusion, the Roman horse were over-borne, and driven by plaine force to staggering recoile. This the Confull Paulus could not remedy. For Asdrubal, with his boisterous Gaules and Spaniards, was not to be refisted by these Roman Gentlemen, unequall both in number, and in horsmanship. When the battailes came to joyning, the Roman Legionaries found worke enough, and fomewhat more than enough, to breake that great Crescent, upon which they first fell: fo strongly for the while, did the Gaules and Spanish foot make refistance. Wherefore the two points of their battaile drew towards the midst; by whose aide, these Oppofites were forced to disband, and flye backe to their first place. This they did in great hafte and feare : and were with no leffe hafte, and folly purfued. Upon the Africans that stood behinde them, they needed not to fall foule; both for that there was voide roome enough; and forafmuch as the Reare, or Hornes of this Moone, pointed into the fafe retrait, where Hannibal with his Carthaginians was ready to re-enforce them, 2 when time should require. In this hasty retrait, or slight, of the Gaules and Spaniards; it hapned, as was necessary, that they who had stood in the limbe or utter compasse of the halfe Moone, made the innermost or concave surface thereof (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turne the infide outward: the hornes or points thereof, as yet, untouched, onely turning round, & recoyling very little. So the Romans. in purfuing them, were inclosed in an halfe circle; which they should not have needed greatly to regard, (for that the fides of it were exceeding thin and broken; and the bottome of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and feeming unable to makerefistance) had all the enemies foot bin cast into this one great body, that was in a manner diffolyed. But whilest the Legions, following their supposed victory, rushed on upon those that stood before them, & thereby unwittingly engaged themselves deeply within the principall strength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two African Battalions on either fide advanced fo far, that getting beyond the Reare of them, they enclosed them, in a manner, behinde: and forward they could not passe farre, without removing Hannibal and Mago; which made that way the least easie. Hereby it is apparent, That the great Crescent, before spoken of, was of such extent, as covered the Africans, who lay behinde it undifferned, untill now. For it is agreed, that the Romans were thus empaled unawares; and that they behaved themselves, as menthat thought upon no other worke, than what was found them by the Gaules. Neither is it credible, that they would have beene fo mad, as to run head-long, with the whole bulke of their Army, into the throat of flaughter; had they seene those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might be imputed to their heat of fight, and rashnesse of inferiour Captaines: but since the Confull Paulus, a man so expert in warre, being vanquished in horse, had put himselfe among the Legions; it cannot be supposed, that hee and they did wilfully thus engage themselves. Asdrubal, having broken the troupes of Roman horse, that were led by the Confull Paulus, followed upon them along the River fide, beating downe and killing, as many as he could, (which were almost all of them) without regard of taking prisoners. The Consull himselfe was either driven upon his owne Legions, or will lingly did cast himselfe among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, not withstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Neverthe leffe he cheared up his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with the example of his owne from behaviour: beating downe, and killing many of the enemies with his owne hand. The like did Hannibal among his Carthaginians, in the fame part of the battaile; and with better successes. For the Consul received a blow from a fling, that did him great hurt: and though a troupe of Roman Gentlemen, riding about him, did their best to save him from further harme; yet was he so hardly laid at, the he was compelled, by wounds and weaknesse, to forsake his horse. Hereupon all his

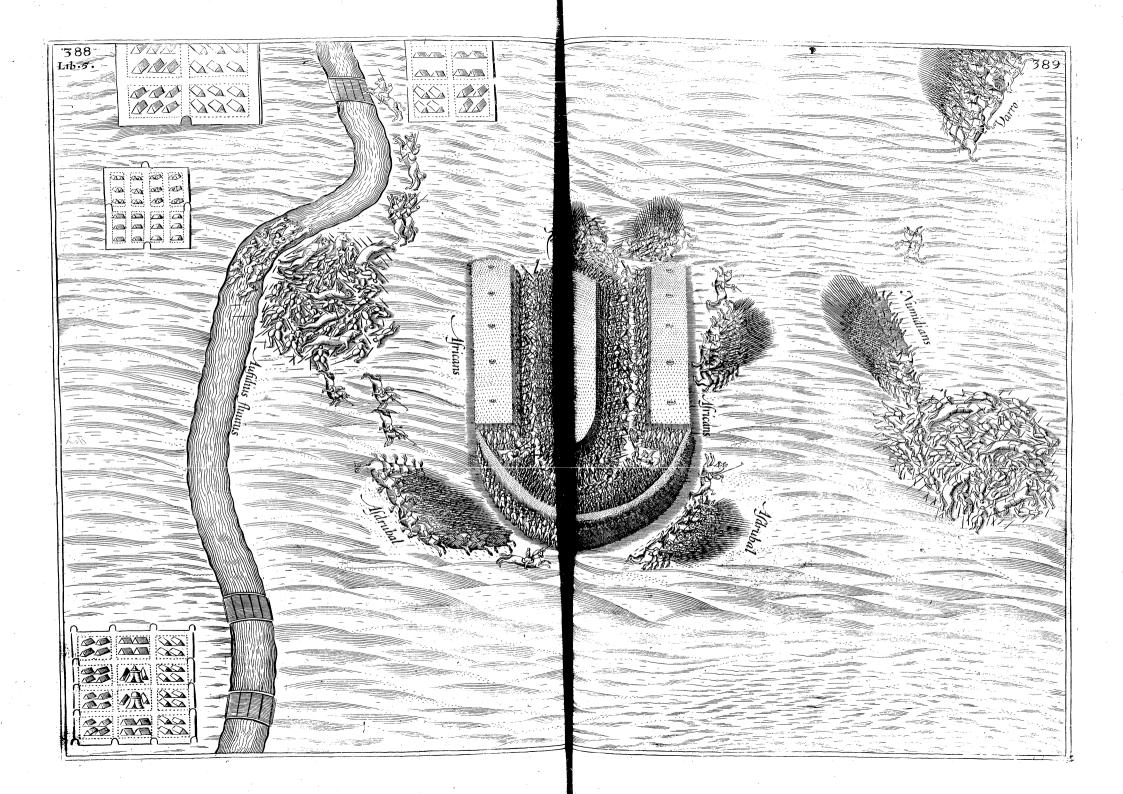


company alighted, thinking that the Confull had given order fo to doe: as in many battailes, the Roman men at armes had left their horses, to help their foot in distress. When Hannibal (for he was neer at hand) perceived this, and understood that the Consull had willed his horfe-men to difmount; He was very glad of it, and pleafantly faid, I had rather he would have delivered them unto me, bound hand & foot: meaning, that he had them now almost as safe, as if they were so bound. All this while C. Terentius Varro, with the horse of his affociates, in the left wing, was marvellously troubled by Hanno (or Maharbal) and the Numidians: who beating up and downe about that great fandy Plaine, raifed a foule dust; which a strong Southwinde, blowing there accustomarily, drave into the eyes and mouthes of the Romans. These using their advantage both of number and of lightnesse, wearied the Confull and his followers exceedingly: neither giving: nor fustaining any charge, but continually making offers, and wheeling about. Yet at the first they seemed to promise him an happy day of it. For when the battailes were even ready to joyne; five hundred of these Numidians came pricking away from their fellowes, with their shields cast behinde their backes, (as was the maner of those which yeelded) and, throwing downe their armes, rendred themselves. This was good lucke wbeginne withall, if there had beene good meaning. Varro had not leisure to examine them; but caused them, unweaponed as they were, to get them behinde the Armie, where he bade them rest quietly till all was done. These crafty adventurers did as hee bade them, for a while; till they found opportunity to put in execution the purpose, for which they had thus yeelded. Under their Jackets they had short swords and poniards: besides which, they found other scattered weapons about the field of such as were slain. and therewithall flew upon the hindmost of the Romans, whilest all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: fo that they did great mischiefe, and raised yet a greater terror. Thus Hannibal, in a plaine levell ground, found meanes to lay an ambush at the backe of his enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight and refistance, was given by the same hand which gave the first. Astrubal, having in short space broken the Romane troups of horse, and cut in pieces all, save the Companie of Amilius that rushed into the groffe of his foot, and a very few befides, that recovered fome narrow paffage, between the River and their owne Battalions; did not ftay to charge upon the face of the Legions, but fell backe behinde the Reare of his owne, and fetching about, came up to the Numidians: with whom he joyned, and gave upon Terentius.

This fearefull cloud, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behinde it, on the other fide: so did it prognosticate a dismall storme unto those upon whom it was ready now to fall. Wherefore Terentius his followers, having wearied themselves much in doing little, and seeing more worke toward, than they could hope to fuffaine; thought it the best way, to avoid the danger by present slight. The Consult was no leffe wife than they, in apprehending the greatnesse of his owne perill; nor more desperate, in striving to worke impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many shranke from him, to fustaine the impression alone, which he could not have indured with their affiltance. Now hee found, that it was one thing to talke of Hannibal at Rome; and another, to incounter him. But of this or of ought elfe, excepting hafty flight, his prefint leifure would not ferve him to confider. Close at the heeles of him and his flying troupes, followed the light Numidians, appointed by Asdrubal unto the pursuit, as fittest for that fervice. Aldrubal himselfe, with the Gaules and Spanish horse, compasing about, fell upon the backes of the Romans; that were ere this hardly distressed, and in a manner furrounded on all parts else: He brake them easily; who before made Ill refiftance, being inclosed, and laid at on every fide, not knowing which way to turne. Here began a pittifull flaughter: the vanquished multitude thronging up and downe, they knew not whither or which way, whileft every one fought to avoid those enemies, whom he faw neerest. Some of the Roman Gentlemen that were about Emilius, got up to horse, and saved themselves: which though it is hardly understood how they could do; yet I will rather beleeve it, than suppose that Livie so reporteth, to grace therby his History with this following tale. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, galloping along by a place where he saw the Consull sitting all bloudied upon a stone, intreated him to rise and save bimselfe; offering him his assistance and horse. But Paulus refused it; willing Lenculus to shift for hamselfe, and not to lose time: saying, That it was not his purpose to be brought againe into judgement by the People either as an accuser of his Colleague, or as guilty himfelfe of that dayes loffe. Further, he willed Lentulus to commend bim to the Senate, and in particular to Fabius: willing them to fortifie Rome, as fast as well they could; and telling Fabius, that he lived and died mindfull of his wholesome counsaile. These words (perad. venture) or some to like purpose, the Consul uttered to Lentulus, either when against his will he was drawne to that Battaile, or when he beheld the first defeat of his Horse; at what time he put himselfe in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but Hannih al. knew what he faid a good while before this; when he thought the Confull & his troupe. in little better case than if they had been bound. The whole Grosse of the Romans, was inclosed indeed as within a facke; whereof the African Battalions made the fides; the Spaniards, Gaules, & Hannibal with his Carthagnians, the bottome; & Asdrubal with 10 his horse, closed up the mouth: in which part, they first of all were shuffled together, and beganne the Rout, wherein all the rest followed. Amilius therefore, who could not fit his horse, whilest the battaile yet lasted, and whilest the spaces were somewhat open, by which he might have withdrawne himfelfe; was now (had he never fo well bin mounted) unable to flie, having in his way fo close a throng of his owne miserable followers, and so many heapes of bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It suffices h unto his honour, That in the Battaile he fought no leffe valiantly, than he had warily before, both abitained himselfe, and disswaded his fellow-Consult, from fighting at all. If. when the day was utterly loft, it had lien in his power to fave his own life, unto the good of his countrie, never more needing it; I should thinke, that hee either too much dif- 20 esteemed himselfe; or being too faintly minded, was wearie of the World, and his unthankefull Citizens. But if fuch a resolution were praise-worthy in Emilius, as proceeding out of Roman valour; then was the English vertue of the Lord John Talbot, Viscount Lille, fonne to that famous Earle of Shrewsberg, who died in the Battell of Chastillon, more highly to be honoured. For Emilius was old, grievously, if not mortally, wounded & accomptable for the overthrow received: Talvot was in the flowre of his youth, unhurt, eafily able to have escaped, and not answerable for that dayes misfortune, when he refused to forfake his Father; who foreseeing the losse of the battaile, and not meaning to staine his actions past by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble some to be gone and leave him.

In this terrible overthrow died all the Roman foot, fave two or three thousand, who (as Livie faith)escaped into the leffer campe; whence, the same night, about fixe hundred of them brake forth, & joyning with fuch of those in the greater campe, as were willing to trie their fortune, conveyed themselves away ere morning, about soure thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in whole troupes, partly dispersed, into Cannusium : the next day the Roman camps, both leffe and greater, were yeelded unto Hannibal by those that remained in them. Polybius hath no mention of this escape: onely hee reports, that the ten thousand, whom Amilius had left on the West side of Ausidus (as was shewed before) to set upon the campe of Hannibal, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their defire, which they had well-neere done, the battaile was loft : and Han-4 nibal, comming over the water to them, drave them into their own campe; which they quickly yeelded having lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is , that at the first fight of Hannibal, comming upon them with his victorious Army, a greater number of these did flie; and thereby escaped, whilest their fellowes, making defence in vaine, retired into their campe, and held the enemie busied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not halfe full, but made up by addition of others, whose fault or fortune was like) that having ferved at Canna, were afterwards extremely difgraced by the State of Rome, for that they had abandoned their companions fighting. Of the Romane horse what numbers escaped, it is uncertaine: but very few they were that saved themselves in the first charge, by getting behinde the River; and Terentius the Consull recovered Venusia, with threescore and ten at the most in his company. That he was so ill attended, it is no marvell: for Venusia lay many miles off to the Southward; so that his neerest way thither, had beene through the midst of Hannibals Army, if the passage had beene open. Therefore it must needs be, that when once he got out of fight, he turned up some by-way; fo disappointing the Numidians that hunted contre. Of such as could not hold pace with the Confull, but tooke other wayes, and were scattered over the fields; two thousand, or thereabout, were gathered up by the Numidians, and made prisoners: the rest were slaine, all save three hundred; who dispersed themselves in slight, as chance,

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led them, and got into fundry Towns. There died in this great Battaile of Canna, besides L. Emilius Paulus the Consul, two of the Roman Quastors or Treasurers, and one and twenty Colonels or Tribunes of the Souldiers, four efcore Senators, or fuch as had borne office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of especiall marke, as having been Ediles, Prætors, or Consuls: among whom was Cn. Servilius, the last yeeres Consul, and Minutin, late master of the horse. The number of prisoners, taken in this battaile, Livie makes no greater than three thousand foot, & three hundred horsestoo few to have defended for the space of one halfe houre, both the Roman Camps; which yet the same Livie saith, to have binover-cowardly yeelded up. We may therefore doe better, to give credit unto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth, speaking in the Senate, & saying, That they were no lesse than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that these three thousand were onely such as the Enemy pared, when the fury of Execution was past: but to these must be added about five thoufand more, who yeelded in the greater campe, when their company were either flaine or Acd. So the reckoning falls out right: which the Romanes, especially the Confull Varto, had before cast up (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they finde it. On the fide of Hannibal there died some soure thousand Gaules, fifteen hundred spaniards and Africans, and two hundred horse, or thereabouts: a losse not sensible, in the joy of so great a victory; which if he had pursued, as Maharbal advised him, and forthwith marched away towards Rome; it is little doubted, but that the War had prefently been at an end. But he beleeved not fo far in his own prosperity; and was therefore told, That he knew how to get , not how to tofe a veffory.

6. IX.

Of things following the battaile at Canna.

TOt without good cause doth Polybim reprehend those two Historians, Fabius the Roman, and Philinus the Carthaginian: who regarding more the pleasure of them, unto whose honour they consecrated their travailes, than the truth of things, and information of posterity, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his Carthaginians, the other of his Roman Quirites, and Fathers conscript. No man of found judgement will condemne this liberty of cenfire, which Polybian hath used. For, to recompence his junioritie (such as it was) he produceth fub stantiall arguments, to justifie his owne Relation; and consuteth the vanity of those former Authors, out of their own writings, by conference of places ill cohering: which paines is to bee suspected, that he would not have taken, had he beene borne in either of these two Cities, but have spared some part of his diligence, and been contented, to have all men thinke better and more honourably than it deferved, of his owne Countrie. The like disease it is to be feared, that we shall hereafter finde in others; and hall have some cause to wish, that either they were somewhat lesse Roman, or else, that ome Works of their opposite Writers were extant, that so we might at least heare both sides speake: being henceforth destitute of Polybins his helpe, that was a man indifferent. But fince this cannot be, we must bee sometimes bold, to observe the coherence of things; and believe fo much only to be true, as dependent upon good reason, or (at least) faire probabilitie. This attentive circum spection is needfull at the present: such is the repugnancie, or forgetfulnesse, which we find in the best Narration of things following the Battaile of Canna. For it is faid, that foure thouland foot & horse gathered together about the Confull Terentius at Venusia; that others to the number of ten thousand got into Cannussium, choosing for their Captaines, young P. Scipio, and Ap. Claudius; yet that the Confull Terentius Varro, joyning his company unto those of Scipio at Cannusium, wrote unto the Senate, that he had now well-neere ten thousand men about him; that the letters of the Confull were brought to Rome, when the Senate was newly rifen, that had beene taking order for pacifying those tumults in the City, which grew upon he first bruit of the overthrow; and yet, that Embassadours from Capua (after some onfultation, whether it were meet to fend any, or without further circumstance, to fide with Hannibal) were sent unto Terentius, and found him at Venusia, a pretty while beore he wrote those letters, which overtooke (in a manner) at Rome the first news of the

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When Honnibal had facked the Roman camp, and truffed up the spoiles, forthwith he dislodged, and marched away into Samnium; finding a disposition in the Hirpines, and many other people thereabout, to forfake the Roman partie, & make alliance with Carthave. The first towne that opened the gates unto him, was Coff a, where he laid up his baggage: and leaving his brother Mago to take in other places, He hasted into Campania. The generall affection of the multitude, in all the cities of Italy, was inclinable unto him: not onely in regard of their grievous losses, sustained abroad in the fields, which the Romans themselves, who could not hinder him from spoiling the Country, especially the poorer fort of them, did hardly indure; but in a loving respect unto that great courtesse (as it feemed) which he used, unto such of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now also after his great victory at Canna, He had lovingly dismissed as many of the Italian Confederates of Rome, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being so obstinate against him that had sought to deliver them from bondage. Neither fpared he to win their love by gifts; pretending to admire their valour; but feeking indeed, by all wayes & meanes, to make them his, whileft all other motives were concurrent. At this time also he began to deale kindly (though against his nature) with the Roman prisoners; telling them, that he bore no mortall hatred unto their Estate; but being 2 provoked by injuries, fought to right himselfe and his countrie; and fought with them, to trie which of the two Cities, Rome or Carthage, should beare soveraigne Rule, not. which of them should be destroyed. So he gave them leave to choose ten of their number, that should be sent home to treat with the Fathers about their ransome: and together with these, he sent Carthalo a Nobleman of Carthage, and Generall of his Horse. to feele the disposition of the Senate; whether it were bowed as yet by so much adversity. and could stoope unto desire of peace. But with the Romanes these arts prevailed not as shall be shewed in due place. The people of Italie, all, or most of them, save the Roman Colonies, or the Latines, were not onely wearie of their losses past; but entenained a deceivable hope, of changing their old Society for a better. Wherefore not only the Samnites , Lucans , Bruians , and Apulians , ancient enemies of Rome , and notuntill the former generation utterly subdued, began to re-assume their wonted spirits:but the Campans, a Nation of all other in Italy most bound unto the State of Rome, andby many mutuall affinities therewith as streightly conjoyned, as were any fave the Laines, changed on a fudden their love into harred; without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

Campania, is the most goodly and fruitfull Province of Italie, if not (as somethen thought) of all the Earth: and the City of Capua, answerable unto the country, whereof it was Head, so great, faire, and wealthie, that it seemed no lesse convenient a seatof the Empire, than was either Rome or Caribage. But of all qualities, bravery is the least requifite unto foveraigne command. The Campans were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themselves like layes by their feathers, despised the unfortunate vertue of the Romans their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there some of the principall among them, as in other Cities, that bore especiall regard unto the Majestie of Rome, and could not indure to heare of Innovation. But the Plebeian faction had lately fo prevailed within Capua, that all was governed by the pleasure of the Multitude; which wholly followed the direction of Pacuvius Calavius an ambitious Noble-man, whose credit grew, and was up-held by furthering all popular defires: whereof, the conjunction with Hannibal was not the least. Some of the Capuans had offred their city to the Carthaginians shortly after the battaile of Thrasymene: whereupon chiefly it was, that Hannibal made his journy into Campania; the Dictator Fabius waiting upon him. At that time, either the neernesse of the Roman Army, or some other seare of the Capuans, hindred them from breaking into actuall rebellion. They had indeed no leifure to treat about any article of new Confederacie: or had leifure ferved, yet were the multitude (whose inconstant love Hannibal had won from the Romans, by gentle ulage, and free dismissing of some prisoners in good account among them) unable to hold any fuch negotiation, without advice of the Senate; which mainely impugned it. So they that had promifed to yeeld up their town to Hannibal, & meet him on the way, with some of their nobility that should assure

him of all faithfull meaning; were driven to fit still in a great perplexity: as having failed to let- in this their new friend, yet fufficiently discovered themselves, to draw upon them the hatred of the Romans. In this case were no small number of the Citizens: who thermon grew the more incenfed against their Senate, on whom they cast all the blame, eafily pardoning their owne cowardize. The people holding fotender a regard of liberty. that even the lawfull Government of Magistrates grieved them, with an imaginary oppression; had now good cause to seare lest the Senators would become their Lords indeed. & by helpe of the Romans bring them under a more streight subjection, than ever they had indured. This feare being ready to breake into some outrage, Pacuvius made use of, to serve his owne ambition. He discoursed unto the Senate, as they fate in Counofell, about these motions troubling the city: and faid, That he himselfe had both married a Roman Ladie, and given his Daughter in marriage to a Roman: but, that the danger of forfaking the Roman partie was not now the greatest ! for that the people were violently bent to murder all the Senate, & after to joyne themselves with Hannibal; who should countenance the fact, and fave them harmelesse. This he spake, as a man well knowne to bee beloved himselfe by the People, and privie unto their designes. Having throughly terrefied the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging over them: He promiled nevertheleffe to deliver them all, and to fet things in quiet, if they would freely put themselves into his hands; offering his oath, or any other affurance that they should demand, for his faithfull meaning. They all agreed. Then shutting up the Court, and placing a Guard of his owne followers about it, that none might enter, nor iffue forth, without his leave: He called the people to affembly: and speaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would be glad to heare, he told them, that these wicked Governours were furprised by his policie, & all fast, ready to abide what sentence they would lay upon them. Onely thus much he advised them, as a thing which necessity required, That they should choose a new Senate, before they satisfied their anger upon the old. Sorehearfing unto them the names of one or two Senators, he asked what their judgement was of those. All cried out, that they were worthy of death. Choose then (faid he) first of all some new ones into their places. Hereat the multitude, unprovided for such van election, was filent; untill at laft, some one or other adventured to name whom he thought fit. The men so nominated, were utterly disliked by the whole Assembly: either for some knowne fault, basenesse, and insufficiency; or else even because they were unknowne, and therefore held unworthy. This difficulty in the new Election appearing more and more, whilest more were to be chosen; (the fittest men to be substitued, having beene named among the first, and not thought fit enough) Pacurius intreated, and eafily prevailed with the people, that the present Senate might for this time be spared, inhope of amends hereafter; which (doubtleffe) they would make, having thus obtained pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not onely the people, as in former times, honoured Pacurius, and effeemed him their Patron; but the Senators also were governed by him, to whom they acknowledged themfelves indebted, for faving all their lives. Neither did the Senare faile after this by all obsequiousnes, to court the People; giving thereines unto their lawlesse Wil, who else were likely to cast them down. All the city being thus of one mind; onely feare of the Romans kept them from opening their gates 10 Hannibal. But after the Battaile at Canna, this impediment was removed: and few there were that would open their mouths to speake against the Rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three hundred principall Gentlemen of the Campans, did then ferve the Romans in the He of Sicil: the Parents and Kinfinen of these prevailed so far, that Embassadours were fent unto Terentius the Confull; to fee his present case, and what it could minister of Hope or Feare. These, wheresoever they found him, found him weakely attended, o^{andas} weake in spirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the service of their State; and defired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamentedunto them the greatnesse of the Roman misfortune : saying, that all was lost; and that the Campans must now, not helpe the Romans, who had nothing left wherewith to ^{hel}pe themfelves, but make warre in their defence against the Carthaginians; as the Romans had fometimes done for the Campans against the Samnites. Hereunto hee is said to have added a foolish Invective against Hannibal and his Carthaginisms: telling , How he had taught them to make bridges of flaughtered carkafes, and to feed upon mans flesh; with such other stuffe, as only bewraied his own feare. As for the Campans themselves,

He put them in minde of their present strength: they having thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse; with mony, and all provisions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed them prouder than they came, and filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; whereas before, they were somewhat timorous in adventuring to seeketheir own liberty. Having reported this at Capua: the same Embassadors were dispatched away to Hannzbal, with whom they easily made alliance, upon these conditions; That the Campane should be absolutely free, and ruled by their owne Lawes; That no Citizens of theirs should bee subject unto any Carthaginian Magistrate, in what case soever, whether in Warre or Peace; and, That Hannibal should deliver unto the Campans three hundred Romane prisoners, such as themselves would choose, whom they might exchange for to their Gentlemen which were in Sicil.

Against all this Negotiation, Decim Magim, an honourable Citizen, opposed himfelfe earneftly : using , in vaine , many perswasions, to the wilfull and head-strong Multitude; whom he put in minde of Pyrrhus and the Tarentines, wishing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were fending Embassadours unto Hannibal: and this alfo did he, when the new Alliance was concluded; but most carnestly, when a Carthaginian Garrison was entring the towne : at which time he gave advice, either to keepe it out, or to fall upon it, and to cut it in pieces, that by such a notable piece of fervice, they might make amends unto the Romans, whom they had

forfaken.

Advertisement hereof was given to Hannibal: who lying about Naples not farreoff. fent for Magius to come speake with him in the campe. This Magius refused: alledging, that he was, by the late concluded Articles, free from subjection unto any Carthaginan; and therefore would not come. Hannibal thereupon hasted himselfe towards Capua: forbearing to attempt any further upon Naples; which he thought to have taken in his way by Scalado, but found the wals too high, & was not well provided to lay fiegeunto it. At Capua he was entertained with great folemnity and pompe: all the people isluing forth of the towne, to behold that great Commander, which had won fo many noble victories. Having taken his pleasure in the fight of that goodly City, and passed over his first entertainements; He came into their Senate: where he commended their resolution, 20 in shaking off the Roman yokespromifing, that ere long all Italy and Rome it selfe, should be driven to acknowledge Capua as chiefe, and receive Law from thence. As for Deams Magine, who openly tooke part with the Romans their enemies; He prayed them, that they would not thinke him a Campan, but a traitor to the State, & use him accordingly, giving fentence out of hand upon him, as he deferved. This was granted: and Magus delivered unto Hannibal; who unwilling to offend the Capuans, at his first comming by putting fo great a man to death, yet fearing that they might fue for his liberty, if he kept him alive, thought it best to send him away to Carthage. Thus Hannibal setled his friendship with the Campanes: among whom, onely this Decius Magius had openly dared to speake against him; being affisted by Perolla the sonne of Pacuvius. This Perolla would a have murdered Hannibal, whilest he was at supper, the first night of his comming; had not his Fathers authority kept him from attempting any fuch attempt. All the towne (besides) were so earnest in the love of their new Society, that they are said to have murdered all the Romans, upon whom at the present they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to have smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The same course of fortune, with those of Capua, ranne some other townes thereabouts, which depended on this, as their Mother-City. Nola, Nucerza, Naples, Casiline, and Acerra, were the Cities next adjoyning, that flood out for the Romans. Against these Hannibal went, thinking to finde them weakely manned; as they were indeed,

though stoutly defended.

The Romanes at this time were not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled townes; but were faine to leave all places, except a few of the most suspected, unto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. Rome it selfe was in extreme seare of Hannibals comming, at the first report of the overthrow at Canne: and the griefe of that losse was To generall, and immoderate, that it much diffurbed the provision against apparent danger. It was hard to judge, whether the loffe already received, or the feare of defirmetion prefently threatning, were the more terrible. All the Senators found worke enough, to that the noy se and lamentable bewailings, whereof the streets were full. Courtiers were

fent forth, to bring affured tidings how all went: whereof when Letters from the Conful Varro had throughly enformed them, they were fo amazed, that they raninto harharous superstition; and taking direction (as was faid) from their fatall bookes, buried alive two men and women, Gaules and Greekes, in their Oxe-market. If the bookes of Sie bulgave them fuch instructions; we may justly thinke that Sibyl her selfe was instructed by the Divell. Yet is it not improbable, that extremity of feare caused them to hearken to wicked Sooth-fayers; whose detestable counsels they afterwards, for their own honour (as ashamed of such Authors) imputed to the books of Sibyl. An Embassador was sent to Delphi, to confult with the oracle of Apollo; and enquire with what praiers and fupplicarionsthey might pacifie the gods, and obtain an end of these calamities. This is enough to discover the greatnes of their fear; though not serving to give remedy. At that time came Letters out of Sicil, from the Prætor Octacilius; whom the Senate had appointed, if he found it meet, to passe over into Africk. In these were contained newes of one Carthaginian fleet that wasted the kingdome of Hieron their good friend & confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the Iles Egateis, which was in readineffe to fet upon Lilybaum. and the rest of the Roman Province, if the Prætor stirred aside to the rescue of Hieron

In the middest of these extremities, it was thought needfull to call home Terenting the Conful, that he might name a Dictator, to take foveraigne charge of the Weale publique. with absolute power, as necessity required. It must needs seeme strange, that all forts of people went forth to meet the Conful, and bid him welcome home, giving him thankes for that he had not despaired of the Weale publique . But this was done (as may seeme) by order from the Senate: which therein(doubtleffe) provided wifely for upholding the generall reputation. If his comming into the Citie had renewed the lamentations and outcries of the people: what elfe would have followed, than a contempt of their wretchednesse, among those that were subject unto their Dominion. Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gave it not) of bestowing upon him their welcome, and thanks: they nov fed abroad a fame, which came perhaps unto the eares of Hannibal, of their Magnanimity and Confidence: that might feem grounded on their remaining strength. This therefore was wifely done. But whereas Livie would have us thinke, that it was done gene Livibae. roufly, and out of great fpirit; let me be pardoned, if I beleeve him not. It was done fearfully, and to cover their griefe: had they dared to shew their indignation, they would have strucke off his head; as in few years after, Cn. Fulvius had his life brought into question. and was banished by them being lesse blame-worthy, for a smaller offence. M. Tunius. by appointment of the Senate, was nominated Dictator; and T. Sempronius, Master of the Livilibers. horfe. There fell preferrly to muftering of Souldiers of whom they raifed fourenew Legions, and 1000 horse: though with much difficulty; as being fain to take up some that were very boyes. These foure Legions are elsewhere forgotten in accompt of the forces levied by this Dictator; and two Legions onely fet downe, that had bin enrolled in the beginning of the year for custody of the City. So it may be that these two Legions be- 121,1116,23. ing drawn into the field; foure new ones of Pratextati, or striplings were left in their places. In fuch raw Souldiers, and so few, little confidence was to be reposed; for which reafor they increafed their number, by adding unto them 8000. Rurdy flaves, that were put inhope of liberty, if they should deserve it by manfull service. This not sufficing; the Difator proclaimed. That who foever ought mony and could not pay it, or had committed any capitall offence, should forthwith be discharged of his debt or punishment, if he would serve in the War. To arme these Companies, they were fain to take down out of their Temples and Porches, the spoiles of their enemies that had bin there set up: among which, were 6000 Armors of the Gaules, that had bin carried in the Triumph of C. Flamining, a little before the beginning of this War. To fuch mockery had God brought the pride of the Romans, as a due reward of their infolent oppressions, that they were fain to iffue forth of their own gates, in the habite of strangers, when Hannibal was ready to encounter them with his Africans, armed Roman like.

About the same time it was that Carthalo, with the Agents of the prisoners taken at Canna, came to Rome. Carthalo was not admitted into the City, but commanded, while ft he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the Roman Territory. To the messengers of the captives, audience was given by the Senate. They made earnest Petition to be ransomed at the publike charge; not only the teares and lamentation of their poor kinftolke, but the great need, wherein the City then stood, of able Souldiers, commending their

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their fuite; which yet they obtained not. Besides the generall custome of the Romans (held by long Tradition, and strengthened by a notable Precedent, when Regulus was overthrowne, and taken prisoner in the former Warre) not to be too tender of such as had yeelded to the enemy; much was alledged against these who now craved ransome: but the speciall point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might have savedthemfelves, as others did. It sufficed not unto these pooremen, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Confuls; they were told, that this was great prefumption. The truth was, the State wanted money; and therefore could not want excuses, whereby to avoid the disbursement: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither must wee regardit, that the flaves which were armed for the warre, are faid to have cost more, than the summe did amount unto, that would have ranfomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, devised to countenance the Roman proceedings, as if they had beene fevere; when as indeed they were sutable to the present fortune, poore, and somewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little proofe, That Hannibal valued those Roman slaves, whom he had taken in the Campe among their Masters, at no more, than every one the third part of a common Souldiers ransome: and likely it is, that hee offered them at the price, whereat hee thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with Hannibal, a better bargain for flaves might have beene made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with private men; vet must we withall consider, that these private men did onely lend these slaves for 20 a while unto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented to forbeare the price of them (when by order of the Senate they were enfranchised) untill the Warre should be ended. If Hannibal would have given fuch long day of payment, it is likely that the Romans would have beene his Chapmen: but, feeing hee dealt onely for ready money, they chose rather to say, We will not give, than, We cannot. The like austeritie, upon the same reason, but contrary pretence, was used toward the souldiers that escaped from that great Battell. These were charged for having fled : as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might have done fo. True it is, that in such cases (if ever) that which they call raggione del Stato, may serve for an excuse: when the Common-wealth, being driven to a miserable exigent, is faine to helpe it selse, by doing injuries to private men. And so dealt the Romans now: condemning all those that had served at Canna, to bee transported into Siciland there to serve, not as others did, untill they had fulfilled twenty veeres in the Warres, or else were fifty yeeres of age; but untill this Warre should be ended, how long foever it lasted, and that without reward. The same thristy cenfure was afterwards layd upon others, for their mif-behaviour: but never upon any man of quality, fave only (a good while after this at better leisure) upon Cecilius Merellis. and a few other hare-brain'd fooles his companions; who, being frighted out of their wits, with the terrour of so great a losse, were devising, after the battell, which way to runne out of Italie, when Hannibal as yet had scarce one towne within it. The inequality of this rigour grew shortly distast full to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed by a Tribune of the people; neverthelesse it was quietly digested, the excuse being no lesse apparent than the fault.

M. Junius the Dictator, having dispatched all needfull businesse within the Citie, tooke the field with five and twenty thousand men. What he did with this Army, I cannot find : nor more of him than this, That he spent the time about Campania; where(as may be prefumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be afcribed, that Hannibal did no greater evill: for of any evill done to Hannibal, by the Romans, in this their weake estate, onely Marcellus had the honour. Marcellus, being then one of the Prætors, lay at Oftia, with a Fleet ready to fet faile for Sicil, having one Legion abound his ships, and fifteene hundred other Souldiers newly taken up: with which forces hee was to defend that Iland, and doe what harme he could in Africk. But hearing of theoverthrow at Canna, he fent these of his new Levie to Rome, for defence of the Cirie; and marched hastily with his Legion toward Cannusium: delivering the Fleet, empty of Souldiers, to P. Furim his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrates, and chiefe Citizens of Nola, to helpe them: who were like to be forced by the multitude (affected, as were the rest of the Campanes) to let in the Carthag mian; and knew not how to avoid this otherwise, than by seeming to deliberate about the articles of this new confederacie. Wherefore hee made great journies thitherward; and arrived even time

enough to prevent the Enemy. Many idle walkes Hannibal made betwixt Nola and Naples: affaying by faire words and terrible threats the one and the other Citie. Naples was firong, and not infected with any the least touch of disloyaltie: had also a fure Haven, whereby it flood in the leffe feare of fultaining much inconvenience, by fpoyle of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Countrey. But at Nolait was thought a valuable confideration, That Hannibal was Master of the field which if he laid waste, all the poore people were utterly undone. So thought the Multitude: and fuch talk used some, that had little feare of their own private want or poverty, but a great defire to gratifie the Carthaomian. Of these, one L. Banting was chiefe; a stout young gentleman, and Souldier of to especiall marke, well beloved in the Citie, and one that had done good service to the Ramans; but was found by Hannibal halfe dead at Canna; and after much gentle usage, good attendance, and cure of his wounds, friendly difmiffed with liberall gifts. Hee therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to returne the greatest thankes hee could unto fo courteous an enemy. Marcellus perceiving this, wrought upon the same easie nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had beene by chance. feemed to wonder, why one that had fo well deferved of the Roman state, had not repaired unto him the Prætor, who defired nothing more than fuch acquaintance. So with many commendations, gifts, and loving entertainment, being himfelfe also a man highly reputed for his personall valour, he made this Bantons to farre in love with him, that no-, thing could be attempted within Nola, against the Romans, whereof he had not presently advertisement. At the comming of Marcellus, Hannibal removed from about Nola: and affaved, as formerly he had done, the Neapolitans: but they had lately taken in a Roman Garrison; upon confidence whereof they gave him a peremptorie answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to Nuceria, which he tooke by composition; and so returnedbacke againe to Nola. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of Nola bore unto him: who although they durft not ftirre in his quarrell, being over-awed by the Roman Garrison; yet if they saw Marcellus hardly bestead, and forced to turne his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies affailing him without, like enough it feemed, that they would not be wanting unto the accomplishment of their owne desires. He therefore brought his Armie close to the Towne, and skirmished often with Marcellus: not inhope thereby to doe much good, but onely to make shew of a meaning to force the Towne; which he fought in the meane while to take by intelligence. In the night time there passed messages between him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once Marsellus, with all his forces, could be trained into the field, the Multitude within the Towne should presently nie; and feizing upon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation Marcelliswas advertised: and fearing left the Conspirators would shortly adventure, even to find him buffed within the Citie, whileft the Carthaginians should scale the walls; hee thought it the furest way, to cut off the enemies hope, and fend him away betimes. Wherefore ordering his men in three companies, within three feverall gates, looking towards the enemy: he gave a streight command, that all the Citizens should keepe their houses. Thus he lay close a good part of the day, to the enemies great wonder against whom he had customarily issued forth before more early, every day, to skirmish. But when it was further noted, that the walls were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then thought Hannibal, that furely all was discovered, and Marcellus now busied with the Citizens. Whereupon he bad his men bring ladders, and make ready for the affault: which was done in all haste. But when the Carthaginians were at the very walls, and thought nothing leffe, than that the Romans would meet them in the field: fuddenly the middle gate was opened, whereat Marcellus, with the best and oldest of his Soulders, brake forth upon them, with a great noise, to make his unexpected fally the more terrible. Whilest the Carthaginians, much out of order, were some of them flying before Marcellu, the rest making head against him: the other two gates opened, whereat in like fortiffued they of the new levied Companies, upon the enemies backes. The fudden terrour was more availeable unto the Romans, than their force: yet the Execution was fo great, that this was accounted as a victorie, and reputed one of the bravest Acts performed in all that Warre, forasmuch as hereby it was first proved, that Hannibal might be overcome. After this, Marcellus, being freed from his enemies that were departed, tooke a strict account of the Citizens of Nola; condemning above threefc ore

Liv.1.25.

Liv ... 1,24.

threescore and ten of high Treason, whose heads he struck off; and so leaving the town in quiet obedience unto their Senate, went and incamped hard by about Sueffula. Hannibal in the meane feason was gone to Acerra: where being excluded, hee thought it no wisedome to lose time in perswasions, but layd siege unto it, and began on all sides to close it up. This terrefied the People, who knew themselves unable to hold out. Therefore, before his Workes were finished, and they quite surrounded; they stole out by night, and left him the Town empty: which he facked and burnt. Then hearing newes of the Dictator, that he was about Casiline, thither went Hannibal; as being unwilling that an Enemie so neere should disquiet him at Capua; where he meant to Winter. Ir seemes, or rather indeed it is plain, that the late victory of Marcellus had nothing abated the spirit of the Carthaginian: who durst with a small part of his Army seeke out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the Roman strength. Wherefore the joy of his Enemics, upon so flight an occasion as the death of some two thousand of his men, at the most, and those not slaine in plaine battell, but by a sudden eruption; witnesseth chiefly in what great feare they flood of Hannibal, and how Crest-fallen they were that having three yeares fince demanded at Carthage the body of Hannibal, to bee delivered unto their pleasure, by his owne Citizens; could now please themselves, as with good newes, to heare, That in a skirmish not far from Rome, hee appeared to be a man, and nor refistlesse. At Casilinum the Dictator was not : but many Companies of Italians . Confederates of Rome, were gotten into the Town, and held it. Five hundred of the Prane-ne fines there were, and about four hundred of Perufia, with some of the Latines. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the battell at Canna, being fent by their severall States to the Campe: whither whilest they were marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountred them, and fent them back forrowfull; for they loved well their Lords the Romans, under whose government they lived happily. So came they all, one after another, to Casiline, where they met and stayed. Neither had they staved there long, ere they heard newes from Capua, How that great Citie became the Ringleader of all the Campanes into rebellion. The people of Casiline were affected as theyof Capua: and therefore fought how to rid their hands of those Pranestines and their fellowes; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many traines laid one for. another, at last they slew all the Townsmen in a night, and fortified the Westerne part of the Towne (for it was divided by the River Vulturnus) against the Enemy. If they had run away with the goods, and pretended, that these of Casiline were as the rest of the Campanes, all Traitors; they themselves might have bin reputed, as no better than the Mamerines. But their constancy in defence of the place witnesseth, upon what honest reasons they surprised it. Hannibal came thither, thinking to have encountred with greater forces: but these few found him more worke than he expected. Divers affaults he gave, but was still repelled with losse: and many fallies they made, with variable event. The Enemy mined; and they countermined: opposing so much industry to his force, that he was driven to close them up, and seeke to winne them by famine. T. Sempronius Gracchus, that was Master of the horse, lay with the Roman Army higher upthe River: who faine would have relieved Casiline, but that the Dictator, being gone to Rome about some matters of Religion, had given him expresse charge not to fight till his returne. Marcellus from Sueffula could not come: his way being stopped by the overflowings of Vulturnsu; the Nolans also beseeching him not to leave them, who were in danger of the Campanes, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water stayed his journey, such entreaties were needlesse. Neither is it like that the Dictator tarryed at Rome follong, as till extreme famine had confumed the Garrison in Casiline. Wherefore it may be thought, that the Towne was lost, because the Romans durst not adventure to raise the siege. Barrels of corne were sent by night, floting down the River and when some of these, being carryed awry by an Eddie of the water, stucke among the Willowes on the bank, whereby this manner of reliefe was discovered and prevented; Gracebus cast a great quantity of Nuts into the streame, which faintly sustained the poore besieged men. At length when all food was spent, and what soever grew green under the Walles was gathered for Sallets, the Carihaginians ploughed up the ground; whereon the besieged presently sowed Rape-seede. Hannibal seeing this, admired their Captaines abroad. Wherefore it is no marvell, if the errand of Mago found extra-the Ring, was whereon the beneged prejently lowed Rape-lecte. The Ring was their patience; and faid, That he meant not to flay at Cafiline untill the Rapes were produced to the general province of this joy, Himileo, a Senator adverse to the facti-the general grown. Wherefore, though hitherto he had refused to hearken unto any Composition, of Hanno, is said to have demanded of that great persuader unto peace with Rome, the Roma E-

asintending to make them an example to all others, by punishing their obstinacy; yet now he was content, to grant them their lives at an indifferent ranfom; which when they had paid, he quietly dismissed them, according to his promise. Seven hundred Carthaginians he placed in Casiline, as a Garrison for defence of the Campanes; unto whom he restored it. To the Pranestine Souldiers great thankes were given, and loving rewards; among which they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of Rome. But their prefent condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as they were in Praneste: which is no weake proofe, of the good estate wherein the Cities flourished, that were subject to the Roman Government. This siege of Casiline was not a little bene ficial I to the Romans; as having long detained Hannibal, and confumed much of his time, that might otherwise have bin better spent. For Winter overtook him long beforehe could dispatch the businesse: which how to quit with his honour he knew not. when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at Capua: where he refreshed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, and made it effeminate; though, effeminate as it was. He therewithall did often beat the Romans in following times, as shall appeare hereafter.

Of the great supply that was decreed at Carthage to be sent to Hannibal into Italie. How by the malice of Hanno, and floth or parfimony of the Carthaginians, the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the Carthaginians grew faster, than of the Romans. Of Fabius and other old Roman Historians how partiall they were in their writings.

Hen Mago, the fon of Amilear, had spent some time about the taking in of fuch Italians, as fell from the Romans after the battell at Canna; his brother Hannibal fent for him to Capua, and thence dispatched him away to Carthage, with the joyfull message of Victory. He told the Caribaginian Senate with how many Roman Generals his brother had fought, what Confuls he had chaced, wounded, or flain; how the stout Romans, that in the former war never shunned any occasion of fight, were now growne so calme, that they thought their Dictator Fabius the onely good Captaine, because he never durst adventure to come to battell; That, not without reafon, their foirits were thus abated, fince Hannibal had flaine of them above two hundred thousand, and taken above fifty thousand prisoners. He further told them of the Bruzans, Apulians, Samnites, Lucans, and other people of Italy, that following the fortime of those great victories, had revolted unto the Carthaginians. Among the rest hee magnified Capua, as a goodly Citie, and fit to be not onely (as already it was) Head of all the Capuans, but the chiefe feat of their Dominion in Italie: and there he informed them, how lovingly his brother had bin entertained, where he meant to rest that winter, attending their fupply. As for the war, He faid it was even at an end, if they would 10w purfue it closely, and not give the Romans any breathing time, wherein to re-collect themselves, and repair their broken forces. He willed them to consider, that the war was far from home, in the Enemies Countrey; that so many battells had much diminished his brothers Armie: that the Souldiers, who had fo well deferved, ought to be confidered with liberall rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new Italian friends, with . Thus Livie exactions of mony corne, and other necessaries; but that these things must be sent from reports it; and Caribage, which the victory would requite with large amends. Finally, hee caused credible it is thegolden rings, taken from the fingers of the Roman Knights that were flaine, to be was poore, the Powred out openly in the Court: which being measured, filled (as some say) three bravery of pribushels, or (as others would rather have it) no more than one; adding, that by this might vate men was appeare the greatnesse of the Roman calamity, for as much as none but the * principall of logrest as the that order, were accustomed to weare that ornament.

Who fo considers the former Punicke Warre, may easily find, that the State of Car-though other thage never did receive, in all the durance thereof, any such hopefull advertisements from wife Just Annul.

Whether quites.

CHAP.3. 9.10.

a Liv.1.22.

Whether he were still of opinion, that Hannibal should be yeelded up unto the Romans. or whether he would forbid them to give thanks unto the gods, for this their good fueceffe. Hereuntothough it be not likely that Hanne made the same formall answer, which Livie puts into his mouth, calling the Caribaginian Senators Paires conscription a terme proper to the Romans; and putting them in minde of his owne shamefull overthrow received at the Ilands Agaieis: yet the summe of his speech appeares to have been no lesse malicious than it is set downe, for a smuch as Hannibal himselfe, at his departure out of Italie, exclaimed against the wickednesse of this Hanno; faying, that his hatred against the Barchines, had oppressed their Familie, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine of Carthage. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a jest of these victories, as is re- 10 ported; faying, It ill beseemed him, who had vanquished the Romans, to call for more help as if he had been beaten; or him, that had taken their camp, filled for footh with spoile, to make request for meat and mony. To these cavils, if answer were needful, it might be said, That other booty than of horses and slaves, little was to be found in the Roman Campe: the best of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few a filver stude in the bridles and trappings of their horses. If Hannibal had taken any maine convoy of mony and provisions, going to supply all wants of a great army in some other Province, (as the two Scipio's are afterwards faid to have done, when they wan the camp of Afdrubal, that carried along with him all the wealth of Spaine, in his journey towards Italie) then might fuch an objection more justly have bin made unto his demand of a supply. But 20 the most likely part of Hanno his Oration, and wherein he best might hope to prevaile, contained a perswasion to use their fortune with moderation; and now to seeke peace, whilest they had so much the better in war.

What would have bin the iffue of this counfell, if it had bin followed, it were not easie to fay. For though it be likely, that the Roman pride would have brooked much indignity, in freeing Italy from the danger of war; yet it is not likely, that the faith, fo oftenbrokento the Carthagmians in former times, would have bin kept entire, when any opinion of good advantage had called for revenge of so many shamefull overthrowes stinceafter this war ended, and a new league concluded, no submissive behaviour could preserve Carthage from ruine, longer, than untill fuch time as Rome was at leifure from all other wars 30 This counfell therefore of Hanno, though it might feeme temperate, was indeed very pefilent; and served onely to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a maine confent of the Senate, that forty thousand Numidians, forty Elephants, and great abundance of filver, should be sent over to Hannibal: and that, besides thefe, twenty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, should be levied in Spain; not only to fupply, as need should require, the Armies in that Province, but to be transported into

This great aide, had it beene as carefully fent, as it was readily decreed, the Roman Historians would not have found cause, to taxe the retchlesse improvidence of Hannibal, in forbearing to march directly from Canna to Rome, or, in refreshing his Armie among the delights of Capua: the next yeeres worke would have finished the businesse, with leffe dangerous adventure; and the pleafures, which his men enjoyed among the Campanes, would have been commended, as rewards by him well thought upon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be imployed in the following Warre. But either the too much carelesnesse of those, that were loth to make haste in laying out their money, before extreme necessity required it; or the crafty malice of Hanno, and his fellowes, working upon the private humours of men, that had more feeling of their owne commodity, than sense of the publike need; utterly perverted, and made unprofitable in the performance, the order that had beene so well set down. The bElephants were sent : and some money peradventure, uncertaine it is how long after. But those great forces of three score thousand foot, and four ethousand horse, came nor into Italy, till much was lost of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old Carthaginian Armie, was first consumed by time, and fundry accidents of warre. Onely fome small numbers, no way answering unto the proportion decreed, were sent into Spaine; and the journey of Afdrubal thence through France into Italie much talked of but he not enabled thereunto, till many yeeres were past, and the Romans had recovered

Here wee may note, what great riches the Carthaginians drew into their Citic, bot

by the Tributes received from their subjects, and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize. For it is not long, fince the Warre of the Mercenaries, and the perfidious tyranny of the Romans, extorting in time of greatest necessitie twelve hundred talents; had exceedingly impoverished Carthage: which was before brought into great want, even by the expence of fo much money, as was to be disburfed for redeeming of peace, after the losse at Loaneis. Yet we see, what great Armies of Numidians, and Spaniards, besides those already on foot, are appointed to the service in Italie, and how little the Carthaginians feare the want of money in these chargeable undertakings: whereas the Romans, on the other fide, having three or foure yeeres together beene forced to some extraordinary cost, are faine to goe upon credit, even for the price of those slaves, which they bought of their owne Citizens to arme for their defence. Such advantage, in meanes to enrich their Treasury, had the wealthy Merchants of Carthage, trading in all parts of the Mediterran Sea, even from Tyrus their Mother-Citie in the bottome of the ftreights unto the great Ocean, above the Romans: who lived on the fruits of their ground, and received their Tributes from people following the same course of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of Rome found leifure to shew it selfe, in the destruction of Carihage; the impudence of Roman falshood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of faith, discovered plainely whence the jealousie was bred, that this mighty City would againe rebell. For the Carthaginians, having given up hostages, even before the Roman Army did set forth, to perform what soever should be enjoyned them, with condition, that their City might not be destroyed; and having accordingly, when they were so required, yeelded up all their weapons, and engines of Warre; the Romans told them plainely, That the Citie of Carthage, which was the body of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withall, but the Towns must needs be demolished, and removed into some other place, that should betwelve miles distant from the Sea. For (faid the Romans) This Trade of Merchandice, by which ye now live, is not so fit for peaceable men, such as ye promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Husbandry; an wholesome kind of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies, and make them very apt Pfor conversation. This villainous dealing of the Romans, though sugred with glosing words, plainely shewes, what good observation the elder Cato had made of the hastic growth of Carthage in riches. For, when being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter what soever it were, he added still this conclusion, Thus I thinke; and that Carthage should be destroyed; Heemay seeme, not onely to have had regard unto that present wealth, which at his being there he had found in the City, but much more unto these times, and the great height whereunto it rose, even suddenly as we see, out of many calamities, whilest the Romans thought, that it had not bin in case to dare so terrible a War.

But as the Carthaginians, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skilfull than the Romans; so came they far short of them in the honourable care of the publike good: having every one, or most of them, amore principall regard of his owne private benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the first heat of their affection (wherein they concluded to purfue the war ftrongly) was over-paft; goe more leifurely to work, than had bin requifite in the execution. It was easie for Hanno to perswade covetous men, that they should first of all defend their own in Spain. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Province was fecured, they might fend an Army into Italie; so going to worke orderly by degrees. For it were no wisedom to commit all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazzard of fortune, against the enemies; or (which perhaps were worse) to the government of an ambitious man, and his objethren; who having once (if they could so doe) finished the warre, might easily make *Hannibala King, and subdue Carihage, with the forces that they had given him to the Offich amconquest of Rome.

By fuch malicious working of Hanno, and by their owne flacknesse, incredulity, dul- fed Hannibal, nes, or niggardize, the Carthaginians were perswaded rather to make small disbursments made water, in Spain, than to fet up all their rest at once in Italy. Yet was it indeed impossible, to hold that o he might * Countrey of fo large extent, and fo open a coast as that of Spaine, free from all incursi-with Legions. thof the Enemy: especially the affection of the Naturals being (as in a new Conquest) as knowing no ilestablished. A better way therefore it had beene, to make a running Warre, by other way to

tions; which are fuch as follow.

which the Romans might have bin found occupied, even with the ordinary Carthaginian Garrisons, or some little addition thereunto. For ifit were thought meet, to defer the profecution of their maine intendment against Rome it self, untill such time as every little thorne were pulled out of the fides of so great a Province, then must Emporie have been befieged and forced: which, by reason of alliance with the Massilians, gave unto the Romans, at all times when they pleased, a ready and secure Harbour. But the towne of Emperia was too strong to be wonne in haste: it had long defended it selfe against the Barbarians; having not above foure hundred paces of wall to the main Land, and exceedingly well fortified; a great Spanish Town of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles in compasse, very strong likewise, and friend unto the Gracians, though not o- 10 ver-much trusted. Wherefore to force this town of Emporia, that was, besides the proper strength, like to be so well assisted by the Massilians, Romans, and some Spaniards, would have bin a worke of little lesse difficulty, than was the Roman warre (in appearance) after the battell at Canna: yea, it had bin in effect none other, than to alter the seate of the warre; which Hannibal had already fixed, with better judgement, neere unto the gates of Rome. The difficulty of this attempt, being such as caused it altogether to be forborn; great folly it was, to be much troubled about expelling the Romans utterly out of Spaine: whom they might more easily have diverted thence, and drawne home to their owne doores, by making strong war upon their Citie. For even so the Romans afterwards removed Hannibal into Africk, by fending an Army to Carthage; and by 20 taking the like course, they now endevoured to change the seate of the warre, transferring it out of Italy into Spaine. But the private affections of men, regarding the commongood no otherwise, than as it is accessary to their owne purposes, did make them eafily winke at opportunities, and hope, that fomewhat would fall out well of it selfe, though they fet not too their helping hands. Hanno was a malicious wretch : yet they that thought him fo, were well enough contented to hearken unto his discourses, as long as they were plaufible, and tended to keepe the purse full. In the meane while they suffered Hannibal, and all the noble house of Amilear, to weary themselves in travell for the Common-wealth: which all Carthage in generall highly commended, but weakely affisted; as if the industry of these Barchines had bin somewhat more than needfull. Sure-30 ly the Carthaginians, in generall, were far leffe honourable than the people of Romanot only in government of their subject Provinces, but in administration of their own estate; few of them preferring the respect of the Weale publike above their private interest. But as they thrived little in the end, by their parlimony used toward their own Mercenaries, when the former Roman warre was finished: so the conclusion of this war present, will make them complaine, with feeling fighes, of their negligence in supplying Hannibal, afterthevictory at Canna; when gladly they would give all their Treasures, to redeeme the opportunity, that now they let paffe, as if it were cost enough to fend a few handfuls

That both the Spanish businesse, and the state of Africk it selfe, depended wholly, or 4 for the most part, upon successe of things in Italie, the course of actions following will make manifest. Particularly, how matters were ordered in Spaine by the Carthaginian Governours, it is very hard, and almost impossible, to setdowne. For, though we must not reprehend, in that worthy Historian Livie, the tender love of his owne Countrey, which made him give credit unto Fabius and others: yet must we not, for his sake, beleeve those lies, which the unpartiall judgement of Polybius hath condemned, in the Writers that gave them originall. It were needlesse to rehearse all that may bee found in Polybius, concerning the untruth of that Roman Historian Fabius. One example may suffice. He faith of Amilear and his men at Eryx, in the former war, That, having cleane spent their strength, and being even broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselves unto the Romans. Contrary hereunto we finde in the life of Amilcar, fet downe by Emilius Probus, That Eryx was in such fort held by the Carthaginians, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not been any war. These words, being referred to the brave resolution of the Carthaginian souldiers, and the singular vertue of their Generall, insusing such spirit into them, may be taken as not over liberall. For in the treaty of peace betweene Amilear and Carulus when the Roman first of all required, that this Garrison of Eryx should lay downe their Armes and for fake sicil, threatning, that otherwise hee would not talke of any composition

Amilear boldly bad him chuse, whether he would talke of it or no; for that the Armes which his Country had put into his hands to use against her Enemies, it was not his purpose to yeeld up unto them. Now fince the Romans, contrary to their custome upon like advantages, were content to let Amilear have his wil, & not to fland with him upon point of honour, whilest otherwise they might quietly rid their hands of him; plaine enough it is, that they were farre from thinking him a man confumed with miferies, as Fabius would have him feem. Hereunto agrees the relation of Polybius; who flatly, and by name. chargeth Fabius with untruth; faying, that how foever Amilear and his Souldiers hadendured all extremity, yet they behaved themselves as men that had no sense thereof; and were as far from being either vanquished or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference betweene Fabius (as also perhaps between other old Writers of the Roman flory)& those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mighty city of Rome: we must rake it in good part, that how soever Livie introduceth Hanno, in one place, joyning very foolishly his own shamefull overthrow at the Ilands * Agateis, with the great * Agateis plates fervices of Amilear at Eryx, as if both of them had had a like event; yet elfwhere he for-Erycmque ante beareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his exclinitate own unhappy conduct) into the same Hanno his mouth, making him say, That the affairs a Links, of Carihage went never better, than a little before the losse of their Fleet in that battell at Sea: wherein himselfe was Generall. Now, concerning the doings of the Scipeo's in Spain, there is cause to wish, that this Fabrus, with Val. Antias, & others of the like stamp, had either written (if they could not write more temperately) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of Livie to his Rome, had not caused him to think too well of their rela-

§. X I.

Strange reports of the Roman victories in Spain, before Aldrubal the son of Amilcar followed thence his brother Hannibal into Italie.

Thath bin shewed already, how P. Cornelius Scipio the Conful, returning from Gaule into Italie, to encounter with Hannibalat his descent from the Alps, sent before him his brother Cnew, with part of his Fleet and Army, into Spain. Two Roman Legions, with foureteene thousand foot of the Confederates, and twelve hundred horse, had been allotted unto the Conful therewith to make war in Spain against Hannibal: who since he was marching into Italie with the strength of his Army, P. Scipio beleeved, that a good part of these his own forces might well be spared from the Spanish Expedition; & therefore made bold to carry fome of the number back with him, fending on his brother with the rest, as his Lievtenant. Publim himselfe remained in Italie all the time of his Consulhip: which being expired, he was fent Proconful into Spain by the Senate, with an Aromy of eight thousand men, and a Fleet of thirty Gallies.

The Acts of these two Brethren in their Province, were very great; and, as they are reported, formewhat marvellous. For they continually prevailed in Spaine, against the Carihaginians: whom they vanquished in so many battels, and withdrew from their Alliance so many of the Spaniards their Confederates; that we have cause to wonder, low the enemy could so often find meanes to repaire his forces, and returne strong into the field. But as the Romans, by pretending to deliver the Country from the tyranny of Carthage, might eafily win unto their Confederacy, as many as were galled with the African yoake, and durst adventure to breake it: so the ancient reputation of the first Conquerors might serve to arme the Naturals against these Invaders; and to reclaime those, that had revolted unto the Romans, were it only by the memory of such ill succeffe, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the Carthaginian Treasure: which easily raised Souldiers, among those valiant, but (in that Age) Poore, and gold-thirsty Nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the spaniards had their children, kinfmen, and friends, abroad with Hannibal in his Itali-47 Wars; or serving the Carthaginians in Africk. And peradventure, if wee dutit be bold to fay it, the victories of the Scipto's, were neither fo many, nor fo great, as they are ferour by Livie. This we may be bold to fay, That the great Captaine Fabius, or Livie his person, maketh an objection unto Scipio, which neither Scipio, nor Livie for him,

doth answer, That if Asdrubal were vanquished, as Scipio would say, by him in Spaine: Grange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had beene extremely dangerous to Rome, that the same vanquished man should invade Italie. And it is indeed an incredible narration. That Astrubal, being enclosed on all fides, and not knowing how to escape out of bartell, fave onely by the steepe descent of Rockes, over a great River that lay at his backe. ranaway with all his mony, Elephants, and broken troups, over Tagus, directly towards the Pyrenees, and so toward Italie; upon which he fell with more than threescore thoufand armed souldiers. Neither doe I see, how it hangs well together, That hee chose a piece of ground very defensible, but most incommodious for his retrait, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that hee sent all his money and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the enemy: Or how it could be true, that thefe his Elephants, being fo fent before, could hinder the Romans (for so have they said to have done in the last battell between him and Scapes) from breaking into his Campe. Wherefore we canno more than be forry, that all Carthaginian records of this Warre, and Spanilb, (if there were any) being utterly loft, we can know no more thereof, than what it hath pleased the Romans to tell us; unto whom it were no wisedome to give too much credit. In this regard, I will fummarily run over the doings of the Scipio's in Spaine; not greatly infilling on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Cn. Cornelius landed at Emporia, an Haven towne, not farre within the Pyrenees . reraining still the same name with little inflection. That by the same of his clemencie hee 20 allured many Nations to become subject unto Rome, as the storie begins of him, I could eafily beleeve, if I understood by what occasion they had need to use his clemency, or he to give fuch famous example thereof, being a meere stranger, and having no jurisdi-Ction in the Countrey. Yet it is certain, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well infinuate himselfe into the love of the Barbarians; among whom, his dexterity in practice had the better successe, for that hee seemed to have none other errand. than fetting them at liberty. This pretext availed with some: others were to be hired with mony: and some he compelled to yeeld by force or feare; especially, when hee had won a battell against Hanno. Into all Treaties of accord, made with these people, likely it is, that he remembred to infert this Article, which the Romans in their Alliances never forgate; unlesse in long times past, and when they dealt with the Carthaginians, or their Superiors; Majestatem Pop. Rom; comiter conservent, which is, as Tullie interprets it, That they Bould genily (or kindly) uphold the Majestie of the People of Rome. This was in appearance nothing troublesome : yet implyed it indeed an obscure covenant of subjection. And in this respect it may be true, That the Spaniards became ditionis Romana; of the Roman jurisdiction; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Country wherein Scipio landed, was newly subdued by Hannibal in his passage toward Italie; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience. Particularly in the Bargutians; Hannibal had found at his comming among them, such an apprehension of the Roman greatnesse, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the Carthaginians. Wherefore he not onely appointed Hanno Governour over them, as over the rest of the Province betweene Iberus and the Pyrenees, but made him also their Lord; that is, (as I conceive it; for I doe not thinke he gave the Principality of their Country unto Hanno and his Heires,) He made him not onely Lievtenant-generall over them, in matters of Warre, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to Carthage; but tooke from them all inferiour Officers of their owne, leaving them to be governed by Hanno at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to rejoyce at the comming of Scipio: with whom others also (no doubt) found reasons to joyne; it being the custome of all conquered Nations, in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselves indiscreetly into the protection of others, that many times prove worse than the former. So were the Neapolitans, and Milanois, in the age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turnes of the Spaniards and French; as more sensible still of the present evill which they felt, than regardfull of the greater mischiefe, whereinto they ran by feeking to avoide it. This bad affection of his Province, would not fuffer Hanno to temporize. Ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, Hannibal had lest unto him: besides which it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his Province. Therefore he adventured a battell with Scipio; wherein hee was overthrown and taken. Following this victory, scipio befieged Stiffum, a towne hard by, and wonne

it. But Afdrubal having passed Iberus, and comming too late to the reliefe of Hanna. with eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse, fell upon the Roman Sea-forces, that lav not farre from Tarracon, whom he found carelesse, as after a victory, roaving abroad in the countrey; and with great flaughter drave them aboord their ships. This done, hee ranne up into the Countrey, where he withdrew the Ilergetes from the Roman partie. though they had given Hostages to Scipio. Scipio in the meane season was gone to visit and aide his Fleet: where having fer things in order, he returned backe, and made toward Aldrubal; who durst not abide his comming, but withdrew himselfe againe over Iberus. So the Ilergeres were compelled by force; having lost Athanagia their chiefe to Citie, to pay a fine to the Romans, and increase the number of their Hostages. The Aug Set ani likewise, Confederates of the Carihaginians, were besieged in their chiefe Towne: which they defended thirty dayes; hoping, in vaine, that the sharpe Winter, and great aboundance of Snow that fell, would have made the Romans to dislodge. But they were faine at length to yeeld: and for this their obstinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of filver. During the fiege, the Lacetani came to helpe their diffressed Neighbours, and were beaten home by Scipio, leaving twelve thousand of their Company dead behinde them. I cannot but wonder, how these Lacetane, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of Scipio, should, without any cause remembred, become Carthagiman on the fudden, in the next newes that we heare of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast Northward of Iberus, having lately become voluntarily dition's Roma-Livilbers. na, Subjett unto Rome, should, in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold Warre against Scipio, without any refistance of the Carthaginians. Neither can I believe, that Aldrubal, as it were by a charme, ftirred up the Ilergeres, making them lay afide all care of their Hostages, and take Armes in his quarrell; whilest himselfe had not the daring to fland against Scape, but ranne away, and saved himselfe beyond Iberus. Philinus perhaps, or fome Carthaginian Writer, would have told it thus: That Scipio adventuring too farre into the Countrey, was beaten by Afdrubal backe to his ships, whence he durst not stirre untill winter came on : at what time the Carthaginian returned into the heart of his Province, leaving fome few Garrisons to defend those places, that after Seiwonne, by returning upon them, unlooked for through a deepe fnow. As for the Lacuans, Ilergeres, and the rest, we may reasonably thinke, that they sought their owne benefit: helping themselves one while by the Romans against the Carthaginians; and contrariwise, upon sense of injuries received, or apprehension of more grievous tyranny, under which they feared to be brought by these new Masters, hearkening againe unto the comfortable promises of those, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to live under their owne Countrey Lawes, and not under Governours fent from Rome or Caribage, their demeanour in all Ages following may testifie: even from henceforth unto the dayes of Augustus Cafar; till when they were never throughly conque-

The veere following this, Cn. Scipio had a victory against the Carthaginians in fight at Sea; or rather came upon them unlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships, that ranne not too farre on ground, he tooke: and thereby grew Master of the whole coast; landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defenced. After this victory, above one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty Estates in Spaine, are faid to have submitted themselves unto the Romans, or given Hostages: whereby Asdrubal was compelled to slie into the utmost corners of the land, and hide himselfe in Lucitania. Yet it followes, that the Ilergetes did againe rebell; that Asdrubal hereuponcame over Iberus; and that Scipio (though having eafily vanquished the Ilergetes? went not forth to meet him, but stirred up against him the Celiberians, that lately were become his subjects, and had given him hostages. These tooke from the Carthaginian three Townes, and vanquished him in two battels; wherein they flew fifteene thousand of his men, and tooke foure thousand Prisoners. Then arrived P. Scipio, with the supply before mentioned: and henceforward the two brethren Joyntly administred the businesse in Spaine.

The Carthaginians being occupied in the Celtiberian Warre; the two Scipio's did halid cunstanier, without both feare or doubt, passe over Iberus, and besieged Saguntum. Little Guse of doubt had they, if Cn. had already subdued many Nations beyond it; and, among many others, the same Celiberians, that with their proper forces were able to vanquish Aldrubala

Orat.pro Con-

Liv.lib.21.

Pollib.3.

Asdrubal. Bostar, the Governor of Saguntum, a simple man, suffered himself to be perswaded by one Acedux a Spaniard, that the only way to get the favor and hearty good will of the country, was by freely restoring unto them their hostages; as resting, without any pledge, assured of their faith. But the crafty Spaniard, being trusted with this message and restitution of the hostages, carried them all to the Roman Generals: perswading them. as he had done Bostar, to make the Liberality their own. Hereby the Komans purchased much love, if the tale were true; and if it were not rather true, as afterward, and ere this we find, that all the Spanish Hostages were left in new Carthage. I am weary of rehearfing fo many particularities, whereof I can beleeve fo few. But fince we find no better

certainties, we must content our selves with these. The yeare following was like unto this: Afdrubal must be beaten again. The two 10 Scipio's divide their forces: Cn. makes war by Land, P. by Sea. Afdrubal, with much labour and entreaty, hath gotten foure thousand foot, and five hundred horse out of Africk: He repaires his Fleet; and provides every way to make refistance. But all his chiefe Sea-men, and Masters of his ships, revolt unto the Romans: because they had bin chidden the last years for their negligence, which had betrayed the Navie. The revolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion the Carpetians, or Carpetani, an In-land people about Toledo, in the very Center of Spaine. These doe much mischiese, so that Asdrubal is faine to make a journey to them. His fudden comming cuts off some of them. that were found scattered abroad in the fields. But they making head, so valiantly affaile 20 him, that they drive him, for very feare, to encampe himselfe strongly on an high piece of ground; whence he dares not come forth to give them battell. So they take a Town by force, wherein he had laid up all his provisions; and shortly make themselves Masters of the Country round about. This good successe breeds negligence; for which they dearely pay. Afdrubal comes upon them, takes them unprepared, beats them kils the most of them, and disperseth the rest; so that the whole Nation yeeldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from Carthage, that Asdrubal should leade his Armie forth into Italie; which we may wonder, why the Carthaginians would appoint himto doe, if they had bin informed by his letters in what hard case he was; and had so weakly supplied him, as is shewed before. But thus we find it reported: and that upon the very rumour of this his journey, almost all Spaine was ready to fall to the Romans. Afdrubal therefore fends word presently to Carthage, That this must not be so: or, if they will needs have it fo, that then they must fend him a Successor, and well attended with a strong Army, which to imploy they should find worke more than enough; such notable men were the Roman Generals. But the Senate of Carthage is not much moved with this excuse; Asarubal must needs be gone: Himilco, with such forces as are thought expedient for that fervice, both by land and fea, is fent to take the charge of Spain. Wherfore Afdrubal hath now no more to doe, than to furnish himselfe with store of money, that he might have wherewithall to win the friendship of the Gaules; through whole Countries he must passe, as Hannibal had done before him. The Carihaginians were 40 greatly too blame, for not remembring to ease him of this care. But fince it can be no better, he layes great Impositions upon all the Spaniards his subjects: and having gotten together as much treasure as he could, onward he marcheth toward Iberus. The Siapio's hearing these newes, are carefull how to arrest him on the way. They besiege Ibera (so called of the Rivers name running by it) the richest towne in all those quarters, that was confederate with Asdrubal: who thereupon steps aside to relieve it. The Romans meet him, and fight a battell with him: which they winne the more eafily, for that the Spaniards, his followers, had rather be vanquished at home, than get the victory, and afterwards be haled into Italie. Great numbers are flaine: and few should have escaped, but that the Spaniards ranne away ere the battels were fully joyned. Their Campe 50 the Romans take and spoile: whereby (questionlesse) they are marvellously enriched; all the mony that could be raked together in Spaine being carried along in this Italian expedition. This dayes event joynes all Spaine to the Romans, if any part of the Country flood in doubt before; and puts Afdrubal fo far from all thought of travelling into Italie, that it leaves him small hope of keeping himselfe safe in Spaine. Of these exploits advertisement is sent to Rome; and Letters to the Senate, from P. and Cn. Scipio, whereof the Contents are; That they have neither mony, apparell, nor bread, wherewith to fultaine their Army and Fleet; That all is wanting: fo as unlesse they may be supplied from

Rome, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the Province. These Letters come to Rome in an evill season; the State being scarcely able, after the losse at Canna, to helpe it selfe at home. Yet reliefe is sent: how hardly, and how much to the commendations of that love and care, which the private Citizens of Rome bare unto the Common-wealth, shall be inferted else-where, into the relation of things wherof the truth is leffe questionable. At the comming of this supply, the two Scapie's purfue Aldrubal, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What elfe can we thinke, that remember the last newes of him, and how searefully he mistrusted his owne safety : They find him, and Mago and Amilear the fon of Bomilear, with an Army of threefcore thoufand men, befreging Illiturgi: (which the learned Orielius, and others, probably conje-10 Aure to have stood, where Carinnena is now, in the Kingdome of Aragon; for there was Illiturgis, afterwards called Forum Julis, quite another way) a Towne of the Illergeres their neerest Neighbours, for having revolted unto the Romans. The towne is greatly distressed; but most of all, for want of victuals. The Romans therefore brake through betweene the Enemies Campes, with terrible flaughter of all that refift them: and having victualled the place, incourage the townef-men to defend their walls as floutly, as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the befregers, in their behalfe. So they iffue forth, about fixteen thousand against threescore thousand; and killing more Liv. lib. 23. of the enemies, than themselves were in number, drave all the three Carthaginian Commanders, every one out of his quarter; and tooke that day, befides prisoners and other bootie, fifty and eight Enfignes.

The Carthaginian Army, being thus bearen from Illiturgi, fall upon Incibili, that flood a little Southward from the mouth of Iberus. The Spaniards are blamed, as too greedy of earning money by warre, for thus re-inforcing the broken Carthaginians. But it may be wondred, whence the Carthaginians had money to pay them: fince Afdrubal was lately driven to poll the Countrey, wanting money of his owne; and being beaten in his journy, had loft his wealthy carriages, when his Campe was taken after the battell by Ibera. Howfoever it happens, the Carthaginians (according to their custome) are beaten againe at Incibili: where there were of them above thirteene thousand slaine, Liv. 1616. o and above three thousand taken; besides two and forty Ensignes, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of Spaine fell from them unto the Romans. Thus could Fabius, Valerius Antius, or some other Historian, to whom Livie gave credit, conquer all Spaine twice in one yeere, by winning famous victories; whereof these good

Captaines, P. and Cn. Scipio, perhaps were not aware.

The Romans, notwithstanding this large accesse of Dominion, winter on their owne lide of Iberus. In the beginning of the next yeere, great Armies of the Spaniards rife against Asdrubal; and are overthrowne by him. P. Scipio, to helpe these his friends, is forced to make great hast over the River. At Castrum Altum, a place in the mid-way between new Caribage and Saguntum, famous by the death of the great Amilear, Pubhur Scipio incampeth: and stores the place with victualls, being strong and defencible; as intending to make it his feate for a while. But the Countrey round about is too full of Enemies: the Carthaginian horse have charged the Romans in their march, and are gone officience; falling also upon some stragglers, or such as lagged behinde their fellowes in march, they have cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behovefull, to tetire unto fome place more affired. So Publ. withdrawes himselfe unto Mons vistoria: that rifing fomewhat Eastward from Incibili, over-looketh the Southerne Out-let of lberus. Thither the Carchaginians pursue him: His brother Cn. repaires unto him; and Afdrubal the fon of Gesco, with a full Army, arrives to help his Companions. As they lie thus neere incamped together, P. Scipio, with some light-armed, going closely to view the places thereabours, is discovered by the enemies: who are like to take him, but that hewithdrawes himselfe to an high piece of ground; where they besiege him, untill his brother Cn. fetcht him off. After this (but I know not why) Castulo, a great city of Spain, whence Hannibal had taken him a wife, joyneth with the Romans; though being farre distant from them, and seated on the head of the River Bæis. Neverthelesse the Carthasmians passe over Iberus, to besiege Illiturgi againe, wherein lodgeth a Roman garrison; hoping to win it by famine. We may justly wonder, what should move them to neglect the rebellion of Castulo, yea and the Roman Army lying so close by them, and to seeke adventures further off, in that very place, wherein they had been so grievously beaten

Livab.23.

the yeere before. But thither they goe : and thither followes them Cn. Scipio with one Legion: who enters the Towne by force, breakes out upon them the next day, and in two battels kils above twelve thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prifoners, with fixe and thirty Enfignes. This victory (doubtleffe) is remarkeable : confidering that the greatest Roman Legion at this time, consisted of no more than five thoufand men. The vanquished Carthaginians besiege Bigarra: but that siege is also raised by Cn. Scipio. Thence the Carthaginians remove to Manda; where the Romans are foone at their heeles. There is a great battaile fought, that lasteth foure houres, wherein the Romans get a notable victory; and a more notable would have gotten, had not Cn. Scipio beene wounded. Thirty nine Elephants are killed, & twelve thousand men; three to thousand prisoners taken, and seven and fifty Ensignes. The Carthaginians slie to Auringes; and the Romans pursue them. Cn. Scipio in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquished the Carthaginians againe: but kils not halfe so many of them, as before: good cause why, for there are fewer of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these overthrowes, the Spaniards, a people framed even by nature fo fer war on foot, quickly fill up the broken troups of Afdrubal, who having also hired some of the Gaules, adventures once more to trie his fortune with the Romans. But he is beaten againe: and loseth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensignes, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the Romans are even ashamed to leave Saguntum enthralled unto the Carthaginians; fince, in behalfe of that Citie, they had at first entred into this warre. And well may we thinke it strange, that they had not recovered it long before, fince we may remember, that long before this they had wonne all the Country once and againe. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged Saguntum; and were faine (as appeares) to goe their way without it: fo as they need not to blush, for having so long forborne to doe that, which ere now they had attempted, but were unable to performe. At the present they wonne Saguntum: and restored the posseffion thereofunto such of the poore dispersed Citizens, as they can finde out. They also waste and destroy the Country of the Turdetani, that had ministred unto Hannibal matter of quarrell against the Saguntines. This last action (questionlesse) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be affured, that the Carthaginians would have di-30 flurbed them, if they had beene able.

But over-looking now this long continuance of great victories, which the Romans have gotten in Spaine, other print or token of all their brave exploits, we can perceive none, than this recovery of Saguntum: excepting the stopping of Afdrubals journey; which was indeed of greatest importance, but appertaining to their owne desence. For they have landed at Emporia, an Haven towne, built and peopled by a Colony of the Phoceans, kinne to the Massilians, friends to the Romans; They have easily wonne to their party, loft, recovered, and loft againe, some petty bordering Nations of the Spaniards, that are carried one while by perfivation, other-whiles by force, and sometimes by their owne unsettled passions; and now finally they have won a Town, whereof the 40 Carthaginians held intire possession, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may eafily believe, that when they tooke Saguntum (if they tooke it not by firprise; which is to be suspected, since in this Action we finde no particulars remembred, as when the same place was taken by Hannibal) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight. In like sort also must we thinke, that all those battailes lately remembred, after every one of which Afdrubal fate downe before some place, that had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebell, were prosperous unto the Carthaginians. For it is not the custome of Armies vanquished, to carry the warre from Towne to Towne, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themselves within their owne places of strength, and therein to attend the levie and arrivall of new supplies. And surely, if the Romans had beene absolute Masters of the field, when they wonne Saguntum, they would not have confumed a whole yeere following, in practifing onely with the Celiberians the next adjoyning people. Yet made they this, little leffe than two yeers businesse. Of these Celuberians we heare before, That they have yeeldedup themselves unto the Romans; for security of their faith, given Hostages to Scipio; and, at his appointment, made warre against the Carthaginians, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and, not without expresse condition of a great summe, hired to serve in the Roman camp. How this may hold together I cannot

perceive; unlesse perhaps in those daies it were the Raman custome, or rather the custom of some bad Author whom Livie followes, to call every messenger, or straggler, that entred their campe, an Hostage of that people from whom he came.

entred their campe, an Hostage of that people from whom he came. The Celtiberians at length, hired with great rewards, fend an Army of thirty thoufind to helpe the Romans: out of which, three hundred the fittest men are chosen, and carried into Italy, there to deale with their Country-men that follow Hannibal in his warres. But if any of these three hundred returne backe into Spaine, it is to be feared, that he brings with him such newes of the riches and welfare of Hannibals men, that all his fellowes at home are the leffe unwilling to follow Afdrubal, when he shall next have adefire to leade them into Italy. Hereof we finde more than probability, when these mercenary Celtiberians meet the Caribaginian Army in the field. The two Scipio's, prefuming on this accesse of strength divide their forces, and seeke out the Enemies, who lie not farre off with three Armies. Aldrubal the sonne of Amilear, is neerest at hand; even among the Celtiberians, at Anitorgis. With him Cn. Scipio doubts not to take good order: but the feare is, that this one part of the Carthaginian forces being destroyed; Mago the sonne of Gesto, hearing the newes, will make use of their distance, which is five dayes march, and, by running into the furthest parts of the Country, save themselves from being over-taken. Publish therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better fouldiers, that is, two parts of the old Roman Armie; leaving the third part, and all the Celubersans, to his brother. He that hath the longer journey to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his lives end. Mago, and Asdrubal the sonne of Gefco, are not studying how to runne away: they finde no such necessity. They jovne their forces together meet with Publim Scipio; and lay at him so hardly, that hee is driven to keepe himselfe close within his Trenches: wherein he thinkes himselfe not well affured. Especially he is vexed by Masanassa, Prince of the Massassi, Numidians, bordering upon Mauritania, in the Region called now Tremizen: to whom the chiefe honour of this service is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the Remans. In this dangerous case, P. Scipio gets intelligence, that Indibilis a Spanish Prince, iscomming with seven thousand & five hundred of the Suefferani, to joyne with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be streight shut up, and besieged, he issues forth by night, to meet with Indibilia upon the way; leaving T. Fomeius his Lievtenant, with a small company to defend the camp. He meets with Indibilit; but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first incounter. The fight continues so long, that the Numidian horse appeare (whom he thought to have beene ignorant of his departure) and fall upon the Romans on all sides: neither are the Caribaginians farre behinde; but come so fast upon him in Reare, that P. Scipio, uncertaine which way to turne, yet fighting, and animating his men, where need most requireth, is strucke through with a lance, and slaine: veny few of his Army escaping the same destinie, through benefit of the darke night. The like end hath Cn. Scipio within nine and twenty dayes after. At his meeting with Aldruwhalthe Celtiberian Mercenaries all for take him; pretending that they had warre in their owne Country. If Anitorgis, where Asdrabal then lay, were, as Ortelius following Beuterus takes it, a Celiberian towne; this was no vaine pretence, but an apparent truth. But we may justly believe, that they were won by Afdrubal, and eafily perswaded to take as much mony for not fighting, as they should have had for hazzarding their lives. En. Scipio therefore being unable to stay them, and no lesse unable, without their helpes either to refist the enemy, or to joyne with his brother, maketh a very violent retrait; berein onely differing from plaine flight, that he keeps his men together. Afdrubal prefheth hard upon him: and Mago, with Afdrubal the sonne of Gesco, having made an end of Publius, hasten to dispatch his brother after him. Scipio steales from them all, by night; but is overtaken the next day by their horse, and arrested, in an open place of hard stomy ground, where growes not so much as a shrubbe, unfit for defence of his Legions against such enemies. Yet a little Hill he findes of easie ascent on every side; which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with packe-faddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Pallisado. These weake desences the Carthaginiand some teare in funder and, breaking in on all hands, leave very sew of them alive; that faving themseives, I know not how, within some woods adjoyning, escape unto au. Fonteiss, whom Publius had left in his camp, as is before faid. It is a terrible overthrow, they fay, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on Bbbbb 2

every fide, in so bare a ground as affoorded not a shrub to cover them, could breake out, and throwd themselves within woods adjoyning, I should much wonder; did not a greatermiracle following call away mine attention. T. Fonteins is in P. Scipio's campe, on the North fide of Iberus, fearcfull (as may be supposed) of his owne life; since his Generall, with two parts of the Roman Armie, had little hope to remaine long fafe within it. Thither comes L. Martim, a yong Roman Gentleman of a notable spirit : who having gathered together the scattered Souldiers, and drawne some Companies out of their Garrifons, makes a pretty Army. The Souldiers, being to choose a Generali by most voices, preferre this L. Martins before Fonteins the Lievtenant, as well they may. For Aftrubal, the sonne of Gesco comming upon them; this L. Martim so incourageth his men, 10 (fondly weeping when he led them forth, upon remembrance of their more honourable Generalls lately flaine) and admomsheth them of their present necessity, that he beates the Carthaginians into their Trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might have gotten, but that he wisely founds the retrait; reserving the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The Carthaginians are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldnesse growes, in enemies lately vanquished, and now againe little better than taken: but when they fee, that the Roman dares not follow his advantage, they return to their former security; and utterly despising him, set neither Corps de garde nor Sentinell, but rest fecure, as if no enemy were neere. Marine therefore animates his fouldiers with lively words; and tells them, That there is no adventure more fafe, than that which is fur-20 theft from suspition of being under-taken. They are soone perswaded to sollow him, in any desperate piece of service. So he leades them forth by night, and steales upon the Campe of Afdrubal: where finding no guard, but the enemies faft afleepe, or very drow zie, He enters without resistance, fires their Cabbines, and gives a terrible alarme; fo that all affrighted, the Carthaginians runne head-long one upon another, they knownot which way. All passages out of their Campe, Marius hath prepossessed, so that there is no way to escape, fave by leaping downe the Rampart: which as many doe, as can thinke upon it, and run away toward the Campe of Afdrubal the fonne of Amicar, that lay fixe miles off. But Marins hath way layd them. In a Valley between their two campes he hath bellowed a Roman cohort, and I know not what number of 30 Horse; sothat into this Ambush they fall every one, and are cut in pieces. But lest perchance any should have escaped, and give the alarme before his comming; Martin hastens to be there as soone as they . By which diligent speed, He comes early in the morning upon this further campe: which with no great difficulty he enters, and partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceived, when they beheld the Roman fhields, foule, and bloudied with their former execution, He drives head-long into flight, all that can fave themselves from the fury of the sword. Thirty seven thousand of the enemies perish in this nights worke; besides a thousand eight hundred and thirty, taken prisoners. Hercunto Valerius Antius addes, that the campe of Mago was also taken, and seven thousand slaine: and that in another battaile with Asarubal, there were 4 flaine tenthousand more; besides soure thousand three hundred and thirtie taken prifoners. Such is the power of some Historians. Livie therefore hath elsewhere well obferved, That there is none so intemperate, as Valerius Antius, in multiplying the numbers that have fallen in battailes. That, whilest Marius was making an Oration to his fouldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, Livie reporteth as a common tale, not giving thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, That this Captaine Martin gota great name; which he might well doe, if with fo finall forces, and in fuch diffreste, He could cleerely get off from the Enemies, & give them any parting blow, though it were farre leffe than that which is here fet downe.

The fifth Booke of the first part

Of these occurrents L. Marine sent word to Rome, not forgetting his owne good service, what foever it was, but fetting it out in fuch wife, as the Senate might judge him worthy to hold the place of their Vice-gerent in Spaine: which the better to intimate unto them, He stiled himselse Propretor. The Fathers were no lesse moved with the tidings than the case required : and therefore tooke such carefull order, for supplying their for ces in Spaine, that although Hannibal came to the gates of Rome, ere the companies le vied to serve in that Province, could be sent away; yet would they not stay a tide for defence of the City it selfe , but shipped them in all haste for Spaine. As for that titled Propretor, which Mariem had affumed, they thought it too great for him, and week

offended at his prefumption in usurping it: foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to have the Souldiers abroad make choice, among themselves, of those that should command Armies and Provinces. Therefore C. Claudens Nero was disparched away, with all convenient hafte, into Spaine: carrying with him about fixethousand of the Roman foot, and as many of the Latines, with three hundred Roman horse, and of the Latines eight hundred.

of the Historie of the World.

Ithappened well, that about these times, the affaires of Rome began to prosper in Italy, and afforded means of fending abroad fuch a strong supply : otherwise, the victories of Martin would ill have ferved, either to keepe footing in Spaine, or to stop the Carthaomian Armies from marching towards the Alpes. For when Claudius, landing with his newforces, tooke charge of that remainder of the Army, which was under Marina and Fornesius; he found furer tokens of the overthrowes received, than of those miraculous victories, whereof Martin had made his vaunts unto the Senate. The Roman party was forfaken by most of the Spanish friends: whom how to reclaime, it would not easily be devised. Yet Claudius advanced boldly towards Afdrubal the brother of Hannibal: whom he found among the Auferani, neer enough at hand, incamped in a place called Lavides arre; out of which there was no iffue, but only through a freight, whereon the Roman seized at his first comming. What should have tempted any man of understanding to incampe in such a place, I do not finde: and as little reason can I find in that which folblowed. For it is faid, That Afdrubal, seeing himselfe thus locktup, made offer to depart forthwith out of all Spaine, and quit the Province to the Romans, upon condition, that he and his Armie might bee thence dismissed; That he spent many dayes, in entertaining parlee with Claudius about this businesse; That night by night he conveighed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking advantage of a mifty day, He stole away with all his Horse and Elephants, leaving his Camp empty. If we confider, that there were at the same time, befides this Astrubal, two other Caribaginian Generalls in Spaine; we shall finde no lesse cause to wonder at the simplicity of Claudius, who hoped to conclude a bargaine for so great a Country, with one of these three Chieftaines, than at the strange nature of those passages, through which the footmen could hardly creepe out by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a darke misty day. Wherefore in giving beliefe to fuch a tale, it is needfull that we suppose, both the danger wherein the Caribaginians were, and the conditions offered for their fafe departure, to have been of far leffe value. Howfoever it was; neither this, nor ought else that the Romans could do, served to purchase any new friends in Spaine, or to recover the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chosen Marieus their Propretor, tooke it not well, that the Senate, regardlesse of their good deserts, had repealed their election, and sent a Propretor whom they fancied not fo well. Some such occasion may have moved them todesire a Proconsull, & (perhaps) yong Scipto by name: as if a title of greater dignity were needfull to worke regard in the Barbarians; and the beloved memory of Cn. and Publim, likely to doe good, were it revived in one of the same samily. Whether upon these, or upon other reasons; C. Claudius was recalled out of the Province; and Publius the sonne of P. Scipio sent Proconsul into Spaine.

This is that Scipio, who afterward transferred the warre into Africk: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Country. He was a man of goodly presence, & singularly well conditioned: especially he excelled in Temperance, Continency, Bounty, and other vertues that purchase love; of which qualities what great use he made, shall appeare in the tenour of his Actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, savouring a little too much of the great Alexanders vanity; How he uled to walke alone in the Capitoll, as one that had fome fecret conference with Jupiter; How a Dragon (which must have beene one of the gods; and, in likelihood, Jupiter himselfe) was thought to have conversed with his Mother, entring her Chamber often, and vanishing away at the comming in of any man; and how of these matters he noutifhed the rumour, by doubtfull answers; I hold them no better than fables, devised by Historians, who thought thereby to adde unto the glory of Rome: that this noble City might seeme, not onely to have surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generality, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is lest out, that might serve to adorne this Roman Champion. For it is confidently written, as matter

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of unquestionable truth, That when a Proconsull was to be chosen for Spaine, there durst not any Captaine of the principall Citizens offer himselse as Petitioner for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the people of Rome were much aftonished thereat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the Citic stood looking one another in the face, not one of them having the heart, to adventure himfelfe in fuch a desperate service; and finally, That this P. Cornelius Scipio, being then about sourc & twenty yeers of age, getting up on an high place wherehe might be feen of all the multitude, requested, and obtained, that the Office might be conferred upon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of L. Martin no better than dreames: and either very unreasonable was the seare of all the Roman Captains, who durst not follow Clau-10 dim Nero, that not long before was gone into Spain Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Province, which Asdrubal the Carthaginian, as we heard even now, was ready to abandon. But upon these incoherences, which I finde in the two partiall

Roman Historians, I doe not willingly infift. P. Scipio was fent Proconfull into Spaines & with him was joyned M. Junius Syllanus as Propretor, and his Coadjutor. They carried with them tenne thousand foot, and a thousand horse, in thirty Quinquereme Gallies. With these they landed at Emporia; & marched from thence to Tarracon alongst the Sea-coast. At the fame of Scipio's arrivall, it is faid, that Embaffages came to him apace from all quarters of the Province: which he entertained with fuch a majestie, as bred a wonderfull opinion of him. As for the 20 enemies, they were greatly affraid of him: and fo much the greater was their feare, by how much the leffe they could give any reason of it. If we must beleeve this, then must we needs beleeve, that their feare was even as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrefied with the fame of fo young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the Winter following (or, as some thinke, all the next yeare) hee did nothing: but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the Spaniards. His first enterprize was against new Carthage: upon which he came unexpected, with five and twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse; his Seaforces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arrived there together with him. He affailed the Towne by Land and Sea; and wonne it by affault the 30 first day. The Carthaginians lost it, by their too much considence upon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slenderly, than was requisite. Yet it might have beene well enough defended, if some Fisher-men of Tarracon had not discovered unto Scipio, a fecret passage unto the walls; whereof the Towns-men themselves were either ignorant, or thought (at least) that their enemies could have no notice. This Citie of new Caribage, refembled the old and great Caribage in fituation; standing upon a demy-Iland, betweene an Haven and a great Lake. All the Westerne side of the walls, and fomewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake : which the Fisher-men of Tarracon had founded; and finding some part thereof a shelfe, whereon at low water men might passe knee-deep, or (at most) wading up to the Navill, Scipio thrust thereinto some com- 40 panies of his men; who recovered the top of the walles without refiftance: the place being left without guard; as able to defend it selfeby the natural strength. These falling suddenly upon the backes of the Caribaginians within the Citie; easily forceda gate, and gave free entrance to the Roman Army. What booty was found within the Towne, Livie himselfe cannot certainly affirme; but is faine to say, That some Roman Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by Scipio into the Roman Treasury, we may easily perceive how great a vanity it was to fay, That all the wealth of Africk and Spaine was heaped up in that one Towne. But therein were bestowed all the Spanish Hostages: (or at least of the adjoining Provinces) whom Scipio intreated with fingular courtesie; re-50 storing them unto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner, as doubled the thankes due to so great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the Celiberians, and two petty Kings of the Ilergetes and Lacetani, neerest Neighbours to Tarracon, and dwelling on the North-side of Iberus, for sooke the Caribaginian party, & joyned with the Romans. The speech of Indibilis, King of the Ilergetes, is much commended: for that he did not vaunt himself, as commonly fugitives use, of the pleasure, which he did unto the Romans, in revolting from their enemies, but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by injuries of the Carthaginians, & invited by the honourable dealing of

Scipio. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeed no unsure token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the Ilergeres had long ere this (as wee have heard before) for saken the Carthaginian party, and stoutly held themselves as friends to Cn. Scipio: then could nothing have bin devised more vaine, than this Oration of Indibily their King; excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, when hee should have rather craved pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Uncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howsoever the two elder Scipio's had gotten fome few places among these their Neighbours, & held them by strength; yet were the Romans never masters of the Countrie, till this worthy Commander, by recovering their Hostages from the Carthaginians, and by his great munificence in sending them home, won unto himselfe the affured love and affistance of these Princes. The Carthaginian Generalls, when they heard of this loffe, were very forry: yet nevertheleffe they fer a good face on the matter; faying, That a young man, having stolne a Towne by surprise, was too farre transported, and over-joyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in minde of his Father and Uncle; which would alter his moode, and bring him to a more convenient temper.

of the Historic of the World.

Now if I should here interpose mine owne conjecture; I should be bold to say, That the Carthaginians were at this time busie, in setting forth towards Italy; and that Scipio, to divert them, under-tooke new Carthage, as his Father and Uncle, upon the like occao sion, sate downe before Ibera: And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not beene much amisse, if the passage over the Lake had beene undiscovered, and the Towne held out some longer while. For how soever that particular Action was the more fortunate, incomming to fuch good iffue upon the first day: yet in the generality of the businesse, between Rome and Carthage, it was more to be wished, that Astrubal should be stayed from going into Italy, than that halfe of Spaine should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to do, that should hinder his journey; Mago, & Afdrubal, the sonne of Gesco, were thought sufficient to hold Scipio worke, in that lingring warre of taking and retaking Townes, whileft the maine of the Carthaginian forces, under Afdrabal, the fon of Amilear, went to a greater enterprise : even to fight in triall of the Empire. But the Roman Historians tell this after another fashion; and say, That Asdrubal was beaten into Italy: whither he ran for feare, as thinking himselfe ill assured of the Spaniards, as long as they might but heare the name of Scipio. Scipio, fay they, comming upon Asdrubal; his Vant-currers charged so lustily the Carthaginian horse, that they drave them into their Trenches: and made it apparent, even by that small peece of service, how full of spirit the Roman Army was, and how dejected the Enemie. Afdrubal therefore by night retyred out of that even ground, and occupied an Hill, compaffed on three fides with the River, very steepe of ascent, and not easie of accesse on the foreside, by which himselfe got up, and was to be followed by the Romans. On the top of it there was a Plaine, whereon he strongly encamped himselfe: and in the mid-way, betweene thetop and root of the Hill, was also another Plaine; into which he descended, more upon bravery, that he might not seeme to hide himselfe within the Trenches, than for that he durst adventure his Army to the hazzard of a battaile, for which this was no equall ground. But such advantage of place could not save him from the Romans. They climed up the Hill to him; they recovered even footing with him; drove him out of this lower Plaine, up into his Campe on the Hill top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the Carthaginians had got up before them, they drave both Men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is faid, that othere was no way to flie. Out of fuch a battaile, wherein hee had loft eight thousand men, Asdrubal is faid to have escaped; and gathering together his dispersed troupes, to have marched towards the Pyrenees, having fent away his Elephants cre the fight began. Neverthelesse, Mago, and Asdrubal the sonne of Gesco, are reported after this, to have consulted with him about this Warre; and finally to have concluded, that goe he needs must, were it but to carry all the Spaniards as far as might be, from the name of Scipio. How likely this was to have bin true, it shall appeare at his comming into Italy; whence these incoherent relations of the Spanish affaires have too long detained us.

6. X I I.

The fifth Booke of the first part

The great troubles that Hannibal raifed in all quarters, to the Citic of Rome. Posthumius the Roman Generall, with his whole Army, is slaine by the Gaules. Philip King of Macedon enters into a League with Hannibal, against the Romans. The Romans joyning with the Etolians, make warre upon Philip in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him, the better to intend their businesses against the Caribaginians.

TEeleft Hannibal wintering at Capua: where he and his new Confederates rejoyced (as may be thought) not a little, to heare the good newes from Carthage of fuch mighty aide, as was decreed to be fent thence unto him. To In former times he had found worke enough, to carry the Romans corne into his owne barnes, and to drive away their Cattell to Geryon: his victories affording him little other profit, than sustenance for his Army ; by making him Master of the open field. He might perhaps have forced some walled townes, in like fort as he did Geryon, and the Castle of Canna: but had he spent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his Army must have endured the Winter and Spring sollowing, untill come were ripe, would have grievously punished him for such implovment of the Summer. This may have been the reason, why he forbore to adventure upon Rome, after his victory at Canna. For had hee failed (as it was a matter of no certainty) to carry the Citie at his first comming 5 want of victuals would have compel-20 led him to quit the enterprise. Yea, many of the people that opened so hastily their gates unto him, upon the fresh bruit of his glorious successe, would have taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the event of another battaile: if being, either for want of meanes to force the Citie, or of necessaries to continue a siege before it, repelled (as might feeme) from the walles of Rome, he had prefented himselfe unto them with alessened reputation, somewhat later in the yeere; when time to force their obedience was wanting, unleffe they would freely yeeld it. But this great part of the care and travell was past, when so many States of Italy were become his: the yeere following, the Samnites, and other old enemies of Rome, were like to receive a notable pleasure of their new alliance with Carthage, by helping to lay fiege unto that proud Citie, 30 which folong had held them in subjection. Thus the Winter was passed over joyfully, faving that there came not any tidings of the preparations, to fecond the welcome report of those mighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring drewon: and of the promifed supply there arrived no more, than onely the Elephants. How late it was ere these came, I finde not: onely we finde, that after this he had above thirty of them; whereas all, fave one, that he brought over the Alpes, had bin loft in his journey through the Marishes of Hetruria. Very bad excuse of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make unto Hannibal. If they were his friends, they told him truely, what mischieses the perswasion of Hanno wrought among the too niggardly Caribaginians. Otherwife, they might perhaps informe him, that it was 40 thought a safer, though a farther way about, to passe along through Spaine and Gaule, as he himselse had done; and increase the Army, by hyring the Barbarians in the journey; thanto commit the maine strength of their Citie, to the hazzard of the Seas: especially wanting a commodious Haven, to receive the Fleet that should carry such a number of Men, Horses, and Elephants, with all needfull provisions. With these allegations Hanmbal must rest content; and seeke, as well as he can, to satisfie his Italian Consederates. Therefore when time of the yeere ferved, Hetooke the field: and having finished what rested to be done at Cassilinum, sought to make himselfe Master of some good Haventown thereabout; that might serve to entertaine the Carthaginian Fleet, or take from his Enemies at home all excuse, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the same 50 purpose, and to doe what else was needfull, He sent Himilto unto the Locrians, and Hanno to the Lucans: not forgetting at once to affay all quarters of Italy, yea, the Iles of Sicil and Sardinia; fince the fiege of Rome must needs be deferred unto another yeere. Hanno made an ill journey of it, being met, or over-taken, by T. Sempronius Longus : who flue above two thousand of his men; with the losse of fewer than three hundred Romans. But Himileo fped farre better. By helpe of the Bruians, his good friends, he won Petellia, or Petilia by force; after it had held out some moneths. He won likewise Confentia; and Croton, that was forfaken by the Inhabitants. Also the City of Locri, which

was of great importance, yeelded unto him: as did all other places thereabout; except onely the Towne of *Rhegium*, over against *Sicil*.

The great faith of the Pecilians is worthy to be recorded, as a notable testimony of the good government, under which the Roman subjects lived. As for the Samnites, Campanes, and others, whose earnestnesse in rebellion may seeme to prove the contrary; we are to confider, That they had lately contended with Rome for Soveraignty, and were now transported with ambition: which reason can hardly moderate, or benefits allay. The Petilians, in the very beginning of their danger, did fend to Rome for helpe: where their Messengers received answer from the Senate. That the publike misfortunes had not eleft meanes, to relieve their Associates that were so farre distant. The Petilian Messengers (Embassadours they are termed; as were all others, publikely sent from Cities of the Roman subjection, that had a private jurisdiction within themselves) fell down to the ground, and humbly befought the Fathers, not to give them away: promiting to do and suffer what soever was possible, in defence of their Towne, against the Carthaginians. Hereupon the Senate fell to confultation againe: and having throughly confidered all their forces remaining, plainely confessed, that it was not in their power to give any reliefe. Wherefore thefe Embaffadours were willed to returne home, and to bid their Citizens provide hereafter for their owne fafety, as having already discharged their faith to the utmost. All this notwithstanding, the Petilians (as was faid) held out some mooneths: and having striven in vaine to defend themselves, when there was no apparent possibility, gave to the Carthaginians a bloudy victory over them; being vanquished as

much by famine, as by any violence of the Affailants. The Romans at this time were indeed in such ill case, that Hannibal, with a little helpe from Caribage, might have reduced them into termes of great extremity. For whereas, in a great bravery, before their loffe at Canna, they had shewed their high mindes, by entertaining the care of things farre off, not with standing the great warre that lay upon them fo neere at hand: it now fell out miferably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better than at home. L. Posthumius Albinus their Prætor they had sent, with an Army of five and twenty thousand, into Gaule; to the Illyrian King Piness they had fent for their tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past, willing him, if he defired forbearance, to deliver hostages for his performance of what was due; and to Philip King of Macedon they had fent, to require, that he should deliver up unto them Demevius Pharius, their Subject and Rebell, whom he had received. But now from all quarters they heare tidings, little futable to their former glorious conceits. Posthumius with all his Army was cut in pieces by the Gaules, in such fort, that scarce tenmen escaped. The manner of his overthrow was very strange. There was a great Wood, called by the Gaules, Litana; through which he was to passe. Against his comming, the Enemies had fawed the Trees so far, that a little force would serve to cast them downe: When therefore Posthumius, with his whole Army, was entred into this dangerous passage, the 6 Gaules, that lay about the wood, began to cast downe the Trees: which falling one against another, bore all downe so fast, that the Romans were over-whelmed, Men and Horses; in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before. How this tedious worke of fawing fo many Trees, could take defired effect, and neither be perceived, nor made frustrate, either by some winde, that might have blowne all downe before the Romans entred, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the device was subject; I do not well conceive. Yet fome fuch thing may have beene done : and what failed in the stratagem, supplied with the Enemies sword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the favage condition, wherewith Lombardie, a Country now fo civill, was infected in elder times, That of Posthumius his skull, being cleansed, and trimmed 10 up with gold, a drinking cup was made, and confecrated in their principall Temple, as an holy vessel, for the use of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great overthrow, when word was brought to Rome; the amazement was no leffe than the calamity. But forrow could give no remedie to the mischiese: and anger was vaine, where there wanted forces to revenge. Tribute from the Illyrians there came none: neither doe I finde, that any was a second time demanded; this we finde, That with Pleuratus, & Scerdiletus Illyraan Kings, as also with Gentius, who reigned within a few yeeres following, the Romans dealt upon even termes; entreating their affiftance against Philip and Perseus; not commanding their dutie, as Vaffalls. The Macedonian troubled them yet a little further. For

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having affured his affaires in Greece, & enjoying leifure to looke into the doings abroad, He fent Embassadors to Hannibal: with whom he made a league, upon these conditions; That the King in person should come into Italy, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, affift the Carthaginians in the Roman war, untill it were finished; That Rome, and all Italy, together with all the spoile thereinto begotten, should be left entire unto the State of Carthage; And that afterwards Hannibal with his Army should passe into Greece, and there affift Thilip, untill he had subdued all his Enemies: (which were the Liolians, Thracians, King Antiochus, and others) leaving femblably unto him the full possession of that country, and the Iles adjoyning. But such predisposition of Kingdomes and Provinces, is lightly comptrolled by the divine Providence, which therein shewes 10 It selfe; not (as Herodotus failly termes it, and like an Atheift) envious or malicious, but very just and majesticall, in up-holding that unspeakable greatnesse of Soveraignty, by

which It rules the whole World, and all that therein is. The first Embassadours that Philip sent, fell into the Romans hands, in their journes towards Hannibal: & being examined what they were, adventured upon a bold lie, faving, That they were fent from the King of Macedon to Rome, there to make a League

with the Senate and People, and offer his helpe in this time of great necessity. These newes were so welcome, that the joy thereof tooke away all care of making better inquiry . So they were lovingly featted , and freely difmiffed with guides that fhould leade them the way, and shew them how to avoide the Carthaginians. But they being thus 20 instructed concerning their journey, fell wilfully into the campe of Hannibat: who entertained them after a better fashion; and concluded the businesse, about which they came, upon the points before remembred. In their returne homeward, they happened againe unluckily to be descried by the Roman sleet; which, mistrusting them to be of the Carthaginian party, gave them chace. They did their best to have escaped : but being over-taken, they suffered the Romans to come aboord; and trusting to the lie that once had served them, said it againe, That having beene sent from King Philip, to make a league with the People of Rome, they were notable, by reason of the Carthaginians lying between, to get any farther than to M. Valerus the Prætor, unto whom they had

fignified the good affection of the Kingtheir Mafter. The tale was now leffe credible than 30 before: and (which marred all) Gefco, Boftar, and Mago, with their followers, Caribaginians that were fent with them from Hannibal to ratifie the agreement, being prefent Ty detected, made the matter apparent. Wherefore a little inquilition ferved to finde all out: so that at length Hannibals owne letters to King Philip were delivered up, and the whole businesse consessed. The Embassadours and their followers were sent close pri-

foners to Rome: where the chiefe of them were cast into prison; and the rest sold for bond flaves. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into Macedon of all that

had happened. Whereupon new Embaffage was fent that went and returned with better

fpeed; concluding, as was agreed before; onely with some losse of time.

The Romans were exceedingly perplexed: thinking with what heavie weight this Ma-40 cedonian warre, in an evill houre, was likely to fall upon them, when their shoulders were over-burdened with the loade of the Carihaginian. Yet they tooke a noble refolution; and futable unto that, whereby they kept off the storme, that else would have beaten upon them from Spaine. They judged it more eafie, with small forces to detaine Philip in Greece, than with all their strength to refist him in Italy. And herein they were in the right. For, that the very reputation of a King of Macedon, joyning with Hannibal in such a time, would have sufficed to shake the allegeance, not onely of the Launes, and other, their most faithfull Subjects, but even of the Roman Colonies, that held all priviledges of the City, it will appeare by the following successe of things. M. Valerius the Prætor, with twenty Quinquereme Gallies, was appointed to attend upon the Macedonian, and 50 to fet on foot some commotion in Greece; or to nourish the troubles already thereinbegunne. Philip was bufie about the Sea-townes, that looked towards Italy, fetting upon Apollonia; and thence falling upon Oricum; which he won, and so returned to Apollomia againe. The Epirots craved helpe of M. Valerius: or rather accepted his kinde offers; who had none other busines to do. The garrifonthat Philip had left in Oricum, was strong enough to hold the Towns-men in good order; but not to keep out the Romans: of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, Phalip as then had no suspition. Valerius therefore easily regained the Towne; and sent thence 2

thousand men, under Navius Crispus, an under-taking and expert Captaine; which got by night into Apollonia. These made a notable fallle; and brake into Philips Trenches with so great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his campe, and raise the siege. The King purposed (as it is said) to have departed thence by Sea: but Valerius, comming with his fleet from Oricum, stopped up the mouth of the River, so that he was faine to burn his ships, (which belike were no better than long boates) and depart ill furnished of carriages, by Land. After this Valerius dealt with the Etolians, a Nation alwayes enemy to the Crowne of Macedon: & easily perswaded them (being so affected, as hath elfe-where beene shewed) to make strong warre on Philip; wherein he promised them great affiftance from the Romans. That which most moved the troublesome spirits of 10 the Atolians, was the hope of getting Acarnania: after which they had gaped long; & whereof the Roman was as liberall in making promife, as if already it had bin his owne. So a league was made between them: and afterward folemnely published at Olympia. by the Etolians; and by the Romans, in their Capitoll. The conditions were, That from Ftolia to Coreyra, in which space Acarnania was contained, all the Countrey should be subdued, and left unto the Atolians, the pillage onely to begiven to the Romans. And that if the Atolians made peace with Philip, it should be with Provision. to hold no longer than whilest hee abstained from doing injurie to the Romans, or their Affociates. This was indeed the onely point, whereat Valerius aimed, who promifed as much on the Romans behalfe, That they should not make peace with the Macedonian. unlesse it were with like condition of including the Etolians. Into this league was place referved for the Laced amonians and Eleans, as to those that had made or favoured the side of Cleomenes against the Macedonian, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of Attalm, Pleuratus, & Scerdiletus: the first of which reigned at Pergamus, in Alia the leffe, a Prince hereafter much to be spoken of; the other two held some part of Illyria, about which the Romans were fo farre from contending with them, that gladly they fought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Affociates are thrust into the Treatie, rather to give it countenance, than for any readinesse which they disclose to enter thereinto. The Ecolians alone, and chiefly Scopus their Prætor, with Doo rymachus and others, are yet a while the onely men, of whom the Roman Generalls must make much; as the late French King, Henry the fourth, when he had onely the title of Navarre, was faid to court the Maiors of Rochel. Philip was not idle, when hee heard whereunto the *Etolians* tended. He repaired his Army; made a countenance of warre upon the Illyrians, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infest the Kingdome of Macedon; wasted the Countrie about Oricum & Apollonia; and overrunning the Pelagonians, Dardanians, and others, whom he held fuspected, came downe into Theffaly, whence he made shew as if he would invade Atolia. By the same of this Expedition, He thought to ftir up all the Greeks adjoining, against the Etolians; whom they generally detected as a neft of Robbers, troublesome to all the Country. To which to purpose, and to hinder the Liolians from breaking into Greece, He left Persens, his son and heire, with foure thousand men upon their borders: with the rest of his Armie, before greater businesse should over-take and entangle him, Hee made a long journey into Thrace, against a people called the Medes: that were wont to fall upon Macedon, whenloever the King was absent. The Etolians, hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could against the Acarnanians; in hope to subdue those their daily enemies, and winne their little Countrie, ere he should be able to returne. Hereto it much availed that the Romans had already taken Oeniada and Nanos, Acarnanian Townes, conveniently fituated to let in an Army; and configned them unto the Atolians, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the flout resolution of the Acarnanians, o to die (as we fay) every Mothers fonne of them, in defence of their Country; together with the great haste of the Macedonian (who layed aside all other businesse) to succour these his friends; caused the Liolians to forsake their enterprise. When this Expedition was given over, the Romans and Evolians fell upon Ancyra, which they tooke: the Romans affailing by Sea, the Etolians by Land. The Etolians had the Towne, and the Romans the spoile.

For these good services M. Valerius was chosen Consult at Rome; & P. Sulvicius sent in his flead, to keepe the warre on foot in Greece. But besides the Roman helpe, Analus Out of Afia came over to affift the Atolians. Hee was chiefly mooved by his owne jea-

lousie of Philips greatnesse: though somewhat also tickled with the vanity of being chofen by the Etolians their principall Magistrate; which honour, though no better than titulary, he tooke in very loving part. Against the forces which Attalus and the Romans had fent, being joyned with the maine power of Liolia, Philip tried the fortune of two battailes: and was victorious in each of them. Hercupon, these his troublesome neighbours defired peace of him, and used their best meanes to get it. But when the day appointed for the conclusion thereof, was come: their Embassadours, instead of making fubmiffion, proposed unto him such intolerable conditions, as ill beseemed vanquished men to offer: and might therefore well testifie, that their minds were altered. It was not any love of peace, but feare of being befieged in their owne Towns, that had made to them defirous of composition. This feare being taken away, by the incouragements of Attalus and the Romans, they were as fierce as ever : and thrust a garrison of their owne. and some Roman friends, into Elis; which threatned Achaia, wherein Philip then lav. The Romans, making a cut over the streight from Naupastus, wasted the countrey in a terrible bravery: wherein Philip requited them; comming upon them in great haftfrom the Nemaan Games (which he was then celebrating) and fending them fafter away but

nothing richer, than they came.

In the heate of this contention, Prulius King of Buhynia, fearing the growth of Attalui, no leffe than Att alus held suspected the power of Philip, sent a Navie into Greece, to affift the Macedonian party. The like did the Carthaginians: and upon greater reason; as 20 being more interessed in the successe of his affaires. Philip was too weake by Sea: and though he could man some two hundred ships, yet the vessels were such, as could not hold out against the Roman Quinqueremes. Wherefore it behoved him, to use the helpe of his good friends the Carthaginians. But their aide came somewhat too late: which might better at first have kept those Enemies from fastening upon any part of Greece, than afterward it could ferre to drive them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that country. Ere Philip could attempt any thing by Sea; it was needfull that he should correct the Eleans, bad neighbours to the Achaians his principall Confederates. But in affailing their Town, hee was incountred by the Aulian and Roman garrison, which drave him backe with fome loffe. In fuch cases, especially where God intendeth agreat 30 convertion of Empire, Fame is very powerfull in working. The King had received no great detriment, in his retrait from Elie : rather he had given testimony of his personal valour in fighting well on foot, when his horse was staine under him. He had also soone after taken a great multitude of the Eleans, to the number of foure thousand, with some twenty thousand head of Cattell, which they had brought together into a place of safetie, as they thought, when their Country was invaded. But it had happened, that in his pursuit of the Roman for ragers about Sieyon, his horse running hastily under alow tree, had torne off one of the hornes, which (after the fashion of those times) the King wore in his Creft. This was gathered up by an Atalian, who carried it home, and shewed it as a token of Philips death. The horne was well knowne, and the tale beleeved. 40 All Macedon therefore was in an uproare : and not onely the Borderers, ready to fall upon the Country, but some Captains of Philip, easily corrupted; who thinking to make themselves a fortune in that change of things, ranne into such treason, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuse. Hereupon the King returned home, leaving not three thousand men, to affist his friends the Achaans. He also tooke order, to have Beaconseracted, that might give him notice of the Enemies doings, upon whom he meant shortly to returne. The affaires of Macedon, his presence quickly established. But in Greece all went il-favouredly : especially in the Ile of Eubæa, where one Plator betraied to Assalm and the Romans, the Towne of Oreum, ere Philip could arrive to helpe it: where also the strong City of Chalcis was likely to have been lost, if he had not come s the fooner. He made such hastie marches, that he had almost taken Attalus in the City of Opus: This City, lying over against Eubaa, Attalus had wonne, more through the cowardize of the people, than any great force that he had used : now because the Roman Souldiers had defrauded him in the facke of Oreum, and taken all to themselves; it was agreed, that Airalus should make his best profit of the Opuntians, without admitting the Romans to be his sharers. But whils he was busie, in drawing as much mony as he could out of the Citizens: the fudden tidings of Philips arrivall, made him leave all behinde him, and runne away to the Sea-fide, where he got aboord his ships, finding the Romans

gone before, upon the like feare. Either the indignitie of this misadventure, or tydings of Prusian the Bythinian his invasion upon the kingdome of Pergamun; made Attalou returne home, without staying to take leave of his friends. So Philip recovered Opus, won Torone, Truonos, Drymu, and many finall towns in those parts; performing likewise some actions, of more braverie than importance, against the Atolians. In the mean season, Machanidas, the Tyrant of Lacedamon, had beene busie in Peloponnesus; but hearing of Philips arrivall, was returned home.

The Lacedemonians, hearing certaine report of Cleomenes his death in Egypt, went about to choose two new kings, and to conform themselves to their old maner of government. But their estate was so far out of tune; that their hope of redressing things within 10 the Citie, proved no leffe unfortunate, than had bin their attempts of recovering a large dominionabroad. Lycurgus a tytant role up among them: upon whom fucceeded this Machanidas, and fhortly after came Nabis, that was worsethan both of them. They held on the Etolian and Roman fide, for feare of the Acheans, that were the chiefe Confederates of Philip, and hated extremely the name both of Tyrant and Laced amonian. But of

these we shall speake more hereafter.

CHAP.2. \$.12.

Philip entring into Achaia, and feeing his presence had brought the contentment of affurance to that Countrey; spake brave words to the Affembly of their States, faying, That he had to doe with an Enemie, that was very nimble, and made warre by running away. He told how he had followed them to Chalen, to Ordam, to Opin, and now into Achasa: but could no where finde them, fuch hafte they made, for feare of being overtaken. But flight, he faid, was not alwayes prosperous: he should one day light upon them; as ere this he fundry times had done, and still to their losse. The Acharans were glad to heare these words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For he restored unto their Nation some Townes that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewise to the Megalopolirans their Confederates, he rendered Aliphera. The Dymaans, that had beene taken by the Romans, and fold for flaves, he fought out, ranformed, and put in quiet possession of their owne Citie. Further, passing over the Corimbian Gulfe, he fellupon the Liolians; whom he drave in-30 to the mountaines and woods, or other their strongest holds, and wasted their Country. This done, he tooke leave of the Achaans, and returned home by Sea, vifited the people that were his subjects, or dependants; and animated them so well, that they rested fearelesse of any threatning danger. Then had he leisure to make war upon the Dardamans, ill neighbours to Macedon: with whom nevertheleffe he was not fo far occupied. but that he could goe in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred gallies, whereby to make himselfe Master of the Sea; the Romans (fince the departure of Attalus) having not dared to meet or pursue him, when he lately ranne along the coast of Greece, fast by them where they lav.

This good fuccesse added much reputation to the Macedonian, and emboldened him o to make strong warre upon the Ætolians, at their owne doores. As for the Romans, ei ther some displeasure, conceived against their Confederates, or some seare of danger at home, when Afdrubal was ready to fall upon Italie; caused them to give over the care of things in Greece, and leave their friends there to their owne fortunes. The Atolians therefore, being driven to great extremitie, were faine to sue for peace unto Philip; and accept it, upon what ever conditions it best pleased him. The agreement was no sooner made, than P. Sempronius with ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty five gallies, came over ingreat halte (though somewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in Etolia, he turned a fide to Dyrrachium and Apollonia, making a great noife, as if with these his owne forces he would worke wonders. But it was not long ere Philip o came to visit him, and found him tame enough. The King presented him battell, but he refused it: and suffering the Macedonians to waste the Country round about, before his cies, kept himselse close within the wals of Apollonia, making some Overtures of peace : which caused Philip to return home quietly. The Romans had not so great cause to be dis-Pleased with the Licitans, as had Philip, to take inevill part the demeanor of the Carehaginians. For, notwithstanding the royall offer that he made them, to serve their turne in Italie, and affift them, in gerting their hearts defire, before he would expect any requitall: they had not fent any fleet, as in reason they ought, and as (considering his want of sufficient abilitie by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to secure the transportation

of his Armie, or to free his coast from the Roman and Ætolian Pyracies. Onely once they came to his helpe, which was, at his last journey into Achara. But they were gone againe before his arrivall: having done nothing, and pretending feare of being taken by the Romans, even at fuch time as Philip, with his owne Navie, durft boldly paffe by Sea. and found none that durst oppose him. This retchlesse dealing of the Carthaginians, may therefore seeme to have bin one of Hanno his tricks, whereof Hannibal so bitterly complained. For it could not but grieve this malicious man exceedingly, to heare that fo great a King made offer to serve in person under Hannibal, and required the affistance of the same Hannibal, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affaires of the world at pleasure. Therefore he had reason, such as Envie could suggest, to perswade the to Carthaginians unto a safe and thrifty course: which was, not to admit into the fellowship of their Italian warres so mighty a Prince; whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection unto Hannibal, more dangerous to their liberty. Ratherthey should doe well to save charges, and feed the Macedonian with hopes; by making many promifes of fending a fleet and some other succours. This would cost nothing, yet would it serve to terrefie the Romans, and compell them to fend part of their forces from home, that might finde this Enemie worke abroad. So should the Roman Armies bee lessened in Italie; and Philip, when once he was ingaged in the warre, be urged unto the prosecution, by his owne necessitie: putting the Carthaginians to little or no charges; yea, scarce to the labour of giving him thankes. Now if it 20 might come to passe, as Hannibal every day did promise, that Rome, and all Italy should within a while be at the devotion of Carthage: better it were, that the Citie should be free, so as the troublesome Greekes might addresse their complaints unto the Carthaginians, ascompetent Judges betweene them and the Macedonian, than that Hannibal. with the power of Africke, should wait upon Philip, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such injuries, as would both make the name of a Caribaginian hatefull in Greece, and oblige Philip to be no leffe impudent, in fulfilling all requests of Hannibal. Whether the counsell of Hanno and his fellowes were such as this, or whether the Carthaginians, of their owne disposition, without his advice, were too sparing, and carelesse, the matter (as farre as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they 30 did him no manner of good, but rather dodged with him, even in their little courtesse which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why hee began the building of an hundred Gallies, as if he would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would have reached, had he not vainely given credit to faithlesse promises. When therefore the Atolians had submitted themselves already: and when

The vanity of which their conceits would appeare unto them, when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the warre, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the yeere following it was agreed, by mediation of the Epirots, Acarnanians, and others, That the Romans should retaine three or foure Townes of Illyria, which they had recovered in this war, being part of their old Illyrian conquest: Places no way belonging to the Macedonian; and therefore perhaps inserted into the covenants, that somewhat might seeme to have beene gotten. On the other side, the Aimtanes were appointed to returne under the obedience of Philip: who, if they were (as Ortelius probably conjectures) the people of the Countrey about Apollonia, then did 50 the Romans abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appeares, that they did not give peace, as they would feeme to have done, but accepted it, upon conditions fomewhat to

the Romans defired his friendship, as might be thought, for very feare of him, with repu-

tation enough, and not as a forfaken Client of the Carthaginians, but a Prince able to

have succoured them in their necessitie, he might give over the warre, and, without re-

prehension, leave them to themselves. For he had wilfully entred into trouble for their

fakes: but they despised him, as if the quarrell were meerely his owne, and he unable to 40

their loffe.

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The Confederates and Dependants of the Macedonian, comprehended in this Peace, were Prusias King of Bithynia, the Achaens, Baoitans, Thessalians, Acarnanians, and Epirots. On the Roman fide were named, first, the people of Ilium, as an honourable remembrance of the Romans descent from Troy; then, Attalus King of Pergamus; Pleuratus an Illyrian Prince; and Nabis the tyrant of Lacedamon; together with the Eleans, Meffenians

and Athenians. The Avolians were omitted, belike, as having agreed for themselves before. But the Eleans and Messenians, followers of the Atolians, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their league with Philip) were also inserted by the Romans; that were never flow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the Atbenians: they flood much upon their old honour; and loved to beare a part, though they did nothing, in all great actions. Yet the fetting downe of their names in this Treaty, served the Romans to good purpole: for a finuch as they were a buffe people, and ministred occasion to renew the War, when means did better ferve to follow it.

6. XIII.

How the Romans began to recover their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the Romans, in relieving the publike necessities of their Common weale.

T was a great fault in the Carthaginians, that embracing so many Enterprises at once, they followed all by the halves: and wasted more men and money to no purpose, than would have served (if good order had been taken) to finish the whole Warre, in farre shorter space; and make themselves Lords of all that the Romans held. This errour had become the leffe harmfull, if their care of Italy had bin fuch as it ought. But they suffered Hannibal to weary himselse with expectation of their promised supplies: which being still deferred from yeare to year, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a Conquerour could have defired. The death of Posthumius, and destruction of his whole Army in Gaule; the begun rebellion of the Sardinians; the death of Hiero their friend in Syracuse; with great alterations, much to their prejudice, in the whole Isle of Sicil; as alfo that War, of which we last spake, threatned from Macedon; happening all at one time; and that so nearely after their terrible overthrow at Canne, among so many revolts of their Italian Confederates; would utterly have funke the Roman State, had the Carthaginians, if not the first year, yet at least the second, sent over to Hannibal the forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that even this diversity of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administred matter unto Hanno, or such as Hanno was, wherupon to work. For though it were in the power of Carthage, to performe all that was decreed for Italy: yet could not that proportion hold, when so many new concurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their severall Armies. This had not been a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had been throughly prosequited: though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperity of Hannibal in his Italian Warre, should have been strengthened; whatfoever had become of the rest. But the slender Troupes, wherewith the Carthaginians fed the Warre in Spaine; the lingring and which they fent to uphold the Sardinian rebellion, when it was already well-neare beaten downe; their trifling with Philip; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hasty catching at Sicil: little deserved to be thought good reasons of neglecting the maine point, whereto all the rest had reference. Rather every one of these Actions, considered apart by it selfe, was no otherwife to be allowed, as discreetly undertaken, or substantially followed; than by making supposition, That the care of Italy made the Carthaginians more negligent in all things elie. Yet if these allegations would not serve to content Hamibal, then must be patiently endure to know, that his owne Citizens were jealous of his Greatnesse, and durst not trust him with so much power, as should enable him to wrong the State at

Whatfoever he heard or thought, Hannibal was glad to apply himfelfe to Necessity; to feed his Italian friends with hopes; and to trifle away the time about Nola, Naples, Co. me, and other places: being loth to spend his Army in an hard siege, that was to be referved for a worke of more importance. Many offers he made upon Nola, but alwayes with bad fucceffe. Once Marcellus fought a battell with him there: yet under the very Walles of the Towne; having the affiftance of the Citizens, that were growne better affected to the Roman fide, fince the Heads that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off-About a thousand men Hannibal in that fight lost: which was no great marvell; his forces being then divided, and imployed in fundry parts of Italy at once. Naples was even in those dayes, a strong City; and required a years work to have taken it by force.

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CHAP. 2. S. 12.

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Wherefore the earnest desire of Hannibal to get it, was alwaies frustrate. Upon the town of Cumæ they of Capua had their plot, and were in hope to take it by cunning. They sent to the chief Magistrates of the Cumans, desiring them (as being also Campans) to be preto the chief Magistrates of the Nation, where they would consult about their general sent at a solemne facrifice of the Nation, where they would consult about their general sent at a solemne facrifice of the Nation, where they would consult about their general sent at a solemne facrifice of the Nation, where they would consult about their general sent at a solemne facrifice of the Nation of Superiorism Grachus the Roman Consult tertaine; but privily seat word of all to T. Sempronius Grachus the Roman Consult.

Gracehus was a very good man of warre, and happily chosen Consull in so dangerous a time. His Colleague should have beene Posthumius Albinus, that was lately slaine by a time. His Colleague should have beene Posthumius Albinus, that was lately slaine by the Gaules: after whose death Marcellus was chosen, as being judged the fittest man to to the Gaules: after whose death Marcellus was chosen, as being judged the fittest man to to the Gaules: after whose death Marcellus is or at least they fained so to have done, been that nullished the election of Marcellus; or at least they fained so to have done, been that nullished the election of Marcellus; or at least they fained so to have done, been that they sate the first time, that ever two Plebeian Consuls were chosen together. Marcause this was the first time, that ever two Plebeian Consuls were chosen together. Marcause substituted in his roome. But Fabius was detained in the City, about matters of rewas substituted in his roome. But Fabius was detained in the City, about matters of ligion, or Superstition: wherewith Rome was commonly, especially in times of danger, ligion, or Superstition: wherewith Rome was commonly, especially in times of danger, ligion, or Superstition: where was alone, with a Consular Armie, waited upon Hannivery much troubled. So Gracehus alone, with a Consular Armie, waited upon Hannivery much troubled. So Gracehus alone, with a Consular Armie, waited upon Hannivery much troubled. So Gracehus alone, with a Consular Armie, waited upon Hannivery much troubled. So Gracehus alone, with a Consular Armie, waited upon Hannivery much troubled. So Gracehus alone, with a Consular Armie, waited upon Hannivery much troubled. So Gracehus alone, with a Consular Armie, waited upon Hannivery much troubled. So Gracehus alone, with a Consular Armie, waited upon Hannivery much troubled. So Gracehus alone, with a Consular Armie, waited upon Hannivery much troubled. So Gracehus alone, with a Consular Armie, waited upon Hannivery much troubled. So Gracehus alone,

Whilest the Consull was thus busied at Linternum, the Senators of Cuma sent him word of all that had passed betweene them and the Capuans. It was a good occasion to flesh his men, and make them consident against the Enemie; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. Gracehustherefore put himselse into Cuma: whence he issued at fuch time, as the Magistrates of that Citie were expected by the Campans. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called Hama, three miles from Cuma. There lay Marius Alsius the chiefe Magistrate of Capua, with sourceene thousand men; not 30 wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather devifing how to surprise others, than fearing himselfe to be affailed. The Consultherefore, fuffering none to goe forth of Cuma, that might beare word of him to the Enemies, issued out of the towne when it grew darke : his men being well refreshed with meate and fleepe, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights fervice. So he came upon the Capuans unawares, and flew more than two thousand of them, together with their Commander, losing not above a hundred of his owne men. Their campe he tooke; but tarried not long to rifle it, for feare of Hannibal, who lay not far off. By this his providence, he escaped a greater losse, than he had brought upon the Enemies. For when Hannibal was informed how things went at Hama, forthwith he mar-40 ched thither: hoping to finde those young fouldiers, and slaves, busied in making spoyle, and loading themselves with the bootie. But they were all gotten safe within Cuma; which partly for anger, partly for defire of gaining it, and partly at the urgent entreatie of the Capuans, Hannibal affailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill successe, the Carthaginians and their fellowes spent about this towne. They raised a woodden Tower against it; which they brought close unto the walls; thinking thereby to force an Entrie. But the Defendants, on the infide of the wall, raifed against this an high Tower; whence they made refiftance, and found meanes at length to confume with fire the worke of their Enemies. While the Carthaginians were busic in quenching the fire, the Romans, fallying out of the towne at two gates, charged them valiantly, and drave 50 them to their Trenches, with the flaughter of about foureteene hundred. The Confull wifely founded the Retrait, ere his men were too farre engaged, and Hannibal in a readinesse to requite their service. Neither would he, in the pride of his good successe, adventure forth against the Enemie; who presented him battell the day following, neere unto the walls. Hannibal therefore, seeing no likelihood to prevaile in that which he had taken in hand, brake up the fiege, and returned to his old campe at Tifara. About these times, and shortly after, when Fabius the other Consull had taken the field; some small towns were recovered by the Romans, and the people Teverely punished for their revolt.

The Carthaginian Armie was too small, to fill with garrisons all places that had yeel-ded; and withall to abide (as it must doe) strong in the field. Wherefore Hannibal, attending the supply from home, that should enable him to strike at Rome, it selfe, was driven in the meane time to alter his course of war: and, in stead of making (as formerly he had done) a generall invasion upon the whole Countrie, to passe from place to place; and wait upon occasions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemy, than to him. The Country of the Hirpines and Sammites was grievously wasted by Marcellus, in the absence of Hannibal: as also was Campania, by Fabius the Consulty when Hannibal having sollowed Marcellus to Nola, and received there the losse before mentioned, was gone to winter in Apulia. These people shewed not the like spirit indefending their lands, and sighting for the Carthaginian Empire, as in former times they had done; when they contended with the Romans, in their owne behalfe, to get the Soveraignty. They held it reason, that they should be protected by such as thought to have dominion over them; whereby at once they overburdened their new Lords; and gave unto their old, the more easie meanes to take revenge of their defection.

meanes to take revenge of their defection. The people of Rome were very intentive, as necessity constrained them, to the worke that they had in hand. They continued Fabius in his Confulship: and joyned with him Marcus Claudius Marcellus; whom they had appointed unto that honour the yeare before. Of these two, Fahing was called the Shield: and Marcellus the Roman Sword. In o Fabius it was highly, and upon just reason, commended, That being himselfe Consul. and holding the Election, he did not stand upon nice points of formality, or, regard what men might thinke of his ambition, but caused himselfe to bee chosen with Marcellus. knowing in what need the City stood of able Commanders. The great name of these Consuls, and the great preparations which the Remans made, served to put the Campans infeare, that Capua it felfe should be besieged. To prevent this, Hannihal, at their earnest entreaty, came from Arpi . (where he lay, hearkening after newes from Tarentum) and, having with his presence comforted these his friends, fell, on the sudden upon Pateoli, a Sea-towne of Campania; about which he fpent three dayes in vaine, hoping to have wonne it. The garrison in Putcoli was fixe thousand strong : and did their duty so well, that the Carthaginian, finding no hope of good fuccesse, could onely shew his anger upon the fields there, and about Naples; which having done, and once more (with as ill successe as before) assayed Nola, he bent his course to Tarentum: wherein he had very great intelligence. Whilest hee was in his progresse thither; Hanno made a journey against Beneventum : and T. Gracchus, the last yeares Conful, hasting from Nuceria, met him there; and fought with him a battell. Hanno had with him about seventeen thoufand foot, Brutians & Lucans for the most part : besides twelve hundred horse; very sew of which were Italians, all the rest, Numidians and Moores. He held the Roman worke four houres, ere it could be perceived to which fide the victory would incline. But Gracchus his fouldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed flaves, had received from to their Generalla peremptory denunciation, That this day or never they must purchase their liberty, bringing every man for price thereof, an enemies head. The fweet reward of liberty was fo greatly defired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vaine labour, imposed by their Generall, of cutting off the staine enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindred the fervice by imployment of so many hands. ma worke to little concerning the victory. Gracehus therefore finding his owne errour. wisely corrected it: proclaiming aloud, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all should have liberty immediately after the battell, if they wonne the day. This encouragement made them runne headlong upon the Enemie; whom their desperate surie had soone overthrowne, if the Roman Horse could have made their part good against the Numidian. But though Hanne did what he could, and pressed so hard upon the Romans battell, that source thousand of the flaves, (for feare either of him, or of the punishment which Gracebus had threatned before the battell, unto those that should not valiantly behave themselves) retired unto a ground of strength; yet was he glad at length to fave himselfe by flight, when the Groffe othis Armie was broken; being unable to remedy the losse. Leaving the field, he was accompanied by no more than two thousand: most of which were horse; all the rest Were either flaine or taken. The Roman Generall gave unto all his fouldiers that reward of liberty which he had promifed: but unto those foure thousand, which had recoyled

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CHAP.2. S.13.

unto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they served in the wars, they should neither eat nor drink otherwise than standing, unlesse sicknesses forced them to breake his order. So the victorious Armie returned to Beneventum: where the newly enfranchised Souldiers were feasted in publike by the towns-men; some sitting, some standing, and all of them having their heads covered (as was the custome of slaves manufied) with caps of white wooll. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthy of rememberance) was afterward hung up in a Tableby Gracchm, in the Temple of Liberty; which brance) was afterward hung up in a Tableby Gracchm, in the Temple of Liberty; which his father had built and dedicated. This was indeed the first bartell, worthy of great note, which the Carthaginians had lost since the comming of Hannibal into Italie: the victories of Marcellm at Nola, and of this Gracchm before at Hama, being things of smalliming.

Thus the Romans through industry, by little and little, repaired that great Breach in portance. their Estate, which Hannibal had made at Canna. But all this while, and long after this, their Treasurie was sopoore, that no industrie nor art could serve to helpe it. The fruits of their grounds did onely (and perhaps hardly) ferve to feed their Townes and Armies, without any furplusage, that might be exchanged for other needfull commodities. Few they were in Italy that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could worse doe than before; as living upon the same trade, and subject to the same inconveniences, which enfeebled Rome it selfe. Siciland Sardinia, that were wont to yeeld great profit, hardly now maintained the Roman Armies, that lay in those Provinces, to hold them 20 fafe, and in good order. As for the Citizens of Rome, every one of them fuffered his part of the detriment, which the Common-wealth sustained, and could now doe least for his Countrey, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased; fo as if money should be raised upon them by the Poll, yet must it be farre lesse, than in former times. The Senate therefore, diligently confidering the greatnesse of the warre within the bowels of Italie, that could not bee thence expelled, without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the perill, wherein Sicil and Sardinia stood, both of the Carrhaginians, and of many among the Naturals declining from the friendship or subje-Ction of Rome; the threats of the Macedonian, ready to land in the Easterne parts of Italie, if they were not at the cost to finde him work at home; the greater threats of Asaru-30 bal, to follow his brother over the Alpes, as foon as he could rid himselfe of the Scipio's in Spaine; and the povertie of the common-wealth, which had not mony for any one of these mortall dangers; were driven almost even to extreme want of counsell. But being urged by the violence of swift necessitie, signified in the letters of the two Scipio's from Spaine; they resolved upon the only course, without the which the Citie could not have

They called the people to affembly ; wherein Quintus Fulvius the Prætor layd open the publike wants; and plainely faid, That in this exigent, theremust be no taking of money for victuall, weapons, apparrell, or the like things needfull to the Souldiers; butthat such as had stuffe, or were Artificers, must trust the Common-wealth with49 the Loane of their commodities and labours, untill the warre were ended. Hereunto he fo effectually exhorted all men, especially the Publicans or Customers, and those which in former times had lived upon their dealing in the common Revenues, that the charge was undertaken by private men; and the Armie in Spaine as well supplied, as if the Treasurie had beene full. Shortly after this, Marcus Atilius Regulus, and Publicus Forius Philm, the Roman Cenfors, taking in hand the redresse of disorders within the Citie, were chiefly intentive to the correction of those, that had missehaved themselves in this present warre. They began with L. Cecilius Metellus; who, after the battellat Canna, had held discourse with some of his Companions, about slying beyond the Seas; as if Rome, and all Italie, had beene no better than loft. After him, they tookein hand those, that having brought to Rome the message of their fellowes made prisoners at Canna, returned not backe to Hannibal, as they were bound by oath; but thought themselves thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once backe into his Campe; with pretence of taking better notice of the Captives names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Cenfors: as also were a great many more; even who foever had not ferved in the warres, after the terme which the Lawes appointed: Neither was the note of the Cenfors at this time (as otherwise it had used to be) hurtfull onely in reputation: but greater weight was added thereunto, by this Decree of the

Senate, following; That all fuch as were noted with infamy by these Censors, should bee transported into Sicil, there to serve untill the end of the Warre, under the same hard conditions, that were imposed upon the Remainder of the Armie beaten at Canne. The office of the Cenfors was, to take the Lift and accompt of the Citizens; to choose or displace the Senatours; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) upon those, whose unhonest or unseemly behaviour fell not within the compasse of the Law. They tooke also an account of the Koman Gentlemen : amongst whom they distributed the publike Horses of service, unto such as they thought meet; or tooke them away for their mif-behaviour. Generally, they had the over-fight of mens lives and manners: nand their censure was much reverenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of ranke; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could doe) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasurie, from which others were exempted. But befides the care of this generall. Taxe, and matters of Moralitie, they had the charge of all publique Workes; as mending of High-wayes, Bridges, and Water-courses; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other buildings. If any man incroached upon the Streets, High-wayes, or other places that ought to bee common; the Cenfors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customes, and other publique Revenues to farme: fo that most of the Citizens of Rome were beholding unto this Office; as maintaining themselves by o some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small helpe to conserve the dignity of the Senate: the commonalty being obnoxious unto the Cenfors; which were alwayes of that Order, and carefull to up-hold the reputation thereof. But the Commonweale being now impoverished by Warre, and having small store of Lands to let, or of customes that were worth the farming; Regulus and Philus troubled not themselves much with perufing the Temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations: or if they took a view of what was requifite to be done in this kinde; yet forbore they to fet any thing in hand, because they had not wherewith to pay. Herein againe appeared a notable generofity of the Romans. They that had been accustomed in more happy times, to undertake fuch pieces of worke, offered now themselves as willingly to the Cen-30 fors, as if there had beene no fuch want: promifing liberally their coft and travell; without expectation of any payment, before the end of the Warre. In like fort, the Masters of those slaves, that lately had been infranchised by Gracehus, were very well contented to for beare the price of them, untill the Citie were inbetter case to pay. In this generall inclination of the Multitude, to relieve, as farre forth as every one was able, the common necessity; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widowes living under Patronage, were brought into the Treasurie; and there the Questor kept a Booke of all that was layd out for the sustenance of these Widowes and Orphans: whilest the whole stocke was used by the Citie. This good example of those which remained in the Towne, prevailed with the Souldiers abroad: fo that (the poorer fort excepted) they refused to take opay; and called those Mercenaries, that did accept it, when their Countrey was in so

The twelve hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the Carthaginians; nor any injuries following, done by the Romans in the height of their pride; yeelded halfe fo much commodity, as might be laid in ballance against these miseries, whereinto their Estate was now reduced. Neverthelesse if we consider things aright, the calamities of this Warre did rather enable Rome to deale with those Enemies, whom she forthwith under-tooke, than abate or flacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto she attained, ere the youngest of those men was dead, whose names we have already mentioned. For by this hammering, the Roman metall grew more hard and folide: and by paring the branches of private fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Commonwealth was corroborated. So grew the Citie of Athens, when Xerxes had burnt the Towne to ashes, and taken from every particular Citizen, all hope of other felicity, than that which rested in the common happinesse of the universality. Certaine it is, (as Sir Francis Bacon hath judiciously observed) That a State, whose demention or stemme is small, may aprly serve to be foundation of a great Monarchie: which chiefly comesto passe, where all regard of domesticall prosperity is laid aside; and every mans care addressed to the benefit of his Countrey. Hereof I might say that our Age hath feen a great example, in the united Provinces in the Netherlands; whose present riches,

and strength grew chiefly from that ill affurance, which each of their Towns, or almost of their Families, perceived it selfe to hold, whilest the generality was oppressed by the Or their ranning, percent for that the people had thereby growne as warlike, as by extreme Duke of Alva; were it for that the people had thereby growne as warlike, as by extreme industry, and straining themselves to fill their publike Treasurie, they are all growne wealthy, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their services by Land. When fore if we value at such a rate as we ought, the patient resolution, conformitie to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and above all other, the great love of the Common-Weale, which was found in Rome in the fe dangerous times: we may truely fay, That the Citie wasnever in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had la- 10 sted, when their Empire, being growne more large and beautifull, should in all reason have beene more deare unto them; if the riches and delicacies of Afia had not infe-Cted them with sensualitie, and carried their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherein they thought their well-being to confift; if all the Citizens and Subjects of Rome could have beleeved their owne interest to be as great, in those warres which these latter Emperours made fortheir defence, as in these which were managed by the Consuls: the Empire, founded upon fo great vertue, could not have been throwne down by the hands of rude Barbarians, were they never fo many. But unto all Dominions God hath fet their periods: Who though he hath given unto Manthe knowledge of those waies, by which Kingdomes rise and fall; yet hath left him subject unto the affections, which draw on 22 thele fatall changes, in their times appointed.

The fift Booke of the first part

6. XIIII. The Romans winne some Townes backe from Hannibal. Hannibal winnes Tarentum. The siege of Capua. Two victories of Hannibal. The journey of Hannibal to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.

S the people of Rome strained themselves to the utmost, for maintaining the Warre: fo their Generals abroad omitted no part of industry, in feeking to recover what had been loft. The Towns of Cafiline, Fabius befreged. It was well 30 defended by the Carthaginian garrison; and likely to have beene relieved by thoseof Capua, if Marcellus from Nola, had not come to the affiltance of his Colleague. Neverthelesse, the place held out so obstinatly, that Fabius was purposed to give it over: faying, that the enterprise was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But Marcellus was of a contrary opinion. Hee faid, That many fuch things, as were not at first to have been under-taken by great Commanders, ought yet, when once they were taken in hand, unto be profequited to the best effect. So the siege held on and the Town was preffed so hard, that the Campans dwelling therein grew fearefull, and craved parlee; offering to give it up, so as all might have leave to depart in safety, whither they pleased. Whilest they were thus treating of conditions: or whilest 40 they were issuing forth, according to the composition already made; (for it is diversly reported) Marcellus seizing upon a Gate, entred with his Armie, and put all to sword that came in their way. Fiftie of those that were first gotten out, ran to Fabius the Conful, who faved them, and fent them to Capus in fafety; all the rest were either slaine, or made prisoners. If Fabius deserved Commendations, by holding his word good unto these fifty; I know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such as escaped the heat of execution, could be excused by Marcellas. It may be that he helped himselfe, after the Roman fashion, with some æquivocation, but hee shall pay forit hereafter. In like fort was Mount Marfam in Gascoigne taken by the Marshall Monlac, when I was a young man in France. For whilest he entertained parlee about compositions on; the belieged ranne all from their severall guards, upon hasty defire of being acquainted with the conditions proposed. The Marshall therefore discovering a part of the Wals unguarded, entred by Scalado, and put all fave the Governour unto the fword. Herein that Governour of Mount Marsam committed two groffe errours; the one, in that hee gave no order for the Captaines and Companies, to hold themselves in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee without Pledges for affurance given and received. Some such over-sight the Governour of Cassline seemeth to have committed; yet neither the advantage taken by Marcellus, or by Monluc, was very honor rable. When this Work was ended, many finall Towns of the Samnites, and some of the Lucans and Apulians, were recovered: wherein were taken, or flaine, about five and twenty thousand of the Enemies; and the Country grievously wasted by Fabius, Marcellus lying fick at Nola.

Hannibal in the meane while was about Tarentum; waiting to heare from those, that had promifed to give up the Towne. But M. Valerius the Roman Propretor had thrust fo many men into it, that the Traytors durft not stirre. Wherefore the Carthaginian vvas faine to depart, having vvearied himselfe in vaine with expectation. Yet he weasted not the Countrey, but contented himselfe with hope, that they would please him better in time following. So he departed thence toward Salapia: which hee chose for his win-10 tring place; and began to victuall it when Summer was but halfe paft. It is faid, that he was in love with a young Wench in that Town, in which regard if he began his winter more timely than otherwise he required, He did not like the Romans; whom necessity inforced, to make their Summer last as long as they were able to travell up and downe the Country.

About this time began great troubles in Sicil, whither Marcellus the Conful was fent, to take such order for the Province, as need should require. Of the doings there, which

wore out more time than his Confulship, we will speake hereafter.

The new Consuls, chosen at Rome, were Q. Fabius the sonne of the present Consul, and T. Sempronius Gracehus the second time. The Romans found it needfull for the publique service to imploy oftentimes their best able men: and therefore made it lawfull, during the warre, to recontinue their Officers, and choose such, as had lately held their places before; vvithout regarding any distance of time, which was otherwise required. The old Fabius became Lievtenant unto his fonne: which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his sonne unto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the Campe, and his sonne rode forth to meet him: eleven of the twelve Lictors, which carried an axe with a bundle of rods before the Conful, fuffered him, in regard of due reverence, to passe by them on horse-back, which was against the custome. But the fonne perceiving this, commanded the last of his Lictors to note it: who thereupon bade the old Fabius alight, and come to the Conful on his feet. The father chearfully did so faying, It was my minde, sonne, to make tryall, whether thou diddest understand thy selfe to bee Conful. Cassius Altinius a wealthy Citizen of Arpi, who, after the battell at Canne, had holpen the Carthaginian into that Town, feeing now the fortune of the Romans to amend; came privily to this Conful Fabius, and offered to render it backe unto him. if he might be therefore well rewarded. The Conful purposed to follow old examples: and to make this Alinius a patterne to all traytors; using him as Camillus and Fabricius had done those that offered their faithfull service against the Falisei, and King Pyrthus. But Q. Fabius the father, was of another opinion: and faid, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, That it should be thought more safe to revolt from the Roo mans, than to turne unto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that hee should be sent to the Towne of Cales, and there kept as prisoner; until they could better resolve, what to doe with him, or what use to make of him. Hannibal understanding that Altinius was gone, and among the Romans, took it not forrowfully; but thought this a good occasion to seize upon all the mans riches, which were great. Yet that he might seeme rather severe, than coverous, he sent for the wife and children of Altinius into his camp: where having examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitive, partly, and more strictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, He condemned them, as partakers of the treason, to be burnt alive; and tooke all their goods unto himselfe. Fabius the Consul shortly after came to Arpi: which he wonne by Scalado, in a stormy and rainy night. Five thousand of Hannibals Souldiers lay in the town; and of the Arpines themselves, there were about three thousand. These were thrust formost by the Carthaginian Garrison; when it was understood, that the Romans had gotten over the Wall, and broken open a Gate. For the Souldiers held the towns-men suspected; and therefore thought it no wisdome to trust them at their backs. But after some little resistance, the Arpines gave over fight, and entertained parley with the Romans: protesting, that they had been betrayed by their Princes; and were become subject to the Carthaginians, against their wils. In processe of this discourse, the Arpine Pretor went unto the Roman Conful: and receiving his faith for fecurity of the Town; presently

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presently made head against the garrison. This notwithstanding, like it is that Hannibals men continued to make good refistance. For when almost a thousand of them, that were Spaniards, offered to leave their companions, and serve on the Roman side, it was ver covenanted, That the Carthaginians should be suffered to passe forth quietly, and returne to Hannibal. This was performed : and fo Arpi became Reman againe, with little other loffe, than of him that had betrayed it. About the same time Chternum was taken by Sempronius Tuditanus, one of the Pretors : and unto Cneus Fulvius, another of the Pretors, an hundred & twelve Gentlemen of Capua offered their service; upon no other condition, than to have their goods restored unto them, when their City should be recovered by the Romans. This was a thing of small importance: but considering the generall ha- to tred of the Campans towards Rome, it served to discover the inclination of the Italians inthose times; and how their affections recoyled from Hannibal, when there was no appearance of those mighty succours, that had been promised from Carthage. The Consentines also, and the Thurines, people of the Brutians, which had yeelded them-Telves to Hannibal, returned againe to their old allegiance. Others would have followed their example, but that one L. Pomponius, who of a Publican had made himfelfa Captaine, and gotten reputation by some petty exploits in forraging that Country. was slaine by Hanno; with a great multitude of those that followed him. Hannibalin the meane while had all his care bent upon Tarentum, which if he could take, it feemed that it would frand him in good flead, for drawing over that helpe out of Macedon, 20 which his Carthaginians failed to fend. Long he waited, ere he could bring his defire to passe: and being loth to hazzard his forces, where he hoped to prevaile by intelligence: He contented himselfe with taking in some poore Townes of the Salentines. At length, his Agents within Tarentum, found meanes to accomplish their purpose, and his wish. One Phileas, that was of their conspiracie, who lay at Rome as Embassadour, practising with the Hostages of the Tarentines, and such as had the keeping of them, conveighed them by night out of the Citie. But hee and his company the next day were so closely purfued, that all of them were taken, and brought backe to Rome, where they suffered death astraytors. By reason of this cruelty, or severity, the people of Tarentum grew to hate the Romans more generally and earnestly than before. As for the Conspirators, 30 they followed their business the more diligently; as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discovered. Wherefore they sent agains to Hannibal: and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the same composition with him for the Tarentines, which they of Capua had made before. Nice and Philomenes, two the chiefe among them, used much to goe forth of the Towne on hunting by night; as if they durft not take their pleasure by day, for fear of the Carthaginians. Seldome or never they missed of their game: for the Carthaginians prepared it ready for their hands, that they might not seeme to have been abroad upon other occasion. From the campe of Hannibal, it was about three dayes journy to Tarentum, if he should have marched thither with his whole Army. This caused his long abode in one place 40 the leffe to be suspected: as also to make his enemies the more secure. Hee caused it to be given out, that he was ficke. But when the Romans within Tarentum, were growne carelesse of such his neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had set their businesse in order; He tooke with him ten thousand the most expedite of his horse and foot; and long before breake of day, made all speed thitherward. Fourescore light horse of the Numidians ran a great way before him, beating all the wayes, and killing any that they met, for feare left he, and his troupe following him, should be discovered. It had beene often the manner of some sew Numidian horse, to doe the like in former times. Wherefore the Roman Governour, when he heard tell in the evening, that some Numidians were abroad in the fields, tooke it for a figne, that Hannibal was not as yet diflodged; and gave so erder, that some companies should be sent out the next morning, to strip them of their boory, and fend them gone. But when it grew darke night; Hannibal guided by Philomemes, came close to the towne: where, according to the tokens agreed upon, making a light to shew his arrivall; Nice, that was within the Town, answered him with another light, in figure that he was ready. Presently Nico beganne to set upon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. Philomenes went toward another Gate: and whiftling (as was his maner) called up the Porter; bidding him make hafte, for that he had killed a great Bore, so heavie, that scarce two men could stand under it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and

forthwith entred two young men, loaden with the Bore; which Hannibal had prepared large enough, to be worthy the looking on. While the Porter stood wondring at the largenesse of the beast, Philomenes ran him through with his Bore-speare: and letting in some thirty armed men, fell upon all the Watch; whom when he had slaine, he entred the great gate. So the Armie of Hannibal entring Tarentum at two Gates, went directly toward the Market place, where both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their Generall, and fent into all quarters of the City, with Tarentines to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the Romans, and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof, Hannibal willed the Conspirators, that when any of their friends apn peared in fight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good cheare. All the Towne was in an uproare: but few could tell what the matter meant. A Roman trumpet was unskilfully founded by a Greek in the Theater: which helped the fuspicion, both of the Tarentines, that the Romans were about to spoyle the Towne; and of the Romans, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Governour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadell, that stood in the mouth of the Haven; whence he might easily perceive the next morning, how all had passed. Hannibal assembling the Tarentines, gave them to understand, what good affection he bore them; inveighed birterly against the Romans, as tyrannous oppressors; and spake what else he thought fit for the prefent. This done, and having gotten fuch spoyle as was to be had of the Souldiers goods in the Towne, he addressed himselfe against the Citadell; hoping that if the Garrison would fally out, he might give them fuch a blow, as should make them unable to defend the Piece. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For when he began to make his approaches, the Romans in a bravery fallying forth, gave charge upon his men: who fell backe of purpose according to direction, till they had drawne on as many as they could. and so farre from their strength, as they durst adventure. Then gave Hannibal a figneto his Carthaginians, who lay prepared ready for the purpose: and fiercely setting upon the Enemy, drave him backe with great flaughter, as fast as he could runne; so that afterwards he durst not iffue forth. The Citadell stood upon a Demi-Iland, that was plaine ground; and fortified onely with a Ditch and Wall against the Towne, whereunto it was joyned by a cawfey. This cawfey Hannibal intended to fortifie in like fort against the Citadell; to the end that the Tarentines might be able, without his helpe, to keep themfelyes from all danger thence. His worke in few dayes went fo well forward, without impediment from the befreged, that he conceived hope of winning the Piece it felfe, by taking a little more pains. Wherefore he made ready all forts of engines, to force the place. But whilft he was busied in his works, there came by sea a strong supply from Metipontum: which took away all hope of prevailing; and made him returne to his former counsell. Now for a finuch as the Tarentine fleet lay within the haven, and could not passe forth, whileft the Romans held the Citadell: it feemed likely that the Towne would fuffer want, being debarred of accustomed trade and provisions by Sea: whilest the Roman garrison by help of their shipping, might easily be relieved, and enabled to hold out. Against this inconvenience, is was rather wished by the Tarentines, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the haven; to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all fupply from the Enemy. Hannibal told them, that this might well be done : for that their Town flanding in plain ground, and their streets being faire and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies over land, and lanch them into the fea without. This he undertook, and effected: whereby the Roman garrifon was reduced into great necessity; though with much patience it held out, and found Hannibal Often-times otherwise busied, than bis affaires required.

Thus with mutuall losse on both sides, the time passed: and the Roman forces, growing daily stronger, 2. Fulvius Flaccus. with Appius Claudius, lately chosen Consuls, prepared to besiege the great Citie of Capua. Three and twenty Legions the Romans had now armed. This was a great and hastie growth from that want of men, and of all necessaries, whereinto the losse at Canna had reduced them. But to fill up these Legions, they were faine to take up young Boyes, that were under seventeen yeares of age: and to send Commissioners above sifty miles round, for the seeking out of such Lads as might appeare serviceable, and pressing them to the Wars; making yet a Law, That their years of service, whereinto they were bound by order of the Citie, should be reckoned, for their benesit, from this their beginning so young, as if they had been of lawfull age.

CHAP-3, S.14.

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Before the Roman Army drew neare, the Campans felt great want of victuall, as if they had already beene befieged. This happened partly by floth of the Nation, partly by the great waste and spoyle, which the Romans had in fore-going yeares made upon their grounds. They fent therefore Embassadors to Hannibal 3 desiring him to succour them ere they were closed up, as they feared to be shortly. Hee gave them comfortable words, and fent Hanno with an Army to supply their wants. Hanno appointed thema day; against which they should be ready with all maner of carriages, to store themselves with victuals, that he would provide. Neither did he promise more than he performed. For he caused great quantity of graine, that had beene laid up in Cities round about to be brought into his Campe, three miles from Beneventum. Thither at the time to appointed, came no more than forty Carts or Wagons, with a few packe-horses, asif this had beene enough to victual Capua. Such was the retchlesnesse of the Campans. Hanne was exceeding angry hereat: and told them they were worfe than very beafts: fince hunger could not teach them to have greater care. Wherefore he gave them a longerday; against which he made provision to store them throughly. Of all these doings word was fent to the Roman Confuls, from the Citizens of Beneventum. Therefore 2. Fulvius the Conful taking with him fuch ftrength as he thought needfull for the fervice. came into Beneventum by night; where with diligence he made inquiry into the behaviour of the Enemie. He learned, that Hanno with part of his Army was gone abroad to make provisions; that some two thousand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters, and other Varlets, lay among the Carthaginians in their Campe; fo that little good order was kept : all thought being set upon a great harvest. Hereupon the Consul bade his men prepare themselves to affaile the Enemies Campe: and leaving all his impediments within Beneventum, he marched thitherward fo early in the morning, that he was there with the first breake of day. By comming so unexpected, he had well neareforced the Campe on the fudden. But it was very firong, and very well defended: fothat the longer the fight continued, the leffe defire had Fulvius to lose more of his menin the attempt; seeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he faid, that it were better to goe more leifurely and substantially to worke; to fend for his fellow-Conful, with the rest of their Army; and to lye betweene Hamo: and home; that neither the Campans should depart thence, nor the Carthaginians be able to relieve them. Being thus discoursing, and about to sound the retrait; he saw that fome of his men had gotten over the Enemies Rampart. There was great bootie; or (which was all one to the Souldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that Campe. Wherefore some Ensigne-bearers threw their Ensignes over the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, unlesse they would indure the shame and dishonour following such a losse. Feare of such ignominie, than which nothing could be greater, made the Souldiers adventure so desperately; that Fulvius, perceiving the heat of his men, changed his purpose, and incouraged those that were somewhat backward, to follow the example of them that had already gotten over the Trenches. Thus the Campe was wonne: in which were flaine above fixe thousand; and taken above feventhousand, besides all the store of victualls, and carriages, with abundance of booty, that Hanno had lately gotten from the Roman Confederates. This misadventure, and the nearer approach of both the Confuls, made them of Capua fend a pitifull Embaffage to Hannibal: putting him in minde of all the love that he was wont to proteft unto their Citie; and how he had made shew to affect it no lesse than Carthage. But now, they faid it would be loft, as Appi was lately, if he gave not ftrong and speedy fuccour. Hannibal answered with comfortable words: and sent away two thousand horse, to keep their grounds from spoyle, whilest he himselfe was detained about Tarenram, partly by hope of winning the Citadell, partly by the disposition, which he saw in many Townes adjoyning, to yeeld unto him. Among the Hostages of the Tarentines, that lately had fled out of Rome, and being overtaken, suffered death for their attempt; were some of the Mesapentines, and other Cities of the Greeks, inhabiting that Easterne part of Italy, which was called of old, Magna Gracia. These people took to heart the death of their hostages, and thought the punishment greater than the offence. Wherefore the Metapentines, as foon as the Roman garrifon was taken from them to defend the Citadd of Tarentum, made no more adoe, but opened their gates to Hannibal. The Thuring would havedone the like, upon the like reason, had not some Companies lyen in their Towne; which they feared that they should not be able to Master. Nevertheless, they helped themselves by cunning: inviting to their gates Hanno and Mago, that were neare at hand: against whom whilest they proffered their service to Asinius the Roman Captaine, they drew him forth to sight, and recoyling from him, closed up their gates. A little formality they used in pretending seare, lest the Enemy should break in together with the Romans, in saving Asinius himselfe, and sending him away by Sea; as also in with the practice) whether they should yeeld to the Cartbaginian or no. But this disputation lasted not long: for they that had removed the chiefe impediment, easily prevailed in of the site, detained Hannibal in those quarters, whilest the Consuls fortifying Beneventum to sective their backs, addressed themselves to the siege of Capua.

Many difasters befell the Romans, in the beginning of this great enterprise. T. Sempro. nius Gracehus, a very good man of Warre, that had of late been twice Conful, was flaine, either by treachery of some Lucans, that drew him into ambush, or by some Carthagia nian stragglers, among whom he fell unawares. His body, or his head, was very honourably interred either by Hannibal himself, or (for the reports agree not) by the Romans : to whom Hannibal sent it. He was appointed to lie in Beneventum, there to secure the backe of the Army that should be fiege Capua. But his death hapned in an ill time, to the 20 great hinderance of that businesse. The Volones or Slaves lately manumised for sooke their Enfignes, and went every one whither he thought good, as if they had been discharged by the decease of their Leader; so that it asked some labour to seeke them out, and bring them back into their Camp. Nevertheleffe, the Confuls went forward with their work, & drawing neare to Capua, did all acts of hostility which they could. Mago the Carthaginian, and the Citizens of Capua gave them an hard welcome, wherein above fifteen hundred Romans were loft. Neither was it long ere Hannibal came thither, who fought with the Confuls, and had the better; infomuch, that he caused them to dislodge. They removed by night, and went severall wayes: Fulvius towards Canna, Claudius into Lucania. Hannibal followed after Claudius, who having led him a great walk, fetcht a com-, passe about, and returned to Capua. It so fell out, that one Marcus Centenius Penula, a from man, & one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a Centurion, lay with an Army not far from thence, where Hannibal rested, when he was weary of hunting after Claudius. This Penula had made great vaunts to the Roman Senate, of vyonders which he would work if he might be trufted with the leading of five thousand men. The Fathers were unwilling in fuch a time, to reject the vertue of any good Souldier. how meane foever his condition were. Wherefore they gave him the charge of eight thousand: and hee himselfebeing a proper man, and talking bravely, gathered up so many voluntaries, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with Hannibal, he gave proofe of the difference betweene a front Centurion, and one able to command in chiefe. He and his fellowes vvere all (in a manner) flaine, scarce a thousand of them escaping. Soon after this, Hannibal had word, that Cnew Fulvius a Roman Pretor with eighteen thousand men was in Apulia, very carelesse, and a man insufficient for the charge which he held. Thither therefore hee hasted to visit him: hoping to deale the better with the maine strength of Rome, which pointed at Capua, when he should have cut off those forces, that lay in the Provinces about, under men of small ability. Comming upon Fulvius, he found him and his men so jolly, that needs they would have fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following .So he bestowed Mago with three thousand of his lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit for ambush. Then offering battell to Fulvius, he soone had him in the trap: whence hemade him glad to escape alive; leaving all, save two thousand of his followers, dead

These two great blowes, received the one presently after the other, much astonished the Romans. Neverthelesse, all care was taken, to gather up the small reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Consuls should goe substantially forwards with the siege of Capua: which was of great consequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two Consuls sate downe before the Town, and C. Claudius Nero, one of the Pretors, came with his Army from Suessula, to their assistance. They made Proclamation, That who soever would issue out of Capua before a certain day presized, should

have his pardon, and be suffered to enjoy all that unto him belonged: which day being past, there should be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliously rejected; the Capuans relying on their owne strength, and the succours attended from Hannibal. Before the City was closed up, they fent messengers to the Carthaginian; which found him at Brundusium. He had made along journy, in hope of gaining the Tarentine Citadell: of which expectation failing, he turned to Brundusium, upon advertisement that he should belet in. There the Capuans met him, told him of their danger with earnest words; and were with words as bravely re-comforted. He bade them confider, how a few daies fince he had chased the Consuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would presently come thither againe, and fend the Romans going as fast as before. With this good answer to the Messengers returned, and hardly could get back into the City; which the Romans had almost intrenched round. As for Hannibal himselfe, he was of opinion, that Capua, being very well manned, and heartily devoted unto his friend ship, would hold out a long time. and thereby give him leifure to do what he thought requifite among the Tarentines, and in those Easterne parts of Italy; whilest the Roman Army spent it selfe in a tedious siege. Thus he lingred, and thereby gave the Consuls time, both to fortifie themselves at Capua. and to dispatch the election of new Magistrates in Rome; whilest he himselfe pursued

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hopes that never found successe. Claudius and Fulvius, when their terme of office was expired, were appointed to continue the fiege at Capua; retaining the fame Armies as Proconfuls. The Townf-men of- 20 tenfallied out; rather in abravery, than likelihood to worke any matter of effect; the Enemy lying close within his Trenches, as intending without other violence, to subdue them by famine. Yet against the Campan horse (for their foot was easily beaten) the Romans used to thrust out some troupes, that should hold them skirmish. In these exercifes the Campans usually had the better, to the great griefe of their proud Enemy; who fcorned to take foile at the hands of fuch Rebels. It was therefore devised, that some a-Ctive and couragious young men should learne to ride behind the Roman men at armes; leaping up, and againe difmounting lightly, as occasion served. These were furnished like the Velites, having each of them three or foure fmall darts: which, alighting intime of conflict, they discharged thick upon the Enemies horse; whom vanquishing in this 20 kinde of fervice, they much disheartned in the maine. The time thus passing, and famine daily increasing within the City, Hannibal came at length, not expected by the Romans: and taking a Fort of theirs, called Galatia, fell upon their Camp. At the same time the Capuans iffued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could devise: setting all their multitude of unserviceable people on the walls, which with aloud noyse of Pans and Basons, troubled those that were occupied in fight. Appius Claudius opposing himself to the Campans, easily defended his Trenches against them; and so well repressed them, that he drave them at length backinto their City. Neverthelesse, in purfuing them to their gates, He received a wound that accompanied him in short space after to his grave. 2. Fulvius was held harder to his taskeby Hannibal, and the Cartha- 40 ginian Army. The Roman camp was even at point to have bin loft; and Hannibal his E-Tephants, of which he brought three and thirty, were either gotten within the rampart, or elle(for the report varies) being some of them flain upon it, fell into the ditch; & filled it up in such fort, that their bodies served as a bridge unto the Assailants. It is said, that Hannibal in this tumult caused some fugitives that could speak Latine well, to proclaim aloud as it were in the Consuls name, That every one of the Souldiers should shift for himself, and flie betimes unto the next hils, for a finuch as the Campe was already lost. But all would not serve. The fraud was detected: and the Army having sitten there so long, had at good leifure strongly intrenched it selfe, so as little hope there was to raise the siegeby force.

This did extremely perplex the Carthaginian. The purchase of Capua had (as was thought) with-held him from taking Rome it selfe: and now his defire of winning the Tarentine Citadell, had well-near lost Capua; in respect of which, neither the Citadell, nor the City of Tarentum were to have bin much regarded. Falling therefore into a desperate anger with himselfe and his hard fortune, that of so many great victories he had made no greater use: on the sudden he enterained an haughty resolution, evento fet upon Rome; and carry to the Walles of that proud City, the danger of Warre that threatned Capua. This he thought would be a meane, to draw the Roman Generals, or

one of them at least, unto the defence of their owne home. If they rose from the siege with their whole Army, then had he his defire : If they divided their forces, then was it likely, that either he or the Campans, should well enough deale with them apart. Neither did he despaire, that the terror of his coming might so astonish the multitude within Rome, as he might enter some part or other of the City. His onely feare was, lest the Campans, being ignorant of his purpose, should thinke he had for saken them; and thereupon forthwith yeeld themselves to the Enemy. To prevent this danger, he sent letters to Capua by a fubtle Numidian : who running as a fugitive into the Roman Camp, conveighed himselfe thence over the innermost Trenches into the Citie. The journey to Rome was to be performed with great celerity: no small hope of good successe resting 10 in the suddennesse of his arrivall there. Wherefore he caused his men, to have it a readinesse ten dayes victualls; and prepared as many boates, as might in one night transport his Army over the River Vuleurous. This could not be done fo closely, but that the Reman Generals, by some fugitives, had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate; which was therewith affected, according to the diverfity of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gave counsell to let alone Capua, yea, and all places else, rather than to put the Town of Rome into perill of being taken by the enemy. Others were fo farre from allowing of this, as they wondred how any man could think, that Hannibal, being unable to relieve Capua, should judge himselfe strong enough to win Rome; and therefore stoutly said, That those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the City, would ferve the turn well enough to keep him out and fend him thence, if he were so unwise as to come thicher. But it was finally concluded, that Letters should be sent to Fulvius & Claudius, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the present were in Rome: who, fince they knew best what the strength was which Hannibal could bring along with him, were best able to judge, what was needfull to oppose him. So it was referred unto the discretion of these Generals at Capua, to doe as they thought behoovefull: and if it might conveniently be, neither to raife their fiege, nor yet to put the City of Rome into much adventure. According to this Decree of the Senate, 2. Falvius took fifteen thousand foot, and a thousand horse, the choice of his whole Ar-10 my: with which he hasted roward Rome; leaving App. Clauding, who could not travell by reason of his wound, to continue the siege at Capua.

Hannibal having passed over Vulturnus, burnt up all his boates; and left nothing that might transport the Enemy, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then hasted he away toward Rome, staying no longer in any one place, than he needs must. Yet found he the Bridges over Liris broken downe by the people of Fregelle: which as it stopped him a little on his way; so it made him the more grievously to spoyle their lands, whiles the Bridges were in mending. The nearer that he drew to Rome, the greater waste he made : his Namidians running before him; driving the Country,

and killing or taking multitudes of all forts and ages, that fled out of all parts round a-

to bout. The messengers of these newes came apace, one after another into the City; some few bringing true advertisements; but the most of them reporting the conceits of their owne feare. All the streets and Temples in Rome were pestered with women, crying, and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their haire, because they could doe none other good. The Senators were all in the great Market, or place of Affembly; ready to give their advice, if it were asked, or to take directions given by the Magistrates. All places of most importance were stuffed with souldiers: it being uncertaine, upon which part Hannibal would fall. In the midst of this trepidation, there came newes that Quintus Fulvius, with part of the Army from Capua, was hasting to the defence of the City. The Office of a Proconful did expire, at his returne home, and entry into the Gates of Rome. Wherefore, that Fulvius might lose nothing by comming into the City in time of such need, an Act was passed, That hee should have equall power with the Consuls duing his abode there. He and Hannibal arrived at Rome, one soone after another: Fulvius having been long held occupied in passing over Vulturnus; and Hannibal receiving

impediment in his journey, as much as the Countrey was able to give. The Confuls, and Fulvises, incamped without the Gates of Rome, attending the Carthaginian. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew nearer and greater; fo took they more carefull and especiall order against all occurrences. Hannibal came to the River Anie or Anien, three miles from the Towne; whence he advanced with two thousand horse,

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and rode along a great way under the Walles, viewing the fite thereof, and confidering how he might best approach it. But he either went, or (as the Roman Story sith) was driven away, without doing or receiving any hurt. Many tumults rofe in this while among the people; but were suppressed by care and diligence of the Senators. Above the rest one accident was both troublesome, and not without perill. Of Numidians that had shifted side, and sallen (upon some displeasures) from Hannibal to the Romans, there were some twelve hundred then in Rome: which were appointed by the Confuls, to paffe through the Towne, from the Mount Aventure, to the Gate Collina, where it was thought that their service might be usefull, among broken wayes, and Garden walls lying in the suburbs. The faces of these men, and their furniture, wherein they differed to not from the followers of Hannehal; bred fuch mistaking, as caused a great uproare among the people: all crying out that Aventine was taken, and the Enemy gotten within the Walls. The noy fe was fuch, that men could not be informed of the truth : and the ftreets were so full of cattell, and husbandmen, which were sted thither out of the Villages adjoyning, that the passage was stopt up : and the poore Numidians pitifully beaten from the house toppes, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand, he the desperate multitude, that would have run out at the Gates, had it not beene certaine who lay under the Walles. To remedy the like inconveniences, it was ordained, That all which had beene Dittators, Comfals, or Confors, Should have anthority as Magistrates, till the Enemy departed. The day following Hannibal passed over Anien, and presented bat-20 tell to the Romans, who did not wifely if they undertooke it. It is faid, that a terrible showre of raine, caused both Romans and Carthaginians to returne into their severall Camps : and that this happened two dayes together, the weather breaking up and clearing as foon at they were departed afunder : certain it is, that Hannibal, who had brought along with him no more than ten dayes provision, could not indure to stay there, until his victuals were all spent. In which regard the Romans, if they suffered him to waste his time and provisions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became well advised men: if they offered to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (asis faid) by fome, accident of weather, the commendations must be given to their fortune. The terror of Hannibals comming to the City, how great foever it was at the first, 10 vet after some leisure, and better notice taken of their forces, which appeared lessethan the first apprention had formed them, was much and soone abated. Hereunto it helped well, that at the same time the supply appointed for Spaine, after the death of the two Scipie's, was fent out of the Town, & went forth at the gate, whilft one Carthaginian lay before another. In all Punick terrours, as they are called, whereof there is either no cause known or no cause answerable to the greatnesse of the sudden consternation; it is a good remedy to do somewhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it fuch as men have fashioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did Alexander cause his fouldiers to difarme themselves, when they were all on a sudden in a great feare of they wish not what. And thus did Clearchus pacifie a foolish uproare in his Army, by proclai- 40 ming a reward unto him that could tell who had fent the Affe into the Camp. But in this present example of the Ramans, appears withall a great magnanimity: whereby they sustained their reputation, and augmented it no leffe, than by this bold attempt of Hannibal it might seeme to have been diminished. Neither could they more finely have checked the glorious conceits of their enemies, and taken away the differace of that feare, which clouded their valour at his first comings than by making such demonstrations, whenonce they had recovered spirit, how little they esteemed him. To this purpose therefore that very piece of ground, on which the Carthaginian lay encamped, was folde in Rome: and fold it was nothing under the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had bin in time of peace. This indignity comming to his eare, incenfed Hannibal fo much, that he made so port-sale of the Silver-smiths shoppes, which were neare about the Market or Common place in Rome, as if his owne title to the houses within the Towne were no whit worke, than any Roman Citizens could be unto that piece of ground, whereon heraifed his Tent. But this counter-practife was nothing worth. The Romans did feek to manifest that assurance which they justly had conceived; Hannibal, to make shew of contiswing in an hope, which was already past. His victuals were almost spent : and of those ends, that he had proposed unto himselfe, this journy had brought forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore hee brake up his Campe: and doing what

spoile he could of the Roman Territory, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, he passed like a tempest over the Country, and ran toward the Easterne Sea so fast, that he had almost taken the Citie of Rhegium before his arrivall was feared or suspected. As for Capua, he gave it lost : and is likely to have cursed the whole faction of Hanno, which thus disabled him to relieve that faire City, since he had no other way to vent his griefe.

2. Fulvius returning back to Capua, made Proclamation anew, that whoso vvould yeeld, before a certaine day, might fafely doe it. This, and the very returne of Fulvius, without any more appearance of Hannibal, gave the Capuans to understand, that they to vvere abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the Roman pardon proclaimed, every mans conscience of his owne evill deserts, told him, that it was a vanity: and some faint hope was given, by Hanno and Bostar, Captaines of the Carthaginian Garrison within the Towne, that Hannibal should come againe; if meanes could onely be found, how to convey such Letters unto him as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was undertaken by some Numidians: who running as fugitives, out of the Towne into the Roman Camp, waited fit opportunity to make an escape thence with their packets. But it hapned ere they could conveigh themselves away, that one of them was detected by an harlot following him out of the Town; and the Letters of Bostar and Hanno were taken and opened, containing a vehement intreaty unto Hannibal, that hee would not thus for sake the Capuans and them. For (said they) we came not hither to make Warre against Rhegium and Tarentum, but against the Romans: whose Legions, wheresoever they lye, there also should the Carthaginian Army be ready to attend them; and by taking of such courfe, have we gotten those victories at Trebia, Thrsjamene, and Canna. In fine, they befought him, that he would not dishonour himselfe, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another way; as if it were his onely care, that the Citie should not be taken in his full view: promising to make a desperate sally, if he would once more adventure to fet upon the Roman Campe. Such were the hopes of Boltar and his fellow.

But Hannibal had already done his best: and now beganne to faint under the bur-30 den of that Warre, wherein (as afterward he protested) he was vanquished by Han-Liv. 186-30no and his Partifans in the Carthaginian Senate, rather than by any force of Rome. It may well bee, as athing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in Capua, had bin fent over by the Hannonians, to observe the doings of Hannibal, and to checke his proceedings. If this were fo, justly might they curfe their owne malice, which had cast them into this remedilessenecessity. Howsoever it were, the Letters directed unto Hannibal, fell (as is shewed) into the Roman Proconfuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all fuch counterfeit fugitives, as carried fuch meffages, whipt them back into the Towne. This miserable spectacle brake the hearts of the Eumpans, so that the multitude crying out upon the Senate, with menacing termes, caused them to affemble and confult, about the yeelding up of Capua unto the Romans. The bravest of the Senators, and fuch as a few years fince, had beene most forward in joyning with Hannibal, understood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them invited the rest home to supper: telling them, that when they had made good cheare, he would drinke to them fuch an health, as should set them free from that cruell revenge, which the Enemies fought upon their bodies. About seven and twenty of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their lives together, by drinking poyfor. All the rest hoping for more mercy than they had deserved, yeelded simply to discretion. So one of the Town-gates was set open; whereat a Roman Legion, with some other Companies, entring, difarmed the Citizens; apprehended the Car-Othaginian Garrison; and commanded all the Senators of Capua to goe forth into the Roman camp. At their comming thither, the Proconfuls laid yrons upon them all, and commanding them rottell what store of gold and silver they had at home, sent them into safe custodie; fome to Cales, others to Theanum. Touching the generall multitude, they were referved unto the discretion of the Senate: yet so hardly used by Fulvius in the meane while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this adversity. Ap. Claudius was brought even to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately received: yet was he not inexorable to the Campans; as having loved them well in former times, & having given his daughter in mariage to that Pacavins, of whom we spake before. But this facility

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of his Colleague, made Fulvius the more hasty in taking vengeance: for feare, left upon the like respects, the Roman Senate might prove more gentle, than he thought behoovefull to the common safety, and honour of their State. Wherefore he took the paines to ride by night unto Theanum, and from thence to Cales: where he caused all the Campan prisoners to suffer death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods; after which he struck off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance, which the Carthaginians could not hinder, made all townes of Italy the leffe apt to follow the vaine hope of the Campans: and bred a generall inclination, to returne upon good conditions to the Roman fide. The Atellans, Ca. neral inclination, o retuine apoil so the Campans, that in the former change had followed to latines and Sabatines, people of the Campans, the fortune of Capua, made also now the like submission, for very scare and want of ability to refift. They were therefore used with the like rigour, by Falvius who dealt so extremely with them all, that he brought them into desparation. Wherefore some of their yong gentlemen, burning with fire of revenge, got into Rome: where they found means by night-time, to fet on fire so many houses, that a great part of the city was like to have bin confumed. The beginning of the fire in divers places at once, argued that it was no casualty. Wherefore liberty was proclaimed unto any slave, and other sufficient reward to any free man, that should discover who those Incendiaries were. Thus all came our; and the Campans being detected by a flave of their owne (to whom, above his liberty promifed, was given about the sum of an hundred markes) had the punishment answera-20 ble to their deferts. Fulvius hereby being more and more incenfed against this wretched people, held them in a maner as prisoners within their Walls: and this extreme severity caused them at length to become Suppliants unto the Roman Senate; that some period might be fet unto their miseries. That whereupon the Senators resolved in the end, was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Onely two poore women in Capua (of which one had beene an harlot) were found not guilty of the late rebellion. The rest were, some of them, with their wives and children fold for slaves, and their goods confilcated; others laid in prison, and reserved to further deliberation: but the generality of them, commanded to depart out of Campania by a certaine day, and confined unto severall places, as best liked the angry victors. As for the towne of Capua, it was suffered to 10 ftand, in regard of the beauty and commodious fite: but no corporation or forme of politie was allowed to be therein; onely a Roman Provost vvas every year sent to governe over those that should inhabit it, and to doe justice. This was the greatest act, and most important, hitherto done by the people of Rome, after many great losses in the present war. After this, the glory of Hannibal began to shine with a more dim light than before his oyle being farre spent; and that which should have revived his slame, being unfortunately shed; as shall be told in place convenient.

6. XV.

How the Carthaginians, making a party in Sardinia and Sicil, held War against the Romans 40 in those Islands, and were overcome.

Hilft things passed thus in Italy, the commotions raised in Sardinia & Sicil by the Carthaginians & their friends, were brought to a quiet & happy end by the industrious valour of the Romans. The Sardinian rebellion was great and fudden : above thirty thousand being up in armes, ere the Roman forces could arrive there to suppress it. One Harsicoras with his son Hyostus, mighty men in that Iland, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by Hanno a Carthaginian, that promised the assistance of his country. Neither were the Carthaginians in this enterprise so carelesse, as intherest of their maine undertakings, about the same time. Yet it had beene better if 50 their care had been directed unto the profecution of that maine businesse in Italy; whereon this and all other hopes depended. For it would have fufficed, if they could have hindred the Romans from fending an Army into Sardinia. Harficoras with his followers might well enough have served to drive out Quintus Mutius the Prætor: who lay ficke in the Province; and not more weake in his owne body, than in his traine. But vvhilest they sought revenge of that particular injurie, vvhereof the sense vvas most gricvous; they neglected the opportunity of requiting those that had done them vvrong, and of the securing themselves from all injuries in the future. Their fortune also in this

enterprise was such, as may seeme to have encouraged them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For whereas they sent over Astrabal, surnamed the Bald, with a competent fleet and Armie; affisted in this expedition by Hanno the Author of the rebellion, and by Mago a Gentleman of the Barchine house, and neere kinsman to Hannibal: it so fell out, that the whole fleet, by extremity of soule weather, was cast upon the Baleares; so beaten, and in such evill plight, that the Sardimans had even spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquished, ere these their friends could arrive to succour them.

Titus Manlius was fent from Rome with two and twenty thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse, to settle the estate of that Iland, which he had taken in, and annexed uno to the Roman dominion, long before this, in his Confulship. It was a laudable custome of the Romans, to preferve and up-hold in their feverall Provinces, the greatnesse and reputation of those men, and their families, by whom each Province had beene first subdued unto their Empire. If any injurie were done unto the Provincialls, if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate, or whatfoever accident required the affiftance of a Patron; the first Conquerour, and his race after him, were the most ready and best approved meanes, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. Hereby the Romans held very fure intelligence, in every Province, and had alwayes in readinesse fitmen to reclaime their Subjects, if they fell into any fuch diforder, as would otherwise have required a greater charge and trouble. The comming of Manlius retained in obedience all that were not already broken too farre out. Yet was Harficoras to ftrong in field, that Manlius was compelled to arme his Mariners: without whom he could not have made up that number of two and twenty thousand, whereof we have spoken before: he landed at Calaris, or Carallis, where mooring his ships, he passed up into the Countrey, and fought out the Enemie. Hyoftm, the sonne of Harsicoras, had then the command of the Sardinian Army left unto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the Countrey. to draw in more friends to their fide. This young gentleman would need adventure toget honour, by giving battell to the Romans at his owne differetion. So he rashly adventured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom hee received a terrible overthrow: o and loft in one day above thirtie thousand of his followers. Hyoft 248 himselfe, with the reft of his broken troupes, got into Cornus, the chiefe Towne of the Island: whither Manlius purfued them. Very foon after this defeature came Afdrub al with his Caribaginians, too late to winne all Sardinia in such haste as he might have done, if the tempeft had not hindered his voyage: yet foone enough, and ftrong enough to fave the Towns of Cornus, and to put a new spirit into the Rebels. Manlious hereupon withdrew himselfe backe to Calaris: where he had not stayed long, ere the Sardinians (such of them as adhered to the Roman party) craved his affiftance; their Countrey being wafted by the Caribaginians, and the Rebels, with whom they had refused to joyne. This drew Manlius forth of Calaris: where, if he had stayed a little longer, Afdrubal would have fought him out with fome blemish to his reputation. But the fame of Asdrubal and his company appeares to have bin greater than was their strength. For after some triall made of them in a few skirmishes, Marlin adventured all to the hazzard of a battell; wherein he flew twelve thousand of the enemies; and tooke of the Sardinians and Carthaginians three thousand. Foure houresthe battell lasted; and victory at length fell to the Romans, by the flight of the Islanders, whose courages had beene broken in their unprosperous fight, nor many dayes before. The death of young Hyostem, and of his father Harficoras, that flew himfelfe for griefe, together with the captivity of Afdrabal himfelfe, with Mago and Hanno the Carthaginians, made the victory the more famous. The vanquished Armie fled into Cornus; whither Manlin followed them, and in shore space won the Towne. All other Cities of the Isle that had rebelled, followed the example of Cornus, and yeelded unto the Roman; who, imposing upon them such increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best forted with the nature of their severall offences, or their ability to pay returned back to Calaris with a great booty, & from thence to Rome, leaving Sardinia in quiet.

The warre in Sicil was of greater length, and every way more burdenfome to Rome: as also the victorie brought more honour and profit, for that the Romans became thereby, not onely favers of their owne, as in Sardinia; but Lords of the whole Countrie, by annexing the City and dominion of Syracuse; to that which they enjoyed before. Soon

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after the battell of Canna, the old King of Syracuse died; who had continued long a stedfast friend unto the Romans, and greatly relieved them in this present warre. He left his kingdome to Hieronymus his grand-child, that was about fifteene yeeres of age; Gelohis fonne, that should have bin his heire, being dead before. To this young King his succeffour, Hiero appointed fifteen tutors: of which the principall were Andronodorus, Zoilu, and Themistius; who had married his daughters, or the daughters of Gelo. The rest were fuch, as he judged most likely to preserve the kingdome, by the same art, whereby himselfe had gotten and so long kept it. But within a little while, Andronodorm waxing wearie of fo many coadjutors, began to commend the fufficiency of the young Prince, as extraordinary in one of his yeeres; and faid, that he was able to rule the king-10 dome without help of any Protector. Thus, by giving over his owne charge, he caused others to do the like: hoping thereby to get the king wholly into his hands; which came to passe, in a fort, as he desired. For Hieronymus, laying aside all care of government. gave himselfe wholly over to his pleasures: or if he had any regard of his Royall dignitic, it was onely in matter of exterior shew; as wearing a Diadem, with ornaments of purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby he offended the eyes of his people, that had never seene the like in Hiero, or in Gelo his sonne. But much more he offended them, when by his infolent behaviour, futable to his outward pompe, he gave proofe, that in course of life, he would revive the memory of Tyrants dead long since, from whom hetooke the patterne of his habit. He grew proud, luftfull, cruell, and dangerous to all that were about him: fo that fuch of his late tutors as could escape him by flight, were glad to live in banishment: the rest, being most of them put to death by the Tyrant; many of them dying by their owne hands, to avoid the danger of his difpleafure, that feemed worse than death it selfe. Onely Andronodorm, Zoilm, and one Thrato continued in grace with him, and were his Counfellors, but not of his Cabinet. These, howsoever they agreed in other points, were at some diffention about the maine point of adhering, either to the Romans, or to the Carthaginians. The two former of them were wholly for the Kings pleasures, which was set on change: but Thraso, having more regard of his honour and profit, was very earnest to continue the amitie with Rome. Whilest as yet it remained somewhat doubtfull which way the King would 20 incline, a conspiracie against his person was detected by a Groome of his; to whom one Theodorus had broken the matter. Theodorus hereupon was apprehended, and tormented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the undertakers. Long it was ere he would speake any thing: but yeelding (as it seemed) in the end, unto the extremity of the torture, he confessed, that he had beene set on by Thrafo; whom he appeached of the treason, together with many more, that were neere in love or place unto Hieronymu. All these therefore were put to death, being innocent of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeed the Conspirators, walked boldly in the ftreets, and never shrunke for the matter: assuring themselves, that the resolution of Theodorm would yeeld to no extremitie. Thus they all 40 escaped, and soone after found meanes to execute their purpose. The King himselfe, when Thraso was taken out of the way, quickly resolved upon siding with the Caribaginians, whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when first they grow Mafters of themselves, love to seeme wiser than their fathers, by taking different courses. And the liberality of Hiero to the Romans, in their great necessitie, had of late been such, as might have been termed excessive, were it not in regard of his providence; wherein he tooke order for his owne Estate, that depended upon theirs. But the young Nephew taking little heed of dangers farre off, regarded onely the things prefent; the weaknesse of Rome, the prevalent fortunes of Carthage, and the much money that his grand-father had layed out in vaine, to shoulder up a falling house. Wherefore he dealt with Hanni- 50 bal: who readily entred into good correspondence with him; that was maintained by Hippocrates and Epicides, Carthaginians borne, but grand-children of a banished Syracufian. These grew into such favour with Hieronymus, that they drew him whither they listed. So that when App. Claudius the Roman Prætor, hearing what was towards, made a motion of renewing the Confederacie, betweene the people of Rome, and the King of Syracuse; his Messengers were dismissed with an open scoffe. For Hieronymus would needs have them tell him the order of the fight at Canna, that he might thereby learne how to accommodate himselfe; saying that he could hardly believe the Carthaginians;

fo wonderfull was the victory as they reported it. Having thus difinified the Romans, he fent Embaffadors to Carthage, where he concluded a league: with condition, at first, that a great part of the Island should be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he should reigne over all Sicil; and the Carthaginians rest satisfied with what they could get in Italie. At these doings Apprins Claudius did not greatly stirre: partly for the indignities that were offered; partly for that it behoved not the Romans to entertaine more quarrels, than were enforced upon them by necessitie; and partly (as may seeme) for that the reputation, both of himselfe, and of his Citie, had received such blemish, by that which hapned unto him in his journey, as much discountenanced him when he to came into Sicil, and forbade him to looke bigge. The money that Hiero had bestowed formerly upon the Romans, wherewith to relieve them in their necessitie, this Approx was to carry backe unto him: it being refused by the Roman Senate, with greater braverie than their present fortune would allow. But in stead of returning the money with thankes, as he had bin directed, and as it had bin noised abroad that he should doe: the warre against Philip King of Mucedon (whereof we have spoken before) compelled the Romans to lay afide their vaine glory, and fend word after him, that he should consigne that money over to Marcin Valerius; of whose voyage into Greece, the City had not otherwise wherewith to beare the charge. This was done accordingly, and hereby claudim (which name in the whole continuance of that Familie is taxed with pride) his errand was changed, from a glorious oftentation of the Roman magnanimitie, into fuch a pitifull tune of thankl giving, as must needs have bred forrow and commiseration in so true a friend as Hiero; or, if it were delivered after his death, matter of passime and scorn, in Hieronymus the new King.

But whilest Hieronymus was more desirous of war, than well resolved how to begin it: his owne death changed the forme of things, and bred agreat innovation in the state of Syracufe; which thereby might have prospered more than ever, had it been wisely governed. Hippocrates and Epicides, of whom we spake before, were sent about the Countrie with two thousand men, to follicite the Townes, and perswade them to shake off their obedience to the Romans. The King himselfe with an Armie of fifteene thoufand horse and foot, went to Leontium, a City of his owne Dominion: hoping that the 30 fame of his preparation, would make the whole Island fall to him in all hafte, and accept him for Soveraigne. There the Conspirators tooke him on the sudden, as he was passing through a narrow fireet: and rushing betweene him and his guard, strooke him dead. Forthwith liberty was proclaimed: and the found of that word fo joyfully answered by the Lebnunes, that the guard of Hieronymus had little courage to revenge their Mafters death. Yet, for feare of the worst, agreat largesse was promised unto the Souldiers, with rewards unto their Captaines; which wrought fo effectually, that when many wicked acts of the murdered King were reckoned up, the Armie, as in deteftation of his bad life, fuffered his carkaffe to lie unburied. The fenewes ranne quickly to Stracufe: whither some of the Conspirators, taking also of the Kings horses, posted away; to signific all that had passed, to stirre up the people to libertie, and to prevent Andronodorus, if he or his fellowes would make offer to usurpe a tyranny. The Syracusians hereupon prefently toooke Armes, and made themselves masters of their owne Citie. Andronadorus on the other fide fortified the Palace, and the Island; being yet uncertaine what to doe: between defire of making himselfe a soveraigne Lord, and feare of suffering punishment as a Tyrant, if his enterprise mis-carried. His wife Demarata, that was the daughter of Hiero, cherished him in his hopes: putting him in minde of that wel-knowne Proverbe. which Dionyfins had used; That a Tyrant should keep elis place, till he were haled out of it by the heeles, and not ride away from it on horfe-backe. But feare, and better counfell. prevailed fo farre, that Andronodorus, having flept upon the matter, diffembled his affections, and deferred his hope unto better opportunity. The next day he came forth, and made a speech unto the people; telling them, that he was glad to see, how prudently they behaved themselves in so great a change; that he had stood in feare, left they would not have contained themselves within the bounds of discretion; but rather have fought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant; and that, fince he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to ravish their liberry perforce, but to wed it unto them for ever; he was willingly come to them forth of his strength, and surrendred up the charge committed unto him, by one that had bin an

evill mafter both to him and them. Hereupon great joy was made, and Prætors chosen (asin former times) to governe the Citie, of which Andronodorus was one, and the chiefe. But fuch was his defire of Soveraigntie, and fo vehement were the instigations of his wife, that shortly he began to practise with Hippocrases, Epicides, and other Captaines of the Mercenaries; hoping to makehimfelfe strong by their helpe, that were least pleased with the change. Hippocrases and Epicides had beene with the Syracusian Prætors, and told them, that being fent from Hannibalto Hieronymus, they, according to instructions of their Captaine, had done him, whilest he lived, what sevrice they could; and that now they were defirous to returne home. They requested therefore that they might be friendly dismissed; and with a convoy, that might keepe them from falling to into the hands of the Romans, and fet them fafe at Locri. This was eafily granted; both for that the Syracufian Magistrates were well contented to earne thankes of Hannibal, with fuch a little courtefie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Towne quickly of this trouble some couple, which were good souldiers, and gracious with the Army, but otherwise lewed men. It was not the defire of these two Sicilians, to be gone To hastily as they made shew; they were more mindfull of the businesse for which Hannibal had fent them. Wherefore they infinuated themselves into the bosomes of such as were most likely to fill the Army with tumult, especially of the Roman fugitives, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselves, when the Romans and Syracufians were come to agreement. Such instruments as these, Andronodorus had 20 great need of: as also of many other, to helpe him in his dangerous attempt. He found Themistius, that had married Harmonia, the sister of Hierenymus, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like paffions of his owne, and of his wife. But in feeking to increase the number of his adherents, he revealed the matter to one, that revealed all to the rest of the Prætors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and Themistius, entring into the Senate, were slaine out of hand: and afterward accused to the People, of all the evill which they had done, whilest Hieronymus lived, as by his authoritie; and now fince attempted, in seeking to usurp the tyranny themselves. It was also declared, that the daughters of Hiero and Gelo were accessary to this dangerous treason: and that the unquiet spirits of these women would never cease to work, untill they had recovered those royall 30 ornaments and Soveraigne power, whereof their family was now dispossessed. These daughters therefore of Hiero and Gelo were also condemned to die, and executioners prefently fent by the enraged people, to take away their lives. Demarata and Harmonia had perhaps deserved this heavie sentence : but Heraclea, the daughter of Hiero, and wise of Sosippus, being altogether innocent, was murdered, together with her two young daughters, in the hastie execution of this rash judgement. Her husband Sosippus was a lover of the Common wealth; and in that respect so hated by Hieronymus, that being sent Embaffador to King Prolomie, &c. hedurst not returne home, but stayed in Egypt as a banished man. This consideration, when it was too late, together with some pitifull accidents accompanying the flaughter, fo affected the multitude, that (pardoning them-40 selves) all cried out upon the Authors of so soule a butcherie. Being thus incensed against the Senate; and knowing not otherwise how to satisfic their anger, they called for an election of new Prætors, in the roome of Andronodorus and Themistius, that were lately flain: meaning to fub stitute such in their places, as the Senators should have little cause to like. At the election were present a great rowt, not onely of the poorer Cirizens, but of fouldiers that preffed into the throng. One of these, named Epicides Prætor; another named Hippocrates: and the leffe that the old Prætors and Senators approved this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a generall criefored them to be accepted. These being made Prætors did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, betweene the Syracusans and the Romans. But having stri-50 ven invaine, and feeing that the people stood in feare of Ap. Claudius, and of Maycellus that was lately come into Sicil; they gave way unto the time, and suffered the old league of Hiero to be re-confirmed, which afterward they purposed to dissolve by practise. The Leontines had some need of a garrison; and to them was sent Hippocrates the Prætor, attended by fuch fugitives, and mercenary fouldiers, as were most burdensome to Syracuse. Thirher when he came, he began to doe many acts of hostility against the Romans: first in secret, afterward more openly & boldly. Marcellus, rightly understanding the purpose of these two brethren, sent word unto the Syracusians, that they had already broken

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the league; and that the peace would never be kept fincerely, untill this turbulent pair of brethren were expelled the Island. Epicides, fearing to sustaine the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more defirous to fet forward the warre, than to excuse any breach of peace; went himselfunto the Leonines, whom he perswaded to rebell against the Syraculians. For he faid, that fince they had all of late served one Master, there was little reafon why the Leonines should not be enfranchised by his death, as well as the Syracusians; yea or much rather, all things confidered; fince in their streets the Tyrant was slain, and liberty first proclaimed. Wherefore, fince they of Syracuse were not contented to enjoy the freedome purchased among the Leontines; but thought it good reason, that to they should beare Dominion over those that had broken the Chaine, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his advice was, that fuch their arrogancie should be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was given by one article of the League, made of late by the Romans and Syracufians. For it was agreed, That all which had beene subject to Hiero and Hieronymus, should henceforth be Vaffals unto the State of Syracufe. Against this article, if the Leontines would take exception, and thereby challenge their owne due; Epicides told them, that in this noveltie of change, they had fit opportunitie to recover the freedome, which their fathers had lost not many ages before. Neither was it unreasonable, which this crafty Carthagiman propounded; if the Leontines had beene subdued by the same hand, which tooke 26 libertic from the Syracufians. But feeing they had long fince yeelded unto Syracufe, and beene subject unto that Citie, by what forme soever it was governed; this claime of libertie was rather seasonable, than just. Neverthelesse, the motion of Epicides was highly approved: infomuch that when meffengers came foone after from Syracufe, to rebuke the Leontines, for that which they had done against the Romans, and to denounce unto Hippocrates and Epicides, that they should get them gone, either to Locri, or whither else they listed, so that they stayed not in sicil: word was returned, That they of Leonium had not requested the Syracusians, to make any bargaines for them with the Romans, nor thought themselves bound to observe the covenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptory answer was forthwith repor-30 ted unto Marcellus by the Syracufians; who offered him their affiftance in doing justice upon the Leonines their Rebels; with condition, That when the Towne was taken, it might be theirs againe. Marcellus required no better fatisfaction: but forth-with took the businesse in hand, which he dispatched in one day. At the first affault Leonium was taken, all fave the Castle; whereinto Hippocrates and Epicides sled: and stealing thence away by night, conveyed themselves into the towne of Herbefus. The first thing that Marcellus did, when he had wonne the Towne, was the same, which other Roman Captains afed after victorie, to feek out the fugitive Roman flaves and renegado's, whom he caused all to die: the rest both of the Towns-men and Souldiers, he tooke to mercy, forbearing also to strip or spoyle them. But the same of his doings was bruited after a contrarie fort. It was faid, that he had flaine Man, Woman, and Childe, and put the Towne to facke. These newes met the Syracustan Army upon the way, as it was going to joyne with Marcellus, who had ended his businesse before. About eight thousand Mercenaries there were, that had beene fent forth of Syracuse, under Sosis and Dinomenes, two of the Prætors, to serve against the Leontines and other rebels. These Captains were honest men, and well affected to their Countrey': but the Souldiers that followed them, had those diseases, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They took thematter deepely to heart, that their fellow fouldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had beene fo cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to be angry, they could not tell. The Prætors therefore thought it best, to turne their unquiet thoughts another way, and setthem a-Worke in some place else: for as much as at Leonium there was no need of their service. So towards Herbesia they marched; where lay Hippocrates and Epicides, the architects of all this mischiefe, devising what further harme they might doe; but now so weakely accompanied, that they feemed unable to escape the punishments belonging to their offences past. Hereof the two brethren were no lesse well aware: and therefore adventured upon a remedy little lesse desperate than their present case. They issued forth of Herbestus unarmed, with Olive branches in their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and to presented themselves to the Army. Six hundred men of Creet were in the vantguard;

that had beene well used by Hieronymus; an d some of them greatly bound unto Hannibal, who had taken them prisoners in the Italian warre, and lovingly dismissed them. These Cremans therefore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good cheare, faying, That no man should doe them harme, as long as they could use their weapons. Herewithall the Army was at a stand; and the rumour of this accident ranne swiftly from man to man, with generall approbation. The Prætors thought to help the matter by feverity, which would not ferve. For when they commanded these two traitors to be layd in Irons, the exclamation was so violent against them, that faine they were to let all alone, and returne, uncertaine what course to take, unto Megara, where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, Hippocrates devised a tricke, whereby to help himselfe, and better the uncertaine case wherein he stood. He caused Letters, of his owne penning, to be intercepted by some of his most trustie Cresans, directed (as they made shew) from the Syracusian Prætors to Marcellus. The contents hereof were That Marcellus had well done, in committing all to the fword among the Leonines: but that it further behoved him, to make the like dispatch of all the mercenaries belonging to Syracule; which were offensive, all of them in generall, to the liberty of the City, and the peace with Rome. When this counterfeit Epistle was openly rehearsed, the uproare was such, that Sofis and his fellow Prætor, were glad to forsake the Campe, and slie for their lives. All the Syracufians remaining behinde, had beene cut in pieces by the enraged Souldiers, if the two Artificers of the fedition had not faved their lives; rather 20 to keepe them as pledges, and by them, to winne their friends within the Towne, than for any good will. They perfwaded also a mischievous knave, that had served amongst the Leontines, to justifie the bruit of Marcellm cruelty, and to carry home the newes to Syrasufe, as an eye-witnesse. This incensed not onely the multitude, but some of the Senate; and filled the whole towne with causelesse indignation. In good time (faid some) was the avarice and cruelty of the Romans detected: who, had they in like fort gotten into Syracufe, would have dealt much worse, where their greedy apperites might have beene tempted with a farre greater bootie. Whilest they were thus discoursing, and deviling how to keepe out the wicked Romans, Hippocrates with his Army came to the gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in unleffe for want of helpe, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The Prætors, with the best and wisest of the Senate, would fain have kept him out: but the violence of the fouldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-strong fury of those within the Town, that laboured to breake it open So he entred, and immediately fell upon the Prætors, whom (being forfaken by all men)he put to the sword, and made slaughter of them and their followers untill night. The next day hee went openly to worke: and, after the common example of Tyrants, gave liberty unto all flaves and prisoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worst and baselft sort, made himselfe and his brother Prætors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of Sy-

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When Marcellus was advertised of this great alteration, he thought it no time for As him to fit still, and attend the further issue. He sent Embassadours to Syracuse, that were not admitted into the Haven, but chased out as enemies. Then drew he neere with his Armie: and lodging within a mile and a halfe of the Town, sent before him, some torequire a parlee. These were entertained without the walls by the two new Prætors: to whom they declared, That the Romans were come thither, not with purpose to do hurt, but in favour of the Syraculians, which were oppressed by Tyrants; and to punish those that had murdered and banished so many of the principall Citizens. Wherefore they required, that those worthy men, their Consederates, which were chased out of the Towne, might be suffered to returne and enjoy their owne; as also that the Authors of the great flaughter lately committed, might be delivered up. Hereto Epicides briefly s answered, that if their errand had beene to him, he could have told what to say to them: but fince it was directed unto others, they should doe well to returne, when those to whom they were sent, had the government in their hands. As for the warre which they threatned, he told them, they should finde by experience, That to be siege Syracuse was another manner of worke, than to take Leonium. Thus hee sent them gone; and returned backe into the Citie. Immediately began the fiege, which endured longer than the Romans had expected. The quicke and easie winning of Leonisum, did put Marcellusin hope, that folong a circuit of wals as compassed Syracuse, being manned

with no better kinde of Souldiers, than those with whom he had lately dealt, would in some part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terrour in the very beginning; but did his best both by Land and Sea. Neverthelesse all his labour was disappointed; & his hope of prevailing by open force, taken from him by the ill successe of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any strength of the Citie, that bred such despaire of hastic victory. But there lived at that time in Syracufe, Archimedes the noble Mathematician: who at the request of Hiero the late King, that was his kinfman, had framed fuch engines of Warre, as being in this extremity put in use, did more mischiese to the Ramanethan could have beene owrought by the Canon, or any inffruments of Gunne-powder; had they in that age beene knowne. This Archimedes discoursig once with Hiero, maintained that it were possible to remove the whole earth out of the place wherein it is, if there were some other earth, or place of fure footing, whereon a man might stand. For proofe of this. bold affertion; he performed some strange workes; which made the King entreat him to convert his Rudie unto things of use: that might preserve the Citie from danger of enemies. To such Mechanicall workes, Archimedes, and the Philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an injury done unto the liberall fciences, to submit learned Propositions, unto the workemanship, and gaine, of base handi-crafts men. And of this opinion Plate was an author: who greatly blamed fome Geometricians; that feemed unto him to prophane their science, by making it vulgar. Neither must we rathly taske a man fo wife Plato, with the imputation of supercilious austerity, or affeelect fingularity in his reprehension. For it hath beene the unhappy fate of great inventions, to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreames beforethey were published: and being once made knowne, to be under-valued; as falling within compasse of the meanest wit; and things, that every one could well have performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of Columbus his discoverie, with the much different forts of neglect, which he under-went before and after it) in a familiar and most homely example, we may see most apparent proofe. He that lookes upon our Emalift Bremers, and their Servants, that are daily exercised in the Trade; will thinke it ridiculous to heare one say, that the making of Male, was an invention, proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in naturall Philosophic. Yet is not the skill of the inventors any whit the leffe, for that the labour of workemanship growes to be the triade of ignorant men. The like may bee faid of many handi-crafts: and particularly in the Printing of Bookes; which being devised, and bettered, by great Scholers and wifemen, grew afterward corrupted by those, to whom the practice fell; that is, by fuch, as could flubber things eafily over, and feede their workemen at the cheapest rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all others that have, or would feeme to have any fecret skill, whereof the publication might doe good unto mankinde; are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a kinde of injustice, that the long travells of an understanding braine, beside the losse of time, and other expence, should be cast away upon men of no worth; yeeld lesse bemefit unto the Author of a great worke, than to meere strangers; and perhaps his enemies. And furely, if the paffion of Envie have in it any thing allowable and naturall, as having Anger, Feare, and other like Affections: it is in some such case as this; and lerveth against those, which would usurpe the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to indue them. Nevertheleffe, if we have regard unto common charity, and the great affection that every one ought to beare unto the generality of mankinde, after the example of him that suffereth his Summe to shine upon the just, and unjust: it will appeare more commendable in wife men, to enlarge themselves, and to publish unto the world, those good things that lye buried in their owne bosomes. This ought specially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it fome dangerous cunning, that may bee perverted by evill mento a mischievous use. For if the secret of any rare Antidote, contained in it the skill of giving some deadly and irrecoverable poison: much better it were, that fuch a jewell remaine close in the hands of a wife and honest man; than being made common, binde all men to use the remedy, by teaching the worst men how to doe mischiese. But the workes which Archimedes published, were such as tended unto very commendable ends. They were Engines, serving unto the desence of Syracuse; not fit for the Syracufians to carry abroad, to the hurt & oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge, how to use them, but reserved so much to his owne Eeeec direction:

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direction; that after his death more of the fame kinde were not made, nor those of his owne making were employed by the Romans. It sufficed unto this worthy man, that he had approved unto the vulgar, the dignity of his Science; and done especiall benefit to had approved unto the vulgar, the dignity of his Science; and done especiall benefit to his Country. For to enrich a Mechanicall trade, or teach the Art of murdering men, his Country his purpose.

it was besides his purpose. Marcellus had caused certaine of his Quinquereme Gallies to be fastned together, and Towers erected on them to beat the defendants from the wal. Against these Archimedes had fundrie devices; of which any one fort might have repelled the affailants: but all of them together shewed the multiplicity of his great wit. He shot heavie stones & long pieces of timber, like unto the yeards of thips; which brake fome of the Gallies by their 10 force and weight. These afflicted such as lay farre off. They that were come neeter the wals, lay open to a continual volly of thor, which they could not endure. Some with an yron grapple were taken by the prow and hoysted up, shaking out all the men, and af. terwards falling downe into the water. Some by ftrange Engines were lifted up into the ayre, where turning round a while, they were broken against the walls or cast upon the rockes: and all of them were so beaten that they durst never come to any second assault, In the like fort was the Land armie handled. Stones and timber, falling upon it like halle, did not onely over-whelme the men, but brake downethe Roman engins of battery; and forced Marcellus to give over the affault. For remedy hereof it was conceived, that if the Romans could early before day get neere unto the walls: they should be (as it were), under the point blancke, and receive no hurt by these terrible Instruments; which were woond up hard to shoot a great compasse. But this vaine hope cost many of the affalants lives: For the shot came downe right upon them; and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great flaughter of them, all the way as they fled, (for they were unable to tarry by it) eventill they were gotten very farre off. This did fo terrefie the Romans, that if they perceived any peece of timber, or a ropes end, upon the walls, they ranne away, crying out, that Archimedes his engines were readie to discharge. Neither knew Marcellus how to overcome these difficulties, or to take away from his men, that feare, against the cause whereof he knew no remedie. If the engines had stood upon the wals, fubject to firing, or any fuch annoyance from without; he might have holpen it by 30 fome device, to make them unferviceable. But all, or the most of them were out of fight, being erected in the streetes behinde the walls , where Archimedes gave directions how to use them. Wherefore the Roman had no other way left, than to cut off from the Town all provision of victualls, both by Land and by Sea.

This was a very desperate peece of worke. For the enemies having so goodly an Haven; the Sea in a manner free; and the Carthaginians that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them: were not likely so some to be consumed with famine, as the besiegers to be wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a City, having no probability to carrie it. Yet, for want of better counsell to follow, this was thought the best, and most honourable course.

In the meane while, Himileo, Admirall of a Canhaginian Fleet, that had waited long about Sicil, being by Happocrates advertised of these passages, went home to Caribage and there so dealt with the Senate, that five and twenty thousand Foot, three thousand there so dealt with the Senate, that five and twenty thousand Foot, three thousand there is a senate of the sen fand Horse, and twelve Elephants, were committed unto his charge, wherewith to make warre upon the Romans in Sicil by Land. Hee tooke many Townes; and many that had anciently belonged unto the Caribaginians, did yeeld unto him. To remedie this mischiese, and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, beganne to turne unto the Carthaginians; Marcellus with a great part of his Armie, rose from Syracuse, and went from place to place about the Island. He tooke Pelorus and Herbesu, which yeelded unto him. He tooke also Megara by force and fackt it:5 either to terrefie others that were obstinate, especially the Syracusians, or else because Rome was at this time poore, and his Army must have somewhat to keepe it in heart. His especiall desire was to have faved Agrigentum: whither he came too late; for Himiles had gotten it before. Therefore he returned backe toward Syracufe; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for feare of the Carthaginian that was too ftrong for him. The circumspection that he used, in regard of Himileo, stood him in good stead against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For Hippocrates, leaving the charge of Syracufe unto his brother, had lately iffued out of the Citie, with ten thousand foot, and five hundred

horse, intending to joyne his forces with Himileo. Marcellus fell upon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the Romans, being ingood order, got an easie victorie against the dispersed and halse unarmed Syracusians. The reputation hereof helped a little to keepe the Sicilians from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere Himileo, joyning with even at his Trenches; but the Island at his pleasure, and presented battaile to Marcellus, tred with a great fleet into the Haven of Syracuse, and victualled the Citic. Asterthis, the disposition of the Islanders changed so againe, that although another Legion was come from Rome, which escaped from Himileo, and safely arrived at Marcellus his mane Garrisons.

of the Historie of the World.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and Marcellus, leaving some of his Armie before Syracuse, that hee might not seeme to have given over the flege, went unto Leonium, where he lay intentive to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he flood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of befieging Syracufe, or to turn all his forces to Agrigenum, against Himileo and Hippocrates. But it would greatly have impaired his reputation, if he had gone from Syracufe, as unable to prevaile: & he himfelfe was of an eager disposition, ever unwilling to give ground, or to quit, as not feifible, an enterprise that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to Syracuse: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; & no likelihood to take the City by force or famine; yet was he not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfill his defire. Especially he assaicd to prevaile by treason; against which no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the Syracustan Gentlemen that were in his Campe; exhorting them to practife with their friends that remained in the City. This was not easie for them to doe, because the Towne would hearken to no parlee. At length a slave unto one of these banished men, making shew to runne away from his Master, got into Syracuse; where hee talked in private with some few, as hee had beene instructed. Thus began Marcellus to have intelligence within the City: whence the Conspirators used 30 to fend him advertisement of their procedings, by a fisher-boat that passed forth in the night: but when they were growne to the number of fourescore, and thought themfelves able to effect somewhat of importance, all was discovered; and they, like Traitors, put to death. In the meane while, one Damasippus a Lacedamonian, that had been fent out of the Towne as an Embaffador to Fhilip King of Macedon, was fallen into the hands of Marcellus. Epicides was very defirous to ransome him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, not farre from the walls. There, one of the Romanes looking upon the wall, and wanting the more compendious Art of Geometrie, fell to numbring the stones: and, making an estimate of the height, judged it lesse than it had beene formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted Marcellus: who causing better notice to be taken of the place; and finding, that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it; made all things ready, and waited a convenient time. It was the weakest part of the Towne, and therefore the most strongly guarded : neither was there hope to prevaile by force against Archimedes, if they failed to take it by surprise. But a fugitive out of the Towne brought word, that a great feast was to be held unto Diana, which was to last three daies: and that , because other good cheare was not so plentifull within the Citie, as in former times, Epicides, to gratific the People, had made the more large distribution of Wine. A better opportunity could not bee wished. Wherefore Marcellus, in the dead of the Festivall night, came unto the walls, which he took by Scalado. Syracuse was divided into soure parts (or five, if Epipola were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as distinct Cities. When therefore Marcellus had gotten some perces, he had the commodity of a better and fafe lodging, with good flore of bootie; and better opportunity than before, to deale with the rest. For there were now a great many, as well of those in Acradinia & the Island, inner parts of the Town, as of those that were already in the hands of Marcellus, that began to hearken unto composition, as being much terrefied by the loffe of those parts, which the Romans had taken and fackt. As for the weapons of Archimedes, little harme, or none they did, unto those that were sheltred under strong houses: although it may seeme, that the inner walls were not altogether unfurnished of his helpe; fince they held out a good while, and were not taken

by force. The Roman fugitives and Renegado's, were more carefull than ever to defend the rest of the Citie: being sure to be rewarded with cruell death, if Marcellus could prevaile. Hippocrates and Himileo, were daily expected; & Bomilear was lent away to Carthage, to bring helpe from thence. It was not long ere Hippocrates and Himileo came: who fell upon the old Camp of the Romans, whilest Epicides sallied out of Acradinia upon Marcellus. But the Romans made such defence in each part, that the Assailants were repelled. Nevertheleffe, they continued to befet Marcellus: whom they held in a manner as streightly besieged, as he himselfe did besiege the Towne. But the pestilence at length confumed, together with the two Captains, a great part of the Armie, and caused the rest to dislodge. The Romans were (though somewhat lesse) afflicted with the same pe- 10 stilence, in so much that Bomilear did put the Citie of Carthage in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were fent thither. This Bomilear wanted no defire to doe his Countrie service : but his courage was not answerable to his good will. He arrived at Pachynus with a strong fleet: where he staid; being loth to double the Cape; for that the windes did better serve the enemie than him. Thither sailed Epicides out of Syracuse: to acquaint him with the necessities of the Citic; and to draw him on. With much increasie, at length he came forward: but meeting with the Roman fleet, that was readie for him, he stood off into the deepe; and failed away to Tarentum, bidding Sicil farewell. Then durft not Epicides returne into Syracuse, but went to Agrigenium: where he expected the iffue; with a very faint hope of hearing any good newes.

The Sicilian Souldiers that remained alive of Happocrates his Army, lay as neere as 20 they could fafely, unto Marcellus, and some of them, in a strong Towne three miles off. Thefe had done what good they could to Syracufe, by doing what hurt they could unto the Romans. But when they were informed, that the state of Sicil was given as desperate by the Carthaginians: they fent Embaffadours to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themselves, and for the Town. Hereunto Marcellus willingly gave eare: for he had staied there long enough; and had cause to seare, that after a little while, the Caribaginians might comethither strong againe. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; That they should be Masters of their owne, enjoyning their liberty and proper lawes; yet fuffering the Romanes to pol-30 feffe what foever had belonged unto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom Epicides had left his charge, were put to death; new Prætors chosen; and the gates even ready tobe opened unto Marcellus: when fuddenly the Roman fugitives disturbed all. These perceiving their owne condition to be desperate, perswaded the other Mercenarie Souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained onely for themselves, and betrayed the Army to the Romans. Wherefore they presently tooke Armes, and fell upon the new chosen Prætors; whom they flew, and made election of fixe Captaines that should command over all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the Souldiers; excepting only the fugitives. The Treatie was therefore againe fet on foote, and wanted little of conclusion: which yet was delaied; either by some seare of the Citizens, that 40 had feene (as they thought) proofe of the Roman avarice in the fack of Epipola, Tyche,& Neapolis, the parts already taken; or by some desire of Marcellus to get the Towne by force, that he might use the liberty of a Conqueror, & make it wholly subject to Rome. Mericm a Spaniard was one of the fixe Captaines, that had been chosen in the last commotion: a man of fuch faith, as usually is found in Mercenaries; holding his owne particular benefit above all other respects. With this Captaine, Marcellus dealt secretly: having a fit instrument, of the same Nation, one Belligenes, that went in company with the Romane Embassadors, daily passing to and fro. This craftie Agent perswaded Mericus, That the Romans had already gotten all Spaine: and that if ever he purposed to make his owne fortune good, either at home in Spaine, or any where else; it was now the onely 50 time to do it; by conforming himselfeto the will of the Roman Generall. By such hopes the Spanilb Captaine was easily won, and sent forth his owne brother among the Syracusian Embassadors to ratifie the covenant with Marcellus.

This under-hand dealing of Marcellus against the Syracusians, cannot well be commended as honest: neither was it afterwards throughly approved at his comming to Rome. For the benefits of Hiero to the Romans had been such, as deserved not to be requited with the ruine of his Countrie: much lesse, that the miseries of his people, oppressed (though partly through their owne sollie) by an Army of Mercenaries, should minister

unto the people of Rome, advantage against them. The poore Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired souldiers; and therefore were faine to yeeld unto the time, and obey those Ministers of Hannibal, that ruled the Army. But as long as they were free after the death of Hieronymns; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of Epicides: it had beene their chiefe care to maintaine amitie with the people of Rome. They had lately flaine many the principall of Epicides his followers; and many of themselves had also beene slaine, both lately and in former times, because of this their defire unto the peace. What though it were true, that the Rascalitie, and some ill advised persons, joyned with the souldiers in hatred of the Romans, by occasion of the flaughter which they heard to be done at Leonizum and afterward beheld in those parts of their owne City which was taken? Ought therefore the Romane Generall, in a treatie of peace held with the Syracusans, to make a bargaine under-hand against them. with a Captaine of the Mercenaries? These things were objected against Marcellus, at his returne home. But the Senators thought it a great deale better, to comfort the Syracultans with gentle words, & promise of good usage in time to come; than to restore the bootie, and give over the Dominion of a City, fo great, wealthy, ftrong, and many wayes important. Neverthelesse if we consider the many inconveniences and great mischiefes whereunto Syracufeswas obnoxious; both by evill neighbours, and by that very forme of policie, after which it was governed: wee may truely affirme. That it received no small benefit, by becomming subject unto Rome. For thereby it was not onely assured against all forraine enemies, domesticall conspiracies, and such Tyrants as of olde had reigned therein: but freed from the necessitie of banishing, or murdering, the most worthy Citizens; as also from all factions, intestine seditions, and a thousand the like miferies, that were wont to grow out of the jealousie, wherein they held their liberty in vaine. Neither enjoyed that City, from her first foundation, any such long time of happinesse, as that wherein it flourished, when it rested secure under the protection of Rome; and was no more molested, by the disease of ambition; whereof by Marcellus his victorie it was throughly cured. But such benefit, arising from wrongs done, serves not to make injuffice the more excufable: unleffe we should approve the answer of that Thiefe, who being found to have stollen a filver cup from a ficke man, faid, Hee never

By the treason of Mericus, the Roman Armie was let into possession of all Syracuse: wherein, the booty that it found, was faid to have bin no leffe, than could be hoped for, if they had taken Carthage it selfe; that maintained war by Land and Sea against them. All the goodly workes and Imageries, wherewith Syracufe was marvelloufly adorned, were carried away to Rome; and nothing left untouched; fave onely the houses of those banished men, that had escaped from Hippocrates and Epicides, into the Roman Campe. Among other pittifull accidents; the death of Archimedes was greatly lamented even by Marcellus himselfe. He was so busie about his Geometrie, in drawing figures, that he harkened not to the noyse, and uprore in the City; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. Marcellu tooke heavily the death of him; and caufed his body to be honourably buried. Upon his Tombe (as he had ordained in his lifetime) was placed a Cylinder and a Sphere, with an inscription of the proportion betweene them; which he first found out. An Invention of so little use, as this may seeme, plealed that great Artist better, than the devising of all those engine, that made him so famous. Such difference is in the judgement of learned men, and of the vulgar forr. For many an one would thinke the monie loft, that had bin spent upon a sonne, whose studies in the University had brought forth such fruit; as the proportion betweene a Sphere and a Cylinder -

After the taking of Syracuse, all the Townes in Sicil yeelded unto the Romans, except Agrigenium and a sew places thereabout. At Agrigenium lay Epicides with one Hanno a Carihaginian, & Musines an African, that was lately sent from Hannibal. This Musines by many good peeces of service, had added some credit to the beaten. Carihaginian side; and withall made his owne name great. By his perswassions, Hanno and Epicides adventured to meet Marcellus without the Towne; and not beliave themselves as menespeding to bee besieged. Neither was hee more valiant in counsell; than in execution. Once and againe he set upon the Romanes; where they say encamped; and drove themselves. This bred envie in Epicides & Hanno-especially in Hanno;

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that having beene lately fent from Caribage, with commission and authoritie from the State, thought himselfe wronged greatly by Hannibal; in that he had fent unto him this Mutines, to be his Companion, & to take upon him, like as good a man as himselfe. The indignity feemed the greater, when Mutines being to ftep afide unto Heraclea, for the pacifying of some troubles there among the Numidians; advised (as directing Hanno and Epicides) not to meddle with the enemie, untill his returne. So much therefore the rather would Hanno fight: & offered battell unto Marcellus, before he fought it. It is like, that a great part of the Roman Army was left behind in Syracuse, as need required: which made the Carthaginians the better able to deale with those that came against them. But what soever disproportion was between the two Armies; farre greater were the oddes to betweene the Captaines. For howfoever the people of Carthage would give authority by favour; yet could they not give worth and ability, in matter of warre. The Numidia ans, having before conceived some displeasure against their Captains : and being therefore some of them gone away to Heraclea; were much more offended, when they saw that the vaine-glorious envie of Hanno carried him unto the fight, upon a foolish defire to get victory, without the helpe of Mutines their Countriman. Wherefore they fent unto the Roman Generall, and bade him be confident; for that it was not their purpose to shew themselves his enemies that day, but only looke on, and see the proud Carihaginians well beaten, by whom they had beene misused. They made good their promise, and had their defire. For Marcellm, finding likelihood of truth in their meffage, did foluftily fer upon the enemies, that he brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter

of many thousands, drove them backe into Agrigentum.

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If Hanno could have beene contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of Warrethan himselfe, and not have hazzarded a battell without need; the Romans would shortly have been reduced into termes of great difficulty in their Sicilian warre. For Marcellus was shortly after to leave the Province; and soone upon his departure, there landed in the Iland a supply of eight thousand foote, and three thousand Numidian horse, that were sent from Caribage. The same of this new Armie drew many of the Sicilians into rebellion. The Roman Army confifting (for the most part) of the Legions of Canna, tooke it very hainously, that no good service done, could bring 30 them into the favour of the Senate; but that, as banished men, they were sent farre from home, and not suffered to returne back to Rome with their Generall. Mutines had pacified his countrimenthe Numidians; & like an honest man, did what he could for those whom he ferved, without contending against the foolish pride of Hanno; finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might have beene, if the Army lately overthrowne had beene entire. M. Cornelius the Roman Prætor, used all diligence, both to pacifie his own men, and to hinder the Carthaginians. He recovered those In-land Townes that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder Muines from over-running all the Countrey; yet he hindred the Countrey from revolting unto Mutines. Above threescore Townes, great and small, the Caribaginians held in Sicil: of which Agrigenium was the princi-40 pall, and farre bigger than any of the reft. Thence iffued Mutines as often as heepleafed, in despight of the Romanes: not onely to the succour of his owne adherents, but to the great waste of those that followed the contrary part. But Hanne, in stead of being pleafed with all these good services, was filled more and more with envie, against the man that performed them. He had (belike) received instruction from old Hanno at Carthage, not to suffer Hannibal, or any Hannibalian, to have share in the honour of these Secilian Warres : which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whileft Italie was neglected, that should have beene regarded more than all the rest. Wherefore to shew his authoritie, and that it was not in the power of Hannibal, to appoint unto him an Affiftant, or Director: Hee tooke away from Muimes his charge, 50 and gave it to his owne fonne, thinking thereby to discountenance theman, and make him little effeemed, as one out of Office, among the Namidians. But it fell out quite contrary : and this spightfull dealing occasioned the losse of whatsoever the Carthagins ans held in Sicil. For the Numedians were so incensed by the indignity offered unto their Countriman, being such a brave Commander, that they offered him their service to require the wrong; and were the aceforth absolutely at his owne disposition. M. Valerius Lavinus, the Romane Confull, was newly come into the Province, when this fell out : and with him did Mutiner enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brooke

these indignities; but being neither a Carthaginian, nor favoured by those that bore all the fway in Carthage: Hethought it the wifeft way, to play the best of his own game, and forfake that Citie, which was likely to periff by the evil counsell that governed it. He did not therefore, as his Countrimen had lately done, content himfelfe to fee his Adversaries reape the bitter fruits of their owne malicious over-weening; and to suffer that harme, in doing whereof he would not beare a part; but conspired against them to deliver up Agrigentum, and to helpe to expell them utterly out of Sieil. The Confull was glad of his friendship; and carefully followed his advertisements. Neither was there much cunning needfull, to the performance of that which Mutines had undertaken: For he with his Namidians did forcibly feize upon a gare; whereat they let in fome Roman Companies, that lay neere in a readinesse for the purpose. Hanno, when first he heard the noise, thought it had been no worse matter, than some such number of the Numidians, as he had beene well acquainted with of late. But when, making hafte to pacific the trouble, he faw and heard, the Romans intermixed, among those difcontented followers of Mutines, forthwith he betooke himselfe to flight: and saving himselfe, with Epicides, in a small Barke, fer faile for Africke; leaving all his Army and Adherents in Sieil, to the mercie of the Romans, that henceforward continued mafters of the whole Iland.

Lavinus the Conful having taken Agrigentum, did sharpe execution of justice upon all othe Citizens. The principall of them he foourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the maner of the Romans: all the rest of them he fold for slaves, and confiscated their goods; fending home to Rome the mony that was raifed of the bootie. This was indeede a time, wherein Rome flood in no leffe necessity of gold, than of fleele: which may have been the reason, why Lavinus dealt so cruelly with the Agricentines. Nevertheleffe the fame of such severity bred a terrour among all the Dependants of the Carthat in great haste they fought to make their peace. About forty Townes veelded themselves quickly unto the Romans; twenty were delivered up by Treason; and fixe onely flaved to be wonne by force. These things done, Lavinus returned home to Rome; carrying with him about foure thousand men from Agatirna; that were a to company of out-lawes, bankrouts, and banished men, accustomed to live by spoile of others, in these troublesome times. He bestowed them about Rhegium in Italy, where they might exercise their own occupation against the Brutians; a theevish kinde of people, that were enemies unto those of Rhegium, and to the Romans. As for Musines, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of Rome: where he lived in good accompt; accompanying the two Scipio's in their journy against Antiochus, and therein doing (as it is said) very especiall service. So by this enterprise of Sieil, the Carihaginians wasted much of their forces, that with greater profit might have beene employed in Italy : leaving yet unto the Romans, in the end of this warre, the entire possession of this Iland; which they wanted when it began.

6. X V I.

How the warre passed betweene the Romans and Hannibal in Italy, from the taking of Capua to the oreat vistorie at Metaurus.

Hortly after the winning of Capua, Marcellus came to Rome: where for his good fervices done in the Iland of Sical; he had granted unto him the honour of the leffer Triumph, which was called Ovation. The greater Triumph was denied him : because hee had not finished the warre, but was faine to leave his Army behinde him in the Province. He staied not long in Rome, before he was againe chosen Consult To together with M. Valerius Lavinus, who fucceded him in the government of Sicil, and was, at the time of his election, making warre against King Philip in Greece. Great complaint was made against the Consul Marcellus, by the Syracusians, for that which he had done unto them : they alledging their great friend thip to the people of Rome, in the time of their late King Hiero; and affirming, that their City did never willingly breake the alliance, excepting when it was oppressed by such Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to Romethanto all good men that lived in Syracufe. The Conful, on the other fide, reckoned the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him: willing them to bemoane themselves to the Carthaginians that had holpen them in their necessity; and not unto

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the Romans whom they had kept out. Thus each part having some good matter to alledge, the Senate made such an end of the controversie, as best agreed with the benefit of their owne Common-weath: blaming the too much rigour of Marcellus; yet not restoring the bootie that he had taken, nor making the Syracusians free from their subjection, but comforting them with gentle words, and hopefull promises, as hath beene shewed before. The two new Consuls Marcellus and Levinus, were appointed to make swar, as their lots should fall out; the one in Italy, the other in Sical. The Isle of Sicil sell unto Marcellus; which Province he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the Syracusians (whose cause had not as yet beene heard in the Senate) might not seeme hindred by sear-strom uttering their grievances freely. Afterwards, when his businesse with them was dispatcht, hee gently undertooke the patronage of them: which seemed long in his Familie, to the great benefit of their Countrie in times following. So Valerius, the other Consul, was sent into Sical, whose doings there have been already rehearsed: but Marcellus was employed against Hannibal.

Before the Confuls departed out of Rome, they were much troubled with preffing of Souldiers to the war, and most of all, with getting Marriners for their Navie. They were all of the poorer fort, that used to be emploied in Sea-services, especially in rowing. These could not live without present wages: neither was there monie enough in the Treasurie to give them pay. Where fore it was ordained, that they should bee set out at the expence of private men; who in this necessity of the State, were driven to sustaine 20 all publike charges. Hereat the people murmured, and were ready to fall into fedition. had not the Confuls deferred the matter unto further confideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or doe, in a case of such extremity. For manifest it was, that the multitude had already endured fo much, as well it could undergoe; and somewhat more, than could with honesty have been imposed upon it. Neverthelesse it was imposfible to maintaine the war against the Carthaginians, or to keepe the Macedonian out of Italy, without a strong fleet. Wherefore, some were of opinion; That, since the common Treasure was so emptie, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden upon them. At last the Consuls began to say, That no perswasions would be fo effectuall with the people, as good examples : and that if the Senators would follow 30 the Consuls, like it was , that the people also would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That every one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasurie, all the money that he had; and that no Senator should keepe any veffell of gold, or plate what soever; excepting one Salt-seller, and a Bowle wherewith to make their offerings unto the gods; as also a Ring for himselfe, with such other tokens of ingenuitie for his wife and children, as every one did use, and those of as finall value as might be. This advice of the Confuls was not more thankefully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded, and hastily followed by the Gentlemen of Rome. Neither did the Commonaltie refuse to doe that, which their betters had openly done before them. For fince the publike 40 necessity could no otherwise be holpen; every one was contented, that his private estate should run the same fortune with the Common-wealth, which if it suffered wracke, in vaine could any particular man hope to enjoy the benefit of his proper substance. This magnanimitie deserved well that greatnesse of Empire, whereof it was the foundation

Convenient order being thus taken for an Army and Fleet: Marcellus went forth of the City against Hannibal; & Lacinus toward Sicil. The army of Hannibal was greatly diminished, by long and hard service: neither did his Carthaginians seeme to remember him, and thinke upon sending the promised supply, or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his Italian friends, was much weakned, by the loss of Capua; which gave them cause to looke unto themselves; as if in his helpe there were little trust to be 50 reposed, when they should stand in neede. This he well perceived; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he must thrust Garrisons into all Townes that he suspected, and thereby so diminish his Armie, that he should not be able to keepe the field: or essential leave them to their owne sidelity, which now began to waver. At length his jealousie grew so outragious, that he sacked, and wasted those places that he was unable to defend: thinking that the best way to enrich himselse; and make unprofitable, to his enemies, the purchase from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alsenated from him; and some of those, whom before he had least cause.

to doubt. The Towne of Salapia yeelded unto Marcellus; and betraied unto him a gallant Regiment of Numidian horse, the best of all that served under Hannibal; which was a greater losse, than the Town it selse. Blasius the author of this rebellion, could not bring his desire to effect; without getting the consent of one Dasius, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this Dasius in private; and was by him accused unto Hannibal. But when he was convented and charged of Treason, hee so stouly denied it; and by way of recrimination, so vehemently pressed his accuser with the same fault: that Hannibal thought it a matter devised out of meetermalice; knowing well what enemies they were; and seeing, that neither of them could bring any proofe of what he affirmed. This notwithstanding, Blasius did not cease to presse his adversarie anew, and urge him from time to time, with such lively reasons; that he who could not be believed by Hannibal, was contented at length to win the savour of Marcellus. Presently after this, the Consul took by force, Maronea and Meles, Towns of the Samnives; wherein he slew about three thousand of Hannibal his men.

Hannebal could not looke to all at once: but was faine to catch advantages, where he might get them; the Romans now being growne stronger in the field than he. The best was that his Carthaginians, having wearied themselves with ill speede in many pettie enterprises, and laid afide all this while the care of Italy, to follow businesse of far lesse importance; had now at length refolved, to fend prefently the great fupply, that had beene o folong promised & expected. This if they had done in better season; Rome it selfe might: have been strucken down, the next yeer after that great blow received at Canna. But since that which is past cannot bee amended; Hannibal must force himselfe to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mighty fuccour would come time enough. For Mafanilla was at Carthage with five thousand Numidians, ready to set faile for Spain; whither when he came, it was appointed that Afdrubal should forthwith take his journie into Italy, of which there had beene folong talke. These newes did not more comfort Hannibal & his followers, than terrefie the Romans. Wherefore each did their best: the Romans to prevent the threatning mischiefe, and winne as much as they could upon Hannibal, before the comming of his brother; Hannibal, on the contrary, to hold his owne, and weaken the Romans as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that Cn. Fulvius, a Roman Prætor, lay neere unto Herdonea to get the Towne by practice. It was not long, fince neere unto the fame place, another Cn. Fulvius had loft his Army. Therefore Hannibal made great marches thitherward; & came to Herdonea ere Fulviu heard news of his approach. As soone as he came, he offered battaile to the Roman Prætor; who accepted it with more hafte than good fpeede. The Roman Legions made good refiftance a while, till they were compassed round with the Carthaginian horse. Then fell they to rout; and great flaughter was made of them. Falvim himselfe, with twelve Tribunes or Coronels, were lost: of the common Souldiers, that were flaine, the number is uncertaine; some reporting seven, others thirteene thousand. The Towne of Herdonea, beto cause it was at point to have yeelded unto Fulrius, Hannibal did set on fire : and putting those to death that had practised with the Enemy carried away the multitude, whom he bestowed among the Thurians and Metapontines. The Conful Marcellus hearing of this, wrote unto the Senate: & exhorted them to be of a good cheere for that hee would shortly abate the enemies pride. He followed the Carthaginian apace; and overtaking him at Numifero in the Countrie of the Lucans, fought with him a battell: which beginning at nine of the clocke in the morning, lasted untill night; & ended, by reason of the darkenes, with uncertaine victory. Afterward Hannibal departed thence into Apulia, whither Marcellus followed him . At Venusia they met, & had many skirmishes; but none of importance. Hannibal removed often; and fought to bring the enemy within danger of lome ambush. But Marcellus, though he was very eager of battaile, would yet adventure nothing, but by open day-light, and upon faire ground.

Thus passed the time away, untill Q. Fabius Maximus, and Q. Fukcius, he that lately had taken Capua, were chosen Consuls. Fabius, considering how much the Romane affaires were bettered by the taking of Capua, purposed that yeere to besiege Tarentum: which if he could winne; like it was, that scarce one good City would afterwards remaine true to Hannibal. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and Mircellus, (to whom was continued the command of those Legions that served under him the yeer before) to presse the Carthaginian so hard, as he might have no leisure to helpe

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Tarentum, Marcellus was very glad of this charge: for he thought no Roman fitter than himselfe, to deale with Hannibal in open field. He followed him therefore to Cannufum, and thence from place to place : defiring ever to come to battaile, but upon equall termes. The Caribaginian had not minde to hazzard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertaine his enemie with skirmish; as being desirous to keepe his Army strong untill the comming of Asdrubal. Yet could he not avoide the importunity of Marcellus, nor brooke the indignity of being daily braved. He therefore bade his mento be lufty, and to beat foundly this hot-spirited Roman Captaine, that would never suffer them to be at quiet; untill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him bloud. Hereupon followed a battaile; wherein Hannibal had the victory; tooke fixe Enfignes; 10 & flew of the Romans almost three thousand, among which were some of marke. Marcellus was fo impatient of this dishonour, that he rated his men, as Pesants, and base cowards: telling them, that they were the first of the Roman Legions, which had been beaten by Hannibal, by plaine force and manhood, without being circumvented by any stratageme. With these, and many other the like words, which they were ashamed to heare, he did fo vexe them; that thinking themselves better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than such displeasure of their Generall; they belought him to pardon them, and leade them forth once againe to fight. He did fo: and placing those Companies formost, that had lost their Ensignes the day before, bade them be carefull to winne a victory; whereof the newes might be at Rome, before the report of their 20 shamefull overthrow. Hannibal was angry, to see that nothing could make this Enemy quiet : and therefore was ready to fight againe; fince all other motives continued the fame, and his men had beene hartned by the late victory. But the Romanes were stirred up with defire of revenge, & of repairing their honor loft, which affections gave a sharpe edge unto their valour : whereas the Carthaginians were growne dull, and wearie by seeing themselves disappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithstanding their late victory, as ready to molest them as before. In this second battaile Marcellus got the victory: which he purchased at so deare a rate; that neither he, nor Hannibal, had great cause to vaunt, the second night. For if eight thousand of the Carthaginians were slaine. and three thousand of the Roman side, in this next battaile, the difference was no greater, to than even to recompence the late received overthrow: especially since the number of the Romans that were wounded, was fo great, as disabled Marcellus from pursuing Hanmibal; who dislodged by night. Neverthelesse it sufficed, that Fabius the Consull hereby got leifure, to follow his businesse at Tarentum without any disturbance. 2. Fulvim the other Conful, about the same time, tooke in many of the Hirpines, Lucans, and Volscentes, that willingly yeelded themselves, and betrayed the Garrisons of Hannibal that lay in their Townes: whom Fulvius entertained in loving fort; gently rebuking them for their errours past, without punishing those that had beene authours, or busie doers in the rebellion. That rabble of Sicilian theeves, which Lavinus had lately brought from Agaterna, was then also set on worke to besiege Caulonia, a Towne of the Bruti- 40 ans: and nothing was omitted, that might serve to divert Hannibal, from the succour of Tarentum.

2. Fabius the Conful having taken Manduria a Towne of the Salentines, fate downe before Tarentum: making all preparation that seemed needfull to carry it, either by asfault or long siege. Of the Garrisons in the Towne, a good part were Brutians, placed there by Hannibal, under a Captaine of their owne Nation. This Captaine fell in love with a Tarentine wench; whose brother served under Fabins. Hereof, the gave notice by letters to her brother, as thinking belike to draw him from the Roman fide; by telling him how rich, and of what great accompt her lover was. But her brother made the Conful acquainted with these newes: and said, that if the Bruian were farre in love, he s might perhaps be wonne, by intreaty of his Mistris, to doe what she would have him. The Confull hearing this, and finding likelihood in the matter, willed his fouldier to convey himself into the Towne as a fugitive, and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his defire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this Brutian Captaine: and partly by his owne perswasions, partly by the flattering entreatie of his fifter; wanne him to betray the Towne to the Romans. When they had agreed upon the businesse, and resolved how to order it the same Souldier got out of the Towne by night, and acquainted the Confull with his proceedings: telling him in which part

that Bruizan keept watch, and what might conveniently be done. So in the night time, Fabius gave an alarm to the Citie; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captaines in the Towne, prepared to make refiltance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But Fabius himselfe with the choice of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the Brutians: who being wrought by their Captaine, helped the Romans to get up, and breake open the next gate, whereat the Armie was let in. The Tarentines and Carthaginian Souldiers, made head against Fabius in the Market place: but (as hapneth in like cases, where the maine confidence is already taken away) not very obstinately. Nico, Democrates, and Philomenes, with those that before had let in Hannibal, used now the last of their courage in dying against the Romans. Carebalo, who commanded the Garrison within the Towne, offered himselfe prisoner; hoping to be well used, because of hospitalitie that had passed between his Father and the Consult. But he was flaine by the way, ere he could come at Fabius. The Romans did put all indifferently to the fword, in fuch fort, that they spared few of the Brutans. This slaughter of the Brutian, was thought to have been made by appointment of the Confull to the end that he might seeme to have wonne the Towne by force and not by treason : though he thereby failed of his purpole; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preserved his reputation of faithfull dealing, and keeping his word. The bootie found in Tarentum was very great: whereof the Roman Treasurie, whither it was carried, had great neede. As for the Imageries, and other curiofities, that were in the Citie, Fabius was contented to let them alone: and being told of some Idols that seemed worthy to be carried away, beeing very goodly pieces, in fuch habit and positure as if they were fighting : he said Let us leave unto the Tarentines their angrie gods.

Hannibal being gotten cleare from Marcellu, fell upon those that besieged Caulonia They fled at his comming : but he was so neere, that they were faine to betake them to a hill, which served to no other purpose, than to beare off the first brunt. There they defended themselves a little while, and then they yeelded. When this businesse was done, he hasted away to relieve Tarentum. But when he came within five miles of the City, he hadnews that it was loft. This grieved him: yet he faid no more than this. The Romans have also their Hannibal; we have lost Tarentum in such fort as we got it. That he might not seeme to turne backe amazed, or in any seare of the victorious Consult; he incamped afew dayes together, so neere as he was unto Tarentum: and thence departing to Meiaponium, bethought himselfe how to take Fabius in a trap. He caused the chiefe of the Metapontines to write unto Fabius, and offer to betray into his hands, the Carthaginian Garrison: with condition, that he should in that respect, forgive them all offences past. These letters were sent by two yong men of the same city; who did their errand so well, that the Confull wrote backe by them unto the Metaponianes, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof Hannibal was exceeding glad: and at good leifure made ready his ambushes for the warie Fabius. But whether some secret notice of the plot were given; or whether indeede (as it is related) fome tokens in facrificing, terrefied the superstitious Roman; the journey to Metapontum was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were employed againe: but being apprehended, and threatned with torture, they discovered all.

This yeere was happy to the Romans, in all their warres: for they got every where. lave onely at Caulonia; where they loft a company of fuch lewd fellowes, that it may feeme good fortune, to have so been rid of them. But their common poverty, & disability to maintaine their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty Roman Colonies were then in Italy: of which, twelve refused to contribute any longer to the Wars. For it was confidered; that the Legions of Canna, and those unhappy Com-Panies that had beene beaten under the one and the other Cn. Fulving, were transported into Sacil; where they lived, in a fort, as banished men. This grieved their friends at home, and made them reckon up the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten yeeres together they had beene exhaufted with levies of men, and impofitions of money: in every of which yeeres they had received some notable overthrow. In this case the least that they could feare; or rather the best that they could hope; was to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made prisoners. For Hannibal did gently send home their people that was taken by him: whereas the Romans did banish from their

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homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to passe within a while, that they should be all confumed : fince new Souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Townes; and the old ones never returned. Such talke was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into Sicil, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of Ardea, Surrium, Alba, and other good Townes, to the number of twelve, That they should boldy deny unto the Romans their farther helpe. This was thought the likeliest way to obtaine peace; whereof otherwise they saw little hope, as long as Hannibal lived. When the Consuls heard the Embaffadors of these Townes make such declaration, and protest their disabilitie of giving any farther helpe; they were much amazed. They willed the Embaffadours to 10 returne home, and bring a better answer, forasmuch as this was none other than treafon: they bade them to confider, that the people were not Campahs or Tarentines, but the off-fpring of the Romans; and no leffe partakers of the Empire; than they that inhabited the Mother-Citie, But all would not ferve the Embassaddir's continuing to protest, that they had already done what they could, and that they had remaining, neither men, nor money. It was well for the Romans, that the other eighteene Colonies did not imitate thefe twelve; but shewed themselves willing to undergoe what loever should be layed upon them, without thrinking under the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the Consuls; that the Embassadors of those faithful Colonies, were brought unto the Senate, and produced into the Affembly of the people: where, with commemoration of all their former good fervices, this their prefent love unto the State was magnified, and thankes accordingly beflowed upon them, with promife, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embaffadors of those twelve Colonies, that refused to contribute; it was thought best, neither to retaine them in the Cirie, nor yet to dismisse them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leave them to their owne confideration of their

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelve people would have wrought in those that were so willing to help the State; if Aftrubat had been then comming into reals. For then must the Romanes have becaken themselves wholly to their tivine defence whereas now to the great comfort of their fubjects, they employed their 30 forces in the conquest of Fiely, with hopeful and forumate successe. Neverthelest, they were faine to open their most privietreasurie and thence take out the gold that had beene layed up to ferve them in cases of greatest extremity. Of the money thus extracited, one quarter was delivered to Fabius the Confull, to fet him well out against the Tarentines; all the reft was fent into Spaine to Scipio, for the maintenance of his Army; and to provide, that Afdrubal might not paffe from thence into Italy. It is likely that Fabrus did not spend all his money; finding fuch easie successe at Tarentum, as was shewed before. Bur to stop the Journey of Afdrabal; neither the money fent into Spaine, nor any victories won by Seipio could suffice. Nevertheleffe it fell out happily for the people of Rome, that this yeere and the next were spent, before his comming; and they better 40 prepared, than at leffe warning they could have beene, to entertaine him. Here it were not amiffe to note, That fince the Romans, being in fo great necessity of money, were driven to furnish the Armiein spaine, with the greatest part of all their stocke that was left; it must needs be, that either the bootie taken in new Carthage, was farre lesse than Pame had reported it 3 or elfe that Scipio had not as yet wonne it : howfoever Livie rather inclines to those, who say that he got it soon after his arrivall.

ther inclines to thole, who tay that he got it followings, were chosen Consuls after Fabius and M. Claudius Marcellus, & T. Quimus Crispinus, were chosen Consuls after Fabius and Fuhius: In their yeere it was, that Assubal tooke his journey out of Spaine, though he came not into Italy untill the yeere following. After the great battaile at Canna, Hamibal had lost much time about Cuna and Naples, in seeking to make himselfe Master of a good haven, for the landing of those successful that were promised from Caribage. The hope that he reposed in Philip, caused him to turne his principall care to the Easterne parts of Italy; where he made ready a faire entrance for the Macedonian, is he had been ready to come. But since his hope was vanished, and the long promised succour of Assubal was (though farre later than had been expedient) ready to arrive: he began to deale with the people of Herraria, through whose Countries his brother was to passe, that therein he might make a partie against the Romans. The loss of Capua, Tarentum, & many other Towns, might have terrested all other of the Italian Towns, from harkening

to any folicitation of the Carthaginians. Yet the poverty of the Romans, & the wearings of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Army comming than that which Hannibal brought into Italy; did imbolden many of the Hetrurians, especially the Aretines, to take such counsell as they thought most expedient for themselves, without regard of their fidelity to Rome. The Roman Senate, hearing the rumour of their conspiracy, sent Marcellus the new chosen Consul into Hetruria: whose comming did so terrefie them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the yeare following they were devising how to breake out: as contrariwise the Roman Propretors, partly by terrour of severe judgments and inquisitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which to they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wills, and tooke many Hostages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest defire, to make strong Warre upon Hannibal without more temporising: perswading themselves, that in bartell they should bee too strong for him. Crispinus had further his particular defire, to make his Confulship notable by the Winning of some good Towne : as Fulvius and Fabius had gotten honour by Capua and Tarentum. Therefore he went about the fiege of Locritone of the best Cities which the Carthaginian then held in Italy and brought thither all forts of engines : fending for a Fleet out of Sicil to helpe him. But Hannibal was not flow to relieve the City: the fame of whose approach, made Crispinus defist from his enterprise, and retire unto his Colleague, that lay at Venusia. Thitherfollowed Hannibal. to whom the Confuls daily offered battell. This great man of Warre had no need to fland upon his reputation: which was already fo confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed unto feare; but rather deemed as part of his wisedome. He entertained the Confuls with many light skirmishes, and sought to take them at some advantage; referving his owne numbers as full as he could, unto a time of greater imployment. In this lingring manner of War, Marcellus tooke no pleasure: but sought to compell the Enemy to battell, whether he would or no. The Admirall of the Roman Fleet about Sicil, L. Cincius, was commanded again to affaile the Towne of Locri: which might well enough be forced, if Hannibal continued as he began, to trifle away the time at Venuha. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in Tarentum, was appointed to go 30 by land to the affiftance of Cincius. But Hannibal had an eye behind him. He laid an ambush in the way, between Tarentum and Locri, whereinto the Romans fell: and having lost above three thousand of their Company, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprise, and save their owne lives within Tarentum. As for the Confuls, it was the defire of Hannibal to waste their Army by little and little; which to doe, he neglected no advantage. There lay between him and them an Hillock, over growne with wood, that feemed fit to cover a number of men: who lying there undifferned, might fall upon fuch as should straggle from the Roman campe; and cut them off. Therefore he fent thither by night fome companies of Numidians: whom he willed to keep themselves close, and attend their best advantage. To this piece of ground the Consuls thought it fitto remove their Camp: Marcellus thinking that he never lay near enough unto Hannibal. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the fon of Marcellus, a few Colonels, and other principall men; and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them Hetrurians. The Numidian Centinel gave warning of their approach to his fellows who discovered not themselves untill they had surrounded the Consuls and their train. The Confuls, as necessity compelled them, defended themselves thoping to be quickly relieved from their Campe that was near at hand. But the Hetrurians ran away from them, at the first: and left them in that great danger, to the weake assistance of no more than forty horse-men, that were of the Colonie of Fregella. These Fregellans abode by the Confuls, and did whatthey could to have brought them fafe off. But when Marcel-50 lus was stricken thorow with a Lance, and fell downe dead; then began every one to shift for himselfe, and escape as they might. Crispinus the other Consul, had his deaths wound, being stricken with two Darts; and young Marcellus was likewise wounded; yet these two recovered their campe: The rest of the Colonels and Officers, together with the Lictors that carried the bundles of Rods and Axes before the Confuls, were all flaine or taken. To the dead body of the Conful Marcellus, Hannibal gave honourable Funerall, according to the custome of those times: and bestowing his ashes in a filver pot, covered it with a crown of gold; and so sent them to yong Marcellus, tobe by him interred, where he thought good.

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Prefently after this, Crispinus bethought himselfe, how that the fignet Ring of Marcellus yvas falne into the custody of Hannibal; vvho might use it to his owne purposes. ere that which had hapned were wel known abroad. Wherefore he fent word unto all the Towns about; that his Colleague vvas flain, and that Hannibal had gotten his Ring: wishing them in that regard, to give no credit unto any letters therewithall figned. This providence of Crispinus vvas not more than requisite. For his Messenger vvas but a little before come to Salapia, vyhen another Messenger arrived there sent from Hannibal. bringing letters in the name of Marcellus, and fealed with the captive Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpose to come the same night unto Salapia; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be in a readinesse, for such imploy- 10 ment as he should thinke needfull. The device was plaine, and no lesse plaine was the revengefull mind which he bare against that City; because of his brave Numidian companies that had therein been betrayed. The Salapians hereupon bethought themselves, how to take their enemy in his own fnare. They fent back the Messenger, which vvas a Roman fugitive, without letting him perceive any figne of distrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readinesse, for the entertainement of such a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troupe of Roman fugitives armed Roman-like, leading the vvav. Thefe all talking Latine together, called unto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for the Conful was there. The gate was opened faire and leifurely, and the Port-cullis drawn up no higher than needs it must be, to let them enter. But when fixe hundred of them were 20 gotten in downe fell the Port-cullis againe: and they that thought to have taken others, were taken themselves; being laid at on all hands by the Salapians, that quickly made an

Hannibal being thus over-reached vvith this stratageme, hasted away to Losri; whereunto Cincius the Admirall of the Roman steet about Sicil, didlay hard steet. The first appearance of the Numidians, Hannibal his Vantcurrors, made the Romans in all consuled haste, run to their ships: leaving all their engines, and whatsoever was in their Campe, to

the enemies disposition. The Roman Senate hearing of these accidents, sent unto Crispinus the furviving Conful & requested him to name a Dictator that might take charge of the Comon-wealth, 20 and dispatch the election of new Magistrates, with other businesse; whereunto himselse vvas difabled by his hurts. He did fo: and foon after died. Then vvas it thought needfull, that new Confuls should be chosen out of hand: forasmuch as two Roman Armies lay so neare unto the Enemy, without any Generall. Especially it was defired, that Election should be made of such men as vvere not onely valiant, but vvell advised: since the best, and most fortunate of their great Darers, M. Marcellus, by losing himselse so strangely, had given them a faire warning, not to commit their Army unto rash heads. Among those that stood for the Consulship, C. Claudius Nero, was the most eminent. He was of great Nobility, agood Souldier, and one, whose many services in this present War, did forcibly commend unto the place. Yet he feemed a little too violent; and one, 40 whose temper needed the allay of a more stayed wit. The fathers therefore endeavoured to joyne unto him in the Consulship, M. Livius: one that had borne the same Office long before. This M. Livius had been Conful with L. Amilius Paulus, in the yeare foregoing the beginning of this Warre. After their Confulship, wherein they did good service, they had both of them been called into judgement by the People: and this Livius condemned; Amilius hardly escaping. Though it hath beene once already noted; yet I cannot forbeare to remember it againe: how it pleased God to upbraid the unthankfull Romans, with the malicious judgement, given by their multitude upon honourablemen-For in the battell of Canna, it was apparent, what lamentable effects the memory of their injustice wrought: when L. Emilius rather chose to yeeld to the frowardigno-50 rance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greatest overthrow that ever fell upon the State of Rome, than by refifting the pernicious courles of Terentius Varro, to cast himselfe anew upon the danger of the popular fury. As for M. Livius, he is even now ready, and will so continue, to tell the People of their faults in adivers manner. Fight years together after his condemnation, had he been absent out of the City, and lived in his Countrey Grange; still vexing himselfe with the indignity of his condemnation. Marcellus and Lavinus, being Consuls two or three yeares agoe, had brought him into Rome: where he lived private in discontented fort, as might appeare,

both by his carelefnesse imapparell, and by the wearing of his long haire and beard; which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Cenfors to poll his haire, and come into the Senate: where he used to fit filent, and fignific his affent or diflike to what was proposed, either in short formall words, or in passing from fide to fide, when the house was divided. At length it hapned, that in some businesse weightily concerning one that was his kinsman; he stood up and made a set speech: whereby he drew all the Fathers to attention; and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had beene. The Senate was much altered fince he had left it; many brave men were lost; new ones were chosen; such as rather served to fill up the number, than to answer to the dignity of the place: and they that were left of ancient standing, had even spent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore all beganto fay; that it was great pity, fo worthy and ablea man as this Livius, had been all this while forgotten; one of whom the Common-wealth stood in great need, vet had notused in this dangerous warre. Now seeing that the Consuls ought, one of them, to be chosen a Patrician, the other, of necessity a Plebeian: and since neither Fabius, nor Valerius Lavinus, being both of them Patricians, could be joyned with Claudius Nero: every one was of opinion, that there could not be chosen and coupled together, two fitter men than C. Claudius, and this Marcus Livius. But Livie would not endure to heare of this. He faid it was unreasonable, that one condemned as a dishonest man, should afterwards be chosen Ruler of the Citie. If they had done ill to trust him with one Consul-10 ship, what meant they then to offer him another ? With these, and the like phrases he resifted their defires: till by perfivations, and examples rehearfed, of fuch as had patiently digested injuries done by the people, and repaied good for evill; he was contented to accept

Here we may behold a true figure of that Embleme, with which Themistocles checked the ingratitude of the Ashenians: resembling himselse to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughes where of men breake in faire weather; but run under it for shelter in a storme. Such unthankfulnesse, to well-deserving men, is not rarely found in the outragious multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much unlike, of Philip the second King of Spaine his dealing with the Duke of Aiva. For although he had committed the Duke to prison, upon some small offence conceived, without all regard of his former deserts yet when his intended conquest of Portugal, required the service of a man, more than ordinarily sufficient; he stood no longer upon the scanning of late displeasures; but employed the same Duke, whom he had newly disgraced. Thus is wisedome often taught by pressessing.

It was a dangerous yeare toward, when C. Claudius Nero, and M. Livius were chosen Consuls. Afdrubal was already come into France, and waited onely, to have the wayes of the Alpes thawed by warme weather, for his paffage into Italy. The Romans used at this time the service of three and twenty Legions: and wanted not imployment for many nore, if they had knowne how to levie and maintaine them. Of these which they had, foure served in Spaine, two in Sicil, and two in Sardinia: the rest were so disposed, in severall parts of Italy, where need feemed to require, that onely two Legions were left to each of the Confuls. But the Confuls were men of execution: and would not be tyed to the punctuall observance of what the Senate thought fit. M. Livius would not stirre out of Rome, against so mighty a power as followed Afdrubal, untill he had first obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could well be spared from other imployments; and those, or the most of them, chosen Companies. It was true, that two Legions, appointed to ferve under Lucius Porcius a Pretor of that year, among the Cifalpine Gaules, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of Livius; to whom the War against o Ajdrubal was allotted. So might also two other Legions, that were among the Salentines, neare unto Tarentum, under another of the Pretors, be accounted a part of Claudies his Army, that was sent against Hannibal. Neverthelesse, the Consuls, by the especiall instance of Livie, did obtaine, that all might be left to their owne discretion. For newes came, that Afdrubal was already paffing the Alpes; the Ligurians, who dwelt in the Countrey about Genua, with their Neighbour people, were in readinesse to joyne with him; and L. Porcius sent word, that he would adventure no further, than he safely might. When all was ordered, as themselves thought best, the two Consuls went forth of the Citie; each his severall way. The people of Rome were now quite otherwise

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affected than they had beene, when L. Emilius Paulus and C. Terent ius Varro, were fent against Hannibal. They did no longer take upon them, to direct their Generals, or bid them dispatch, and winne the victorie betimes : but rather they stood in seare, lest all diligence, wisedome and valour should prove too little. For since few years had passed, wherein some one of their Generals had not been slaine; and since it was manifest, that ifeither of these present Consuls were defeated, or put to the worst; the two Carthagimians would forthwith joyne, and make short worke with the other: it seemed a greater happinesse than could be expected, that each of them should returne home Victor; and come off with honour, from such mighty opposition, as he was like to finde. Withex. treme difficulty had Rome held up her head, ever fince the battell of Canna: though it were forthat Hannibal alone, with little helpe from Carthage, had continued the War in Italy. But there was now arrived another sonne of Amilear; and one, that in his present Expedicion, had seemed aman of more sufficiencie than Hannibal himselfe. For whereas in that long and dangerous march, through barbarous Nations, over great Rivers and Mountaines, that were thought unpassable, Hannibal had lost a great part of his Armie: this Afdrub st in the same places, had multiplied his numbers; and gathering the people. that he found in the way, descended from the Alpes like a rowling Snow-ball, farre greater than he came over the Pyrences at his first setting out of Spaine. These considerations and the like, of which feare presented many unto them; caused the people of Rome. to wait upon their Consuls out of the Towne, like a pensive traine of Mourners: 20 thinking upon Marcellus and Crispinus, upon whom in the like fort they had given attendance the last yeare; but faw neither of them returne alive, from a lesse dangerous Warre. Particularly, old Q. Fabius gave his accustomed advice to M. Livius, that he should abstaine from giving, or taking battell, untill he well understood the Enemies condition. But the Conful made him a froward answer, and faid, That he would fight the very first day : for that he thought it long, till he should either recover his honour by victory; or by feeing the overthrow of his owne unjust Citizens, sat issie himselfe with the joy of a great, though not an honest revenge. But his meaning was better than his words. Of the overthrow that Ashrubal received in Spaine by Scipio, a little before he took 20

his journy into Italy; fuch mention hath already been made, as agreed with the report of that noble Historian Livie. Yet I thinke it not amille to adde in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of Polybius his History concerning that ac-Except E. Polys. cident. Afdrubal had wrestled with many difficulties in Spaine; by reason of those Cap Except.E.1019. taines that were fent from the City of Carthage, to joyne with him in the administration of that Province: they being, as it may feeme, of the Hannonian faction; which is to fay, thus farre forth Traytors, that they preferred the advantage of their own fide, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy fonne of Amiliar, and how they hindred his courses undertaken, it cannot be knowne: since of those bookes, wherein Polybins hath exactly handled these matters, there are to us remaining onely a few broken pieces. But by the spightfull dealing of Hanno in Sicil with Mutines, a better man of Warre than himfelfe, whom Hannibal had fent into the Ilanda we may conceive, that against the brother of Hannibat it was thought needfull, by these mischievous Partizans of Hanno, to use the violent opposition of more earnest malice. Neverthelesse, Astrabal was a good Patriot: and therefore endured patiently fuch indignities, as Mutines could not long digeft. His journey into Italy being refolved upon: he lay with part of the Army at Betula, not farre from the Mines of filver ; whence he was to furnish his Expedition. Thirher came Scipio: and dravehim out of his Campe, though hee were itrongly lodged, before the other Carthaginian Captaines could, or would, come to his affiftance. The overthrow feemes not to have 50 beene so great, as it must have beene supposed, if no way lay open to those that sled. Rather it appeares, that Afterbal dealt like a provident man, and feeing that his Campe was likely to be forced fent away all his money with his Elephants before him : but staid bebirid himselfe to sustaine the Romans a while, untill his carriages might be out of damger. Merein he had his defire. Afterwards, he gathered his broken troups together and retyred in fuch fort, that Scipio thought it not good to pursue him, and so passed over Togus. Then taking unco him the forces affigned for his expedition, he marched away towardthe Pyrenees : leaving the care of Spaine unto his brother Mage, and to Aftribal

the some of Gefco; that thought himselfe the fittest man for the administration thereof. Faine would Scipio have stopped him on his journey, by fending to defend against him the ordinary way of the Mountains. But whether Afdrubal took another way, or whether he forced the guards that Scipio had fet to keep the Pyrenees (as the defence of hard passages commonly forts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any such impediment. Comming into Gaule, and following the steps of his brother Hanmbal: he found the Nations that lay in his way, fo well affected, either to him or to his mony, that no passages were defended against him, nor any fort of resistance made; but he, and his Armie well entertained, and their number much increased, by accesse of such as were o desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choyce for that he was driven to winter in their Country; whilest that the passages of the Alpes were closed up with Ice and Snow. The Mountainers likewise, that had so greatly molested Hannibal in his journy over the Alps, were eafily won to take part with Afdrubal, when he travelled thorow their Countrey. For these poor men, at the first comming of Hannibal, were verily perfwaded, that it was his purpose to rob them of their cattell; and to make spoile of that little wealth which they had painefully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in processe of time, they were better informed. Therefore understanding, that there were two mighty Cities, farre dif-joyned afunder, which made Warre upon each other, by Land and Sea; and that the Alpesdid onely lye in the way: they gladly conto descended to take their part in the fortune of the Invaders. The like affection upon greater cause, was afterward found in the Cifalpine Gaules. The Ligurians also joyned with Afdrubal: and so would the Hetrurians have done, if he had arrived in their Countrey. There was no other Roman Armieneare, than L. Portius with his two Legions; of whom there was no great feare. Therefore did Afdrubal fet upon Placentia. a Roman Colonie: in hope to make his comming the more terrible, by the destruction of that Towne. But there he lost a great deale of time, and finally was driven to quit the enterprise: by undertaking which, he gave the Roman Confuls leifure to make ready for him; and caused his brother Hannibal (who upon the first bruit of Asarubal his so timely, and eafily passing the Alpes, was about to leave his wintring Campes, and goe o forth to meet with him) to fit still awhile, as well aware that Placentia would not be taken in hafte.

C. Claudius Nero the Roman Conful, made what speed he could to meet with Hannibal, and stop him from joyning with his brother. He had about forty thousand foot, and five hundred horse: with which he daily offered battel to the Carthaginians; and had of him the better in many skirmishes. Hannibal was once driven to make a tedious march from the borders of the Salentines and Apulians, into the Country of the Brutians, there to encrease his forces; which were otherwise too weak for the journey intended. Afterward comming to Grumentum, a Towne of the Lucans, hethere fought unprosperously with Nero the Conful. Nevertheleffe, he got off, and marched away to Venufia. But Ne-70 followed him, and had there agains the better of him. Wherefore he was driven to 40 returne to Mesapontum: where joyning with Hanno, that had made ready a good Army, he affayed againe to make way by force to his brother. So he paffed onward, and came againe to Venusia, having Nero still at his heeles. Thence went he over the River Ansidus, to Canufium, where he fate downe not farre from the place, in which he had obtained his most memorable victory. There also did Nero sit downe by him: and both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps unto Hannibal, who knew the Countrey very vvell; that his brother might with little impediment, overcome the vvay to Canufium: vvhere if he could once again deale with both the Confuis, and all the Roman forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victory, as once he had gotten in the same open Country. If this had so falne out; Rome voould have been undone for ever. But the Carthaginians should not have needed to wish any second victory, in the naked Campans about Canna; if fuch an Army as this which Asdrubal now brings, had come to second Hannibal, when he was in his full strength; and the Romans not able to keep the field. Wherefore this vyorthy Generall had good reason afterward to fay, that Hanno was the man, who by delaying the supply, did beate him out of Italy; which else no power of the Romans could have done.

Whilest Nero waited upon the Carthaginians, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Army that was comming to their fuccour : he was advertised of

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Astrubal his approach; by Letters and Messengers intercepted, as they were going to Hannibal. These gave notice, that Asdrubal had left the siege of Placentia, and drew onwards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his brother; notwithstanding all opposition that could be made by Livre the Conful. Of these news Claudius Nero was nothing joyfull. For if Hannibal could once be joyned as head, unto that great body of an Army, which Afdrubal brought with him: it was most apparent, that howfoever the fortune of Rome should avoid, for the present, any great calamity; yet the very continuance of so strong a warre at home, would enforce the Latines, and other faithfull Affociates, to faint under the burden; as twelve of the thirty Roman Colonies had already done. Wherefore he refolved, that it were better to make any desperate adven- 10 ture, than to suffer the conjunction of two such malevolent Planets: whose pestilent influence, if not on the sudden, yet within few yeeres, was like to worke most lamentable effects. It feemed apparent, that his Colleague was unable to ftay the progresse of Asdrubal: neither were there any good Legions in a readinesse, that could doe service in such a needfull case; excepting those, that were already employed under the two Consuls. Hereupon he concluded that it was not expedient for him to tye himselfe to his owne charge, which was the warre against Hannibal: but rather that it behoved him, to helpe where more necessity required; and to carry part of his forces unto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet fince the meeting of the two Carthaginian brethren, was farre more dangerous to the Roman Common-wealth: it feemed the best 20 way to put Fortune in trust, with that which was of the lesse importance. Sixe thoufand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore tooke, that were the very choice of his Army: and making shew, as if he would onely step aside, to doe some small piece of fervice neare at hand; away hee posted as fast as he could, to affist his fellow Conful. His Messengers ranne before him, to give warning to all Townes by which he wasto passe, that they should be ready to meete him with victuals, and all other necessaries for his Army. Living the other Conful, at that time, lay encamped neare unto Sena Gallica; and Asarubal within halfe a mile of him. In fixe dayes Nero had finished his journey thither; and when he drew neare, fent Messengers before him, to give notice of his comming. Livie thought it fittest that he should stay in some place of covert untill 30 darke night, and then enter fecretly into the Campe: left the Enemy, perceiving this accesse of strength, should accordingly frame his counsels. This was done and a token given, that the Colonels, Captaines, and all Souldiers, aswell horse as foot, that Nero had brought with him, should be lodged and entertained by men of their owne fort. Their Company was somewhat increased by Voluntaries that joyned with him on the way. Neverthelesse, it was not needfull that the Quarter which received them, should bee enlarged; fince they had brought with them nothing but their armes. The next day they held a Counfell of Warre: wherein some were of opinion, that it was best for these new-arrived Companies to refresh themselves a few dayes after their weary journey, before they should be drawne forth to battell. But against this, Nero was very ear- 40 neft: and befought his Colleague, to make use of him out of hand; that he might betimes returne to his owne Campe, ere Hannibal should have notice of his absence. The Souldiers also of Nero were full of spirit; perceiving that the honour of the victory was like

As farubal was no leffe willing than the Romans to come to battell, having long defired it, and hitherto not found occasion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Army, to behold the Enemies countenance: it 50 feemed to him, that they were more than they had been; and some of their armes and horses looked as though they had wanted dressing, after a long journey. Hercupon he began to with-draw his Army backe into the Campe: and gave order, that if no prifoners could be taken, by whom he might be certified of the truth; yet should there good observation be made, whether the Enemies Campe were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might shew their forces to be increased. The Camp, as hath beene faid was not extended: but the trumpet, that founded onely once in the Quarter of L. Porcius the Pretor, did now, contrary to former custome, found twice in

to be theirs : for a fruch as the battell would not have been undertaken, without this

their comming to helpe. Finally, it was agreed when the Counsell brake up, that the figne

of battell should be hung out; which was commonly a purple coate over the Generals

the quarter of Livingthe Conful. Hereat Afdrubal greatly mused: and being well acquainted with the Roman orders, held this for a fure token, that the other Confull was there arrived. How this might be, if Hannibal were alive, and in good case, he was not able to conjecture: but thought it the best way, to goe leisurely to worke, till he might be better informed. Upon confidence in his owne forces, he had not cared hitherto. how neere he lay to the Romans; nor troubled himself perhaps with over-strongly forrifying his owne Campe. Yet when he now perceived, that somewhat was fallen out helide his expectation, he changed his resolution; and held it no dishonour to remove a little further off. So he dislodged secretly by night, intending to get over the River Meraurus; whereby to keepe himselfe as long as he could, from necessity of battell.. But whether it were fo, that his guides did fteale away from him in the dark, fo that he could not finde the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too heavie, and hindred his speed: farre he had not gone, ere the Consull Nero was at his heeles with all the Roman horse, and stayed him from passing any further. Soone after came L. Porcius with the light armature: whom the other Confull followed anon with all the Legions: in good order, and ready for battell. Asdrubal, seeing himselfe overtaken with necessisty to fight, omitted no care and circumspection. His Gaules, in whom he reposed least confidence, he placed in his left wing upon a Hill, which the Enemie should not, without much difficultie, be able to climbe: in the right wing he stood himselfe with his Africans and Spaniards; his Ligurians he placed in the midft; and his Elephants he bestowed in the front of his battels. On the Roman fide, Nero had the leading of the right wing, Livius of the left, and Porcius of the battell. Both Romans and Carthaginians well understood how much depended upon the fortune of this day ; and how little hope of safety there was unto the vanquished. Onely the Romans herein seemed to have had the better in conceit and opinion; That they were to fight with men defirous to have fled from them. And according to this prefumption, came Living the Confull with a proud bravery, to give charge on the Africans, by whom he was fo sharply entertained, that the victory seemed very doubtfull. The Africans and Spaniards were souldiers, and well acquainted with the maner of the Roman fight. The Ligurians also were a to hardy Nation, and not accustomed to give ground; which they needed the leffe, or were able now no doe, being placed in the midft. Livius therefore, and Porcius, found frrong opposition: and with great flaughter on both sides, prevailed little or nothing. Besides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants, that brake their first ranks; and put them in fuch diforder, as the Roman Enfignes were driven to fall backe. All this while Claudius Nero, labouring much in vaine against a steepe Hill, was unable to come to blowes with the Gaules, that stood opposite unto him, but out of danger. This made Afdrubal the more confident; who, feeing his owne left wing fafe; did the more boldly and fiercely make impression on the other side, upon the left wing of the Romans. But Nero perceiving that the place wherein he flood, was fuch as would compell him to remaine idle till the fight were ended; tooke a part of his forces, and led them round behind the forces of Porcius and Livins: which having compassed, he fell upon Afdrubal, and charged him in the flanke. Here began the victory to bee manifest on the Roman side. For Nero, finding none to resist him in front, ran all along the depth of Asdrubal his battell: and falling upon the skirts thereof, disordered the Enemies, and put all to rout. Of the Spaniards therefore and Africans, that were laid at on every fide, the greatest part was slaine. The Ligurians and Gaules escaped as they could; and faved themselves by timely slight. Of the Elephants, foure were taken alive: the rest were flaine: some by the Enemies weapons, others by their owne guides that rode them. For when any of them, being fore wounded, began to waxe unruly, and rush to backe upon their owne battels following them, the guide had in readinesse a Mallet, and a Chizzell, wherewith he gavethem a stroke between the eares, in the joynt of the neck, next unto the head, wherewith he killed the beaft upon the fudden. This speedy way of preventing such harme as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to doe to the squadrons following them, is faid to have bin the device of Afdrubal himselfe, who dyed in this battell.

Great commendations are given to Asdrubal, both by Folybius and by Livie. He is faid at all times to have shewed himselfe worthy of Amilear his father, and Hannibal his brother: to have striven with great patience against many difficulties, whereinto hee 460

fell by the meanes of those Captaines that were sent from Carthage into Spaine; to have performed in this last battell all duties of a worthy Generall; and finally, when he faw the losse irrepaireable, to have ridden manfully into the thickest of his Enemies; where fighting bravely, he was flaine. Of the number that died with him in this battell, the report of Livie, and of Polybius doevery much disagree. For Livie saith, that the Carthaginians had no lesse an overthrow, than was that which they gave to the Romans at Canze; that fiftie fixe thousand of them were flaine, five thousand and foure hundred taken prisoners, and above foure thousand Roman citizens, whom they had captives with them. delivered, and fet at libertie. He faith also, that of the Romans and their Associates there were flaine eight thousand: and of the bootie, that it was exceeding great; not only in o- to ther kindes, but in gold and filver. Concerning the bootie, Polybius hath no mention of it. Likely it is to have bin as rich as Livie reporteth it; for Asdrubal came well stored with mony. But Polybius (who had no defire to make this battell of Metaurus, a parallel unto that of Canna) reports no more than about ten thousand of the Caribag inian side, and two thousand of the Roman, to have bin slaine. The number of the prisoners he doth not mention: but only faith, That some of the Carthaginian Princes were taken alive; and that all the rest died in the battell. Whereby it may seem that they were all Barchines: forafmuch as they preferred the honour of themselves, and of their country, above their

The joy of this victory was no leffe in Rome, than had bin the feare of the event. For 10 ever fince it was knowne in what fort Nero had left his Army, the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at Hannibal his comming thither. Men thought it strange that the Confull should make such a great adventure, as thus to put the one half of all the Roman forces unto hazzard of the Dice. For what if Hannibal should chance to have notice of this his departure, and either pursue him, or set upon the Army that staid behind, much weakned, and without a Generall ? Thus did they talk; yet referving their censure unto the fuccesse; with liberty to approve or condemne, according to the issue. In the meane time the people filled the Market-place, the Women ranne to the Temples, with Vowes and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in counfell, waiting fill ready at hand upon the Magistrates, as if some great matter were dikely to fall out, that would aske every ones to help. In briefe, they were all fofull of melancholy, that when the first newes of victory came, there were not many that would beleeve it. Afterwards, when Messengers arrived from the Confuls, with Letters containing all that had passed, there was not onely great and joyfull concourse of all forts of men unto the Temples, but the very face of the City was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their private businesse; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborn to do) and attending their own affaires in such wise, as if Hamibal were already driven out of Italy.

Nero returning to his campe, threw forth openly the head of Afdrubal before the Carthaginians: and producing his African prifoners bound, fent two of them loofe to give Hamibal notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners might have served 40 wellenough to certifie Hannibal of the mil-adventure, without doing wrong to the dead body of Afdrubal: especially since Hannibal, in honourable, and sarre different manner, had given buriall to Gracchus and Marcelliu; yea, to all the Roman Generals, whose carkasses fell into his hands. But it may seeme, that howsoever the People of Carthage wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the Romans, in their love unto the Common-weale: yet in dealing with enemies, they were far more civill, and leffe prone to the infolency of revenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by Nero, is, that he hoped much more by the fudden terrour of fuch a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which had passed, to make a deepe impression of feare into the Carthaginians. It may also be said, That hee forgot himselfe, being 50 over-joyed with the greatnesse of his prosperity. For it was the battell of Metaurus that weighed downe the ballance, and turned the Tide of the Roman fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebbe, ceased not afterwards to slow, till it could not bee contained within any banks. Hannibal having loft in this unhappy fight (befides that worthy Gentleman his brother) all the hope that fo long sustained him in Italie, with-drew himselfe into the Country of the Brusans: and thither he caused all the Lucans, that were of his partie, to remove; as likewise all that dwelt in Metaponium. For hee wanted men to defend to many places as he held at the prefent, because they lay too farre asunder-Where-

Wherefore he drew them all into a leffer compaffe in the utmost corner of Italy, it being a country of much fastnesse, and the people exceedingly devoted to his service. In this businesse Nere gave him no memorable impediment: either because Hannibal was too firong for him, having all his forces united or because it is likely that this remove of the Lucans and Metapontines, was not before the end of Summer, when their harvest was vathered in : at what time the Senate called him home to Rome. M. Livius the other Conful tarried among the Cifalpine Gaules untill the end of furnmer; there to fer things in fuch order as he thought requifite: which done, he wrote unto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Army in that Province, but that L. Porcius, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause, he defired leave to returne home; and that he might bring his Army with him. The Senate well understood his meaning: which was, to have the honour of triumph, as he well deferved. But forasimuch as it was well knowne, what interest Nero had in the lare victory: order was given, that not onely Livie with his Armie should come home ; but likewise Nero, though leaving his Armie behind him, to confront Hamibal. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pompe whereof, Livie made the greater shew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; because in his Province. and upon his day of command, the victory was gotten: his Annie also being present at the triumph. But Nero, that rode on horfe-backe, and without fuch attendance, was the more extolled by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victory was in a manner wholly ascribed unto his great worth. Neither wanted L. Veturian Philo, and Q. Custling Metellin, Lievtenants to the Generals, the due acknowledgement of their good fervices For they were commended unto the People, as men worthy to be chosen Confuls ; and Confuls they were chosen for the yeere following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memory in their Confulthip. Neither indeed from this yeare, which was the thirteenth of the present warre, untill the eighteenth yeere wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in Italy; fave only the taking of Local from the Carthaginians by furprife. For Hannibal wanted ftrength, wherewith to make any great offer; and the Romans had little minde to provoke him; but thought it well that he was quier. Such opinion had they conceived of him, that though all about him went to ruo ine, yer in him alone they thought there was force enough to hold himselfe upright. And furely very notable are the commendations given unto him by Polybin, whom Livit therein followes: That making war upon a People, of all other the most warlike he obtained to many victories by his own good conduct: and that leading an Army, compounded offo many fundry nations, Africans, Spaniards, Gunls, Carthaginians, Italians, & Greeks, which were neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another ; he held them all in fuch good order, that they never fell to fedition among themselves, or against their Generall. But that which Livie adds hereto, is yet perhaps of greateradmiration: That he fultained his Army, without help from other places, from this time forward, upon the hungry foile of the Brucians: which, when it was best manured 40 in time of peace, could hardly suffice to nourish the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparent, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Armie in fuch order and obedience, rather than by any greatnesse of reward and bootie: since, after the death of Astrubal, hee made no invasion upon the vvealthier parts of Italy; but held himself still among the poor Brutians Where we must leave him, untill he be drawn into Africk by Somis; whose doings will henceforth entertaine, and lead us unto theend of this War.

CHAP-3. S. 17. + . I. of the History of the World.

6. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio the Roman made entire conquest of Spaine.

†. I.

How the Carthaginians were driven by Scipio from the Continent into the Isle of Gades.

Age and Afdrubal the fon of Gesto, took upon them the charge of Spain, when Asdrubal the sonne of Amilear departed thence into Italy. These agreed toge-Inher that Mago should make a voyage to the Baleares; there to levie a supply of men: and Afdrubal with-draw himselfe into Lustiania (which is now Portugal) whither the Romans had ill means to follow; being altogether unacquainted in those parts. Mago had soone ended his businesse, and returned into Spaine: where he met with one had soone ended his businesse, and returned into Spaine: where he met with one so had soone ended his businesse, and returned into Spaine: where he met with one so had soone ended his businesse, and returned into Spaine: where he met with one of Hanno (the same perhaps that had lately bin imployed in Sicil) who brought new forces out of Africk, and came to succeed in place of Astrubal the Barchine. It is not unlikely that Spaine was now the better, and more readily surnished with men, and all things ly that Spaine was now the better, and more readily surnished with men, and all things was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old Hanno approve it was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old Hanno approve it such that noble race of Warriours; when it should appear, that things did prosper such the better by being left unto the handling of other men. Whether it were upon desire to make good some such opinion raised of him at home, or whether upon considence fire to make good some such opinion raised of him at home, or whether upon considence in the forces that he brought over: Hanno took the field, and led Mago with him; as purions afresh to set upon the Romans. So he entred into the country of the Celuberians, posing afresh to set upon the Romans. So he entred into the country of the Celuberians, not very far from new Carthage: where, by mony, and other persuasions, he levied above nine thousand men.

P. Scipio in the meane while contained himselfe in the Easterne parts of Spaine: attentive, as it may seeme, to the proceedings of Asdrubal, the some of Amilear; against whom, he is reported by some Writers to have sent part of his forces into Italie, to the affistance of C. Claudius Nero, and M. Livius the Consuls. But hearing of the levie made by Hanno and Mago among the Celiberians, he sent M. Syllanus the Propretor, with ten 20 thousand foot, and five hundred horse. Syllanus gor intelligence by some fugitive Celtiberians, who became his guides, that their Countrimen incamped apart from the Carthaginians ingreat disorder: as men fearing no danger, because they were at home. Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew neer to these Celiberians: and falling upon them on the sudden, gave them such an overthrow, that Hanno and Mago comming to their succour, in stead of heartening and re-inforcing them, became partakers of the losse. Mago faved himselfe with all the horse, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thousand : and intendayes journey brought them safe to Asdrubal. The rest of the Africans were either slaine or taken: among whom, Hanno had the ill lucke to be taken prisoner; though he kept himself out of the fight untill all was lost. As for the Celibe- 30 rians, they knew better how to make shift; and saved most of themselves by running into

It could no otherwise be, but that Scipio was much troubled with the danger wherein Italy stood, by the comming thither of Afdrubal. Ten thousand foot, and eighteen hundred horse he did therefore send out of Spain (as it is reported by some Authors) to the defence of his owne Countrie; or was perhaps about to fend them: and thereupon remained at new Carthage, intentive to the necessitie and successe of his Countrimen at home. But when he had word of the great victory at Metaurus, which fell out long before the end of the Summer, then might he well adventure, to take in hand the entire conquest of Spain; which must needs be much alienated from the Carthaginians, by the 40 report of fuch an overthrow. The Spanish Souldiers that served under Hannibal, and those that had bin sent over into Africke, were as pledges heretofore, by whom their Country was held obnoxious to the Carthaginians. But when it was noised abroad, that all which had followed Afdrubal into Italie, were falleninto the hands of the Romans; and that Hannibal with his army was closed up in a streight, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly behove the Spaniards to conform themselves unto the will of the Victors. That it was the fuccesse of things in Italy, which gave such considence unto Scipios it is the more probable, because he tooke not this great enterprise in hand, untill the Summer was almost spent. Asarubal therefore used the benefit of the season; and by dispofing his Army into many Garrisons, hindered the Enemy from doing any great exploit 50 before Winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the yeere, caused Scipio to return back: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother L, Scipio took by affault the Town of Oringis.

Against the next yeers danger, Astrabal prepared a great Army: and spared not cost, nor travell, in strengthening himselse, for the triall of his last fortune in Spaine. With seventy thousand foot, sourethousand horse, and two and thirty Elephants, he tooke the seventy thousand foot, sourethousand horse, and two and thirty Elephants, he tooke the seventy thousand foot, sourethousand horse, and two and thirty Elephants, he tooke the seventy thousand foot, source that he could hardly have raised, without boldly denying the truth of those reports that came from Italy. Scipio thought his Roman Legions too

too weake to incounter with fuch a multitude. Wherefore he judged it needfull to use the helpe of his Spanish friends. But the death of his Father and Uncle, that were cast away by the treason of such false Auxiliaries, made him on the other side very doubtfull. of relying upon those, that might perhaps betray him in his greatest need. Yet since one colchas, that was Lord of eight and twenty towns, had promifed him the last Winter, to raife three thousand foot, and five hundred horse for his service: he resolved to make nse of those, and some few others, that might helpe to make a shew; and yet not be able to doeany great harme, if they would revolt. So with five and forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he sought out the Enemy; neere unto whom he no incamped. At his first comming, Mago and Masanissa fell upon him; with hope to take him unprepared, whilest he was making his lodgings. But he layd certaine troupes of horse in covert: which, breaking upon them unexpected, caused them to fall off. They made at first an orderly retrait: but being more hardly pressed, they shortly betooke them selves to plaine flight. After this incounter, which added some courage to the Romans, and abated the prefumption of the Carthaginians, there were daily skirmishes between the horse and light armature, on both sides; wherein was nothing done of importance. Astrubal drew forth his Armie, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did Scipio; each of them to shew that he durst fight, yet not proceeding any farther. Thus they continued many dayes: Afdrubal being still the first that issued forth in the morning; and the first that, in the evening, withdrew himselfe into his Trenches. The Spanello Auxiliaries were placed on both fides in the wings; the Carthaginians were in the midst, with their Elephants before them; and opposite to these on the other side were the Roman Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at farre distance, many dayes together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they should shortly meet in the same forme; and be matched on each part, with the enemies long before defigned. But Scipio, when he purposed indeed to fight, altered the forme of his Armie; and withall, came forthearlier than he had beene wont. He caused his men and horses to be well fedde betimes in the morning before day: and then sent forth his horse aand light armature, to traine out the Carthag mians with their bellies empty: using herein the fame trick, whereby he might remember that Hannibal had beaten his father in the battell of Trebia. His Roman Legions he bestowed in the wings; his Spaniards in the battell. Asdrubal sent forth his horse in all haste, to entertaine the Romans; whilest he himfelfe arranged his men, in their wonted order at the Hill foot, upon which he incamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it could not be discerned which part had the better: fince, being over-pressed on either side, they had a safe retrait unto their foot: and one troupe seconding another by course, returned to charge. This fight was protracted by Scipio to a great length: because his men, having well fed themselves, were like to hold out better than the Enemie. But about noone he caused his wings to advance a good pace; leaving their battell of Spaniards farre behind them, that came on leisurely, according to direction. The Spanish Mercenaries that stood in Asarabal his wings, were no way comparable, fave onely in number, to the Latine and Roman Souldiers, that came against them; for they were fresh Souldiers, levied in haste; and fighting onely in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flanke, at the same time, by the Roman Velites, and by some cohorts, that were appointed to wheele about for the same purpose, they were forely pressed; and with much difficultie made resistance. The Carthaginians would faine have succoured them; but that they durst not stir out of their places, because of the spanish battell which was comming against them; though it were as yet farre off. Thus the best part of Asdrubal his Armie stood idle, untill the wings were broken. For, had he adventured to meet with the Spaniards, hee must have cast himselse into the open space that lay before him betweene the Roman wings: to the depth whereof when he had arrived, he should have found himselfe inclosed in such fort, as was the Consull Paulus at the battell of Canna. Wherefore hee did onely imploy his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harme to his Enemies, than to his Friends. When they were chafed with wounds, they could nolonger be ruled by their guides: but ran, as chance led them, and troubled both Parts; or those perhaps the more, that were the more unwilling to kill them. In proceffe of the fight, the Romans, who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning, endured lustie; when the others began to faint with travell and heate of the day. Where464

Wherefore perceiving their advantage, they followed it the more horly; and gave not over, till they had fore the enemy to change his place, and run from him. Afdrubal did his best to have made an orderly retrait; and afterward againe, to have caused his men turn head at the Hill foot. But the Romans would not fuffer the victory to be so extorted from them: neither was it casie to put fresh courage into the vanquished, led by the obstinate passion of seare, which hearkens to no perswasion. The Camp of Asarubal had that day bin taken, if a ftorm of rain, which fell violently on the fudden, and bred fome fin-

persition in the Romans, had not caused them to give over. The fame night Afdrabal gave no rest to his men: but caused them, hungry, and over-laboured as they were, to take paines in fortifying the Campe; wherein he feared to 10 be affaulted. But little affurance could he have in the strength of his Trenches, when he had lost the hearts of his Spanish Souldiers. One Attanes, that was Lord of the Turdetani, fled from him to the Romans, with a great Band of his subjects: many followed this example; and soone after two strong Townes were yeelded up to Scipio, and the Garrisons betrayed. It seemes that the perverse fortune of this late battell, whereupon Asdrubalhad set his rest, bred in the Spaniards a disposition, to believe the more easily those reports which they heard from Italy. For henceforward, they never did good office to the Carthaginians. Asdrubal, perceiving this, withdrew himselfe, and marched away safler than an ordinary pace, toward the Ocean Sea. Scipio followed the next morning, and overtaking the Carthaginians with his horse, caused them so often to make stand, that 10 they were at length attached by the Roman Legions. Here began a cruell flaughter: for there was no refistance made, but all fell to rout, fave onely seven thousand that with Asdrubal himself recovered a very strong piece of ground, which they fortified in haste. The place he made shift a while to defend but wanting there necessaries to sustain himfelf long he was for faken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherefore he resolved to make shift for one; and stealing from his Company by night away to the Sea fide, that was not farrethence, he tooke shipping, and fet faile for Gades. When Scipio understood that Asdrubal was thus gone, he left Syllanus with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to be siege their Campe (which was not takeninhaste, for Mago and Masamila staid init) whilest he with the rest of the Army 30 did what was needfull in the Countrie abroad. It was not long ere Mago and Masamila followed Afdrubal to Gades: and their Army dispersed it selfe; some flying over to the Romans, others taking what way they liked. So upon all the Continent of Spaine, there were only three Towns left, Illiurgi, Castulo, and Astapa, that made continuance of war against the Romans: of which only Castulo had a Carthaginian garrison, consisting of such as had saved themselves by slight in the late overthrows. Hereby it seems, that the report of those Historians was ill grounded, who said, that Castulo yeelded long since unto the Romans; though Hannibal took a wife in that Citie. For this was one of the last three towns that held out on the Carthaginian fide. Illiturgi had fomtimes bin inclinable to the Romans; if not altogether at their devotion. Yet after the death of the two elder 40 Serpio's, following too earnestly the Carthaginian fortune, it not only rebelled, but with great cruelty betrayed and flue the poor men that escaped thither from the overthrows. Astapa was a town that still adhered to the Carthaginians; and, which was worse, had thriven by the spoyle of the Romans and their Confederates. Wherefore (though notuntill the next year) Scipio went against these and tooke himselfe Illiturgi and Castulo: Illiturgiby affault, and with a generall flaughter of the Inhabitants; Castulo, by treason of one Cerdubellus, Astapa was taken by Lucius Marcius or rather destroied by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raifed in the Market-place: whereinto was thrown all the gold, and filver, with what soever else was precious; the vvomen and children standing by it under a fure guard, that should kill and burne them if the Romans got into the Town. 50 This provision being made, all the Inhabitants that could beare Armes, rushed forth desperately, and sell upon the Roman Camp; where striving beyond their power, they vvere every one flain. Then was the Town forth-with fet on fire, by those that had taken charge to do it: and many of the Romans confumed with the flame; whileft they rushed over-hastily to catch the gold and filver, which they saw lying on the pile ready

Astrubal being beaten into the Iland of Gades, found no cause of long stay there: but returned home to Carthage, with feven Gallies: leaving Mago behind him, to wait upon

occasion, if any should be offered. He visited in his way home, Syphan, King of the Malafili, a people of the Numidians; hoping to win him to the friendship of the Carthaginians. But he met with Scipio as it were with his evill Angel, in the Kings port: who landing at the fame time, carried Syphan quite another way. For Scipio having driven the Carthaginians out of Spain, did forth-with bethink himself, how to finish the War, by putting them to the like distresse in Africk. Hereunto it seemed that the help of Syphan would be much availeable: a King that had many times fallen out with the Carthaginians, and fustained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might eafily be moved to feek revenge. He had also bin beholding to P. and Cn. Scipio, that fent him over a Captain o into Africk; who instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Upon these reasons, the Numedian King sent Embassadors to Rome and made league with the city in time of great extremity. So that hereby P. Scipio conceived hope of laying a good foundation to the War, which he intended in Africk, upon the friendship of this ill neighbour to the Carthaginians. For which cause he sent over C.La. lius his Embaffador to deale with Syphax: who declaring that the Carthaginians did vervill in Italy, and had nothing now at all to doe in Spaine, eafily perfwaded the King to take part with those that had the better, and were without question his better friends. Only Syphax requested that the Roman Generall should visite him in person, to conclude the League; by which he was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any o former Treaty. Hereto Scipio condescended; thinking the friendship of so great a King. that was neighbour to Carthage, and not far distant from Spaine, well worthy of the adventure. So with two Quinquereme Gallies he took Sea, and arrived in the Kings Port, at the fame time with Afdrubal. This would have been very dangerous to him, had he been descried by his enemies further at Sea: but in the Haven they forbare to make offer one upon the other. Syphax might well be proud; seeing at one time, two such Captains of two most powerful Cities, came to desire his friendship. He would have brought them to treat of peace: but the Roman excused himselfe, by want of such Commission from the Senare. He feasted them together : and shortly dismissed Scipio, with whom he readily entred into Covenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

t. II.

Funerall games held by Scipio. A Duell between two Spanish Princes. A digression concerning Duels.

Cipio returning into Spaine, and resting that Winter, took vengeance the next yeare, upon those of Illiturgi, Castule, and Astapa, as hathbin said before. The Conquest of the Country being then in a manner at an end; he performed at new Carthage, with great folemnity, some Vowes that he had made, and honoured the memory of his Father and Uncle, with funerall games, especially of those that fought at sharpe, according to the manner of the times. Neither was it needfull that he should trouble himselfe with preparing flaves for that spectacle, to hazzard their lives, as was used in the City of Rome: for there were enow, that either offered themselves as Voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes, to give proofe in fingle combat, of the valour that was in their feverall Countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not otherwise end, agreed to refer the decision of their Controversies, to tryall of the fword, in fingle fight. Among these, the most eminent, were Corbi and Orfua; Colen-germans: that contended for the principality of a Town called Ibes. Corbis was the elder, and the elder brothers some: wherefore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house, after the manner of our Irish Tanistry. But the father of Orsua stood lately seized of the principality: which, though himfelf received by the death of hiselder brother; yetthis his fon would not let it goe back, but claimed to hold it as heire unto his father, and old enough to rule. Fain would Scipio have compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, That all their friends and kindred had already laboured in vaine, to take up that quarrell; and that neither God nor Man, but only Mars, their god of battell, hould be Umpire between them. So they had their wils : and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilfull at his weapon, easily vanquished the foole-hardinesse of the younger. Such

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Such combats have been very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kinde of fight. We reade of many performed before the Warre of Troy; by Thefeus, Hercules, Pollux, and others: as also of two more at the Warre of Troy, the one betweene Paris and Menelaus; the other betweene Hettor and ajax. Neither want there examples of them among the Hebrewes: whereof that between David and Goliah; and others perfomed by some of Davids Worthies, against those that challenged them; are greatly celebrated. Unto the fame kinde appertained the fight betweene twelve of the Tribe of Juda, and as many of the Benjamites. The Romans had many of them: whereof that was principall, in which they ventured their Dominion upon the heads of three brethren the Horatii, against the three brethren, Curatii, that were Albans. The combat of 10 Manlius Torquatus; and shortly after, of Valerius Corvinus, with two Champions of the Gaules, which challenged any Roman; were of leffe importance, as having only reference to bravery. In England there was a great Combat fought between Edmund Ironfide. and Canut us the Dane, for no leffe matter than the Kingdome. The use of them was very frequent in the Saxon times; almost upon every occasion, great or small. In the reigne of Edward the third, who sustained the party of Mountfort against the Earle of Blogs, contending for the Duchie of Britain; there was a fight for honor of the Nations, between thirty of the Britons, and thirty English: two of which English, were Calverlie, a brave Captain; and that Sir Robers Knolles, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the French wars, and did highly honour his bloud, whereof the Lord Knolles is 20 descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in English, French, and Italian Histories. Most of them have been combats of bravery, and of gayete de cour. as the French terme it; for honour of feverall Nations; for love of Miltreffes; or whatfoever else gave occasion unto men, desirous to set out themselves. But besides those of this fort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either upon accusation for life; or upon tryall of Title and Inheritance, as in Writ of right. And of this latter kinde, was that, of which we spake even now, betweene Corbis and Orsua. Unto these (mee thinks) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat upon Wager; fuch as were that between David and Geliah, or that between the Horatii and Curatii: in which, without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one over the other, isad-30 ventured upon the head of Champions. Upon an acculation for life, there was a combat appointed between the Lord Henry of Boulinbrook, Duke of Hereford, and Moubray Duke of Norfolke. There was a combat performed by Sir John Angley and one Cattring-An.21. Kic. 2. ton: whom Ansley charged with treason: and proved it upon him, by being victorious. The like was fought betweene Robert of Mountfort, and Henry of Effex. The like also, An. 9. Henr . 2. between a Navarrois, and one Wellh of Grimiby, whom the Navarrois accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that he had belyed him, and was therefore drawne and hanged. Whether our tryall by battell doe determine, that the falle accuser, ifhe be vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had beene due to the offender, if the accusation had beene proved; I cannot affirme. But wee every where finde, That 40 if he which is accused of treason, or, according to the customes of Normandy, of Murder, Rape, or burning of places (offences punished by death) be overcome, He shall suffer the paines appointed for those crimes. In combats for tryall of right, it is not so: neither is the Appellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but he may try it by his Champion, as did Paramour and Low, or offered to doe, in the reigne of Queen Elizabeth. And in this case, he that is beaten or yeeldeth, loseth onely his cause, not his life. Neither are the combats upon acculation, or triall of right, fought in open field, as are those of bravery; but in Campe close, that is, within railes. Now this eryall by combat was so ordinary in France, before the time of S. Lewis and Philip the faire his grand-child, as every Lord of Fee, Ecclefiafticall or Temporall, had power to grant it within his owne Jurif- 50 diction. And it seemeth, that the French Kings, and other Lords, made their profit hereby. For in the * Memorialls of the Chamber of Accounts, is found an Article to this effect: That if a Combat were once accepted, and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken up, each of the parties should pay two shillings sixe pence; but if it were performed, then should the party vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelve shillings. And upon this custome grew the French Proverbe, which they use when as any man hath had an hard and unjust judgement; faying, That Hee was tryed by the Law of Loray, or Berne; ou le battu paye l'amende, where he that is beaten gives the recompence. Of these frequent

trials by battell that great learned man Tvo, Bishop of Chartres, did often complaine, and specially against the French Church-men: as appeares by * his Letters to the Bishop of *clericiveshi ne. orleans, to the Arch-deacon of Paris, to Rembert Archbishop of Sens, and to others; peradnosroverwhereinherebukes the judgement of their Churches, that had ratified fuch challenges comitis Theorem of combat. But this liberty and kinde of tryall, was retrencht by S. Lewis, and Philip the baldi Aureliafaire; so that no man could decree or grant it, save the King himselfe. It hath since been reinfernations, granted, though more sparingly, by the French Kings, as to the Lord of Carognes, against quad quidam mi-Jaques le Gris; and to Julian Romero the Spaniard, against Moro his countriman: wherein dulphi quendam Sir Henry Knevet, Father to the Lord Knevet now living, was Patron to Romero that had militan Comitis the victory; and lastly to the Lord of Chast. Now in those challenges, upon accusation an provocaverit, of Treason, Murder, or other offence deserving death (and in those onely) the rule held, & have provoca-That le defendeur estoit tenu de proposer ces dessences par un dementir ; The descendant was tionem Ecclesse bound to plead not guilty, by giving the accuser the Lie : otherwise it was concluded, that confirmateria. the Defendant did tailiblement confesser le crime : filently confesse the crime. But after such oc. time as Francis the French King, upon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the Lie unto the Emperor Charles the fift, thereby to draw him to a personall combat: every petty Companion in France, in imitation of their Master, made giving of the Lie mortality it felf, holding it a matter of no finall glory to have it faid. That the meanest Gentleman in France would not put up, what the great Emperor Charles the fift had patiently

o endured. From this beginning is derived a challenge of combat, grounded upon none of those occasions that were knowne to the Ancient. For the Honour of Nations, the Tryall of Right the Wager upon Champions, or the Objection and Refutation of capital offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of halfe fo many Duels, as are founded upon meere private Anger, yea, or upon matter feening worthy of anger in the opinion of the Duellifts. So that in these daies, wherein every man takes unto himfelfe a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint personal combats, the giving of the Lie, which ought to be the Negation onely in accusations for life, is become the most fruitfull root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word fo terrible, and a wrong fo unpar-30 donable, as will admit no other recompence, than the bloud of him that gives it. Thus the fashion, taken up in haste by the French Gentlemen, after the pattern of their King, is growne to be a cultome: whence we have derived a kinde of Art and Philosophie of quarrell; with certainegrounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yeathere are (among many no leffe ridiculous) fome fo mysticall curiosities herein, as that it is held a farre greater dishonour, to receive from an enemy a flighttouch with a Cane, than a found blow with a Sword: the one having relation to a flave, the other to a fouldier. I confesse that the difference is pretty: though formy owne part, if I had had any fuch Italianated enemy in former times, I should willingly have made with him fuch an exchange; and have given him the point of honour to boot.

But let us examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the Lie; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiving it. I say that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that give it them; use nothing so much in their conversation and course of life, as to speake and sweare falfly. Yea it is thereby, that they shift and shuffle in the World, and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, having affumed and fworn to pay the monies & other things they borrow, doe not breake their word and promise as often as they ingage it? Nay, how few are there among them, that are not Lyers by Record, by being fued in some Court or other of Justice, upon breach of word or bond ? For he which hath promised that he will pay mony by a day, or promised any thing else, wherein he faileth; hath directly lyed to him to whom the promise hath been made. Nay, what is the profession of love that men make now-a-daies . What is the vowing of their fervice, and of all they have, used in their ordinary complements, and (in effect) to every man whom they bid but good morrow, or falute, other than a courteous and Court-like kinde of lying! It is (faith a wife French man, deriding therein the Apish custome of his Country) un marche & complot fait ensemble, se mocquer, mentir, & piper les uns les autres; A kind of merchandi le, and complet made among them, to mocke, belie, and deride each other: and so farrenow-a-daies in fashion, and in use; as he that useth it not, is accounted either

* Si bomines de Loraico vadia Duelli temorè dedering &c.

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dull or Cynicall. True it is notwithstanding (omitting the old distinction) that there is great difference betweene these mannerly and complementall lies, with those which are fometime perswaded by necessity upon breach of promise; and those which men use out of cowardize and feare: the latter confessing themselves to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other stiled the most villanous. But now for the Lieit selfe, as it is made the subject of all our deadly quarrels in effect: to it I say, That who soever giveth another man the Lie, when it is manifest that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more hainoufly taken, than to tell him, he hath broken any promife which he hath otherwise made. For he that promiseth any thing, tels him, to whom he hath promised, that he will performe it; and, in not performing it, hee had made him felse a Lier. On the other side, He that gives any man the Lie, when he himselse knowes that he, to whom it is given, hath not lied; doth therein give the Lie directly to himfelfe. And what cause have I, if I say that the Sunne shines when it doth shine, and that another fellow tels me I lie, for it's mid-night; to profecute fuch an one to death, for making himselse a foolish Ruffian, and a lyer in his owne knowledge ? For he that gives the Lie in any other dispute, than in defence of his Loyalty, or Life; gives it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not deny but it is an extreme rudenesse to taxe any man in publike with an untruth (if it be not pernicious, and to his prejudice against whom the untruth is uttered:) but all that is rude, ought not to bee civillized with death. That were more to admire and imitate a French custome, and a wicked one, than to admire and 20 to follow the counsell of God. But you will fay, that these discourses savour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize to feare God or hell: whereas he that is truely wise, and truely valiant, knowes that there is nothing else to be feared. For against an Enemies fword, we shall finde ten thousand seven-peny-men (waged at that price in the wars) that feare it as little, or perchance leffe, than any profest Sword-man in the world. Diligentissima intutela sui Fortitudo; Fortitude is a diligent preserver of it selfe. It is faith Aristotle) a mediocrity betweene doubting and daring. Sicut non Martyrem pæna : sic nec fortem pugna; sed causa: As it is not the punishment that makes the Martyr: so it is not fighting that declares a valiant man; but fighting in a good cause. In which, who soever fhall refolvedly end his life, refolvedly in respect of the cause, to wit, in desence of his 30 Prince, Religion, or Country: as he may justly beenumbred among the Martyrs of God; fo may those that die with malicious hearts, in private combats, be called the Martyrs of the Divell. Neither doe we indeed take our owne revenge, or punish the injuries offered us, by the death of the injurious. For the true conquest of revenge is, to give him, of whom we would be revenged, cause to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death upon our owne consciences; Animasa; in vulnere ponere; And to drowne our foules in the wounds and bloud of our enemies. Hereupon you will again aske me, if I condemne, in generous and noble spirits, the defence of their honours, being prest with injuries ? I say that I doe not, if the injuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the Eternall Law: and the Lawes of all Christian Kings and 40 States; doe favour him that is affailed, in the flaughter of the affailant. You will fecondly aske me, Whether a Noble-man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by Cartel by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honour to satisfie the chalenger in private combat ! I answer, that he is not : because (omitting the greatest, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrary and opposite to that, which they call the point of honour; the Law which hath dominion over it, which can judge it, which can destroy it ; except you will stile those Acts honourable, where the Hang-man gives the Garland. For, feeing the Lawes of this Land have appointed the Hang-man to fecond the Conqueror, and the Lawes of God appointed the Divell to fecond the Conquered, dying in malice: I fay, that he is bothbase and a fool, that accepts of any Cartel so accom- 50 panied. To this perchance it will be answered, That the Kings of England, & other Christian Kings, have seldome taken any such advantage over men of quality, who upon even termes have slaine their private enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combustion they have not often done it; so did our Noble-men and Gentlemen in former ages, in all important injuries, fueunto the King, to approve themselves by battell and publique combat. For as they dared not to brave the Law; fo did they difdaine to submit themselves unto the shamefull revenge thereof; the same revenge (because it detesteth murder) that it hath declared against a common Cut-purse or other Theeves:

Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for fuch offenders: Yet is not the manflayer freed by his pardon. For these two remedies hath the party grieved notwithstanding; that is, to require justice by Grand Assize, or by battell, upon his appeale, which (faith Sir Thomas Smith) is not denyed; and he further faith (for I use his owne words) Sir Thomas That if the Defendant (to wit, the man-flayer) be convinced either by great Affize or by Comwealth Battell, upon that appeale; the man-flayer shall dye notwitstanding the Princes pardon. of England. So favourable (faith the fame learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the law of our Realme, to justice and to the punishment of bloud violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our Noble-men and Gentlemen shall be repaired in honour, where an e-10 nemy, taking the start either in words or blowes, shall lay on them an infamy unsufferable . I fay, that a Marshals Court will easily give satisfaction in both. And if we hold it no disgrace to submit our selves for the recovery of our Debts, Goods, and Lands, and for all things else by which the lives of our selves, our wives, and children are sustained, to the Judges of the Law; because it may be felony to take by violence even that which is our owne: why should we not submit our selves unto the Judges of honour in cases of honour; because to recover our reputation by strong hand, may be murder? But yet againe, it may be objected, That the loffe of honour ought to be much more fearefull unto us, than either the loffe of our goods, of our lands, or of our lives; and I fay force But what is this honour, I meane honour indeed, and that which ought to be so deare 20 unto us, other than a kinde of history, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficulty or danger, and undertaken for the publike good ? In these, he that is imployed and trufted, if he faile in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other base affection; it is true that he loseth his honour. But the acting of a private combat, for a private respect, and most commonly a frivolous one, is not an action of vertue, because it is contrary to the Law of God, and of all Christian Kings: neither is it difficult, because even and equall in persons and armes: Neither for a publike good, but tending to the contrary; because the losse or mutilation of an able man, is also a losse to the Common-weale.

Now that a Marshall of England hath power to fave every mans fame and reputation, 30 as farre as reputation may fustaine injury by words, I thinke no man doubteth. For to repent us of any evill words that wee have given, and to confesse that we have done him wrong, unto whom we have given them, is a fufficient fatisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than sufficient. For he that gives ill words in choler, and suddenly denies them, or repents himselfe of them upon advisement, hath the disadvantage in point of reputation. Concerning blowes, which are indeed not to be given but to those that are servile, whether sufficient recompence will be made for them, it shall appeare by a notable example of a most worthy Gentleman Monsier de Plessis, that was stricken in France not long fince by a Baron of the fame Nation. The fatisfaction which was given him by a judgement of the Constable and Marshals of France, was this. In the open o Court, wherein the Constable gave judgement, M.de Plessis was set in a chaire under the degrees where the Constable and Marshals sate : the Baron, who had given him the blow, did kneele before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a fword with the point towards himfelfe, and in his left hand the like cudgel or baftinado, wherewith he had stricken M. de Plessis; both which weapons he delivered into Plessis hands, submitting himselfe to such revenge, as it should please him to take with either of those weapons; the Constable and Marshalls having formerly left it to the will of Plessis, to use his owne discretion in the revenge of his own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reason to please himselfe, as one beforehand in point of honour, (who struck M. de Plesse like a Ruffian comming behind him, and having the advantage of company, and his o horses ready, shifted himselse away on the sudden; but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himselfe in this shamefull manner:) or whether Monsier de Plessis (of whose valour no man doubted) had not farre juster cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure have beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgave him: let any wise man Judge. To this, if it be faid, That the Baron was constrained to make his submission, that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntary; and therefore no difgrace unto him. I answer, that one may say as well, that it is no difference to a Theese, when he is brought to the Gallowes, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is

no disgrace in respect of a force, but in respect of the fact: which (but for our fins to God) makes all repenrance shamefull; because all forced repenrance is insticted upon us for somewhat unworthy of a Gentleman, and of an honest man. Nay, voluntary repentance it selfe, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the searc of the ill that may befall us, or out of the acknowledgement of our own weaknesse. Certainly, as wise men, and valiant men do rather deride petty injuries or fudden injuries, that are not offered from malice fore-thought, than revenge them: fo men, apt to quarrell, do commonly suspect their own valour; and rather defire, that thereby the world should believe them to be of great daring, than know any fuch resolution in themselves. For he that knowes himselfe indeed to be an honest man, scornes to hunt after opinion.

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Now the fame power which the Constable and Marshals of France have, hath also a Marshall of England, or his Deputies; by whose judgement, in all disputes of honour, every mans reputation may be preferred; we may therefore as well submit our selves to the Judge of honour in all diffutes of honour, as we do fubmit our felves in all controverfies of livelihood and life, to the Judges of the Law. And, our of doubt, the institution of this Court of Chevalrie in England, in France, and elsewhere; was no lesse charitable than politike. For the bloud of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth bony bees, as that of Bulls doth, which sting but the fingers or the face : but it produceth that monstrous beast, Revenge, which hath stung to death, and eaten up, of severall Nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatning the wrath of 20 God upon supreme Governours, than the permission.

His Majesty therefore (which Henry the fourth of France also endeavoured) hath done a most Kingly and Christian-like deed in Scotland, which the most renowned of all his Predeceffors could never doe: in beating downe and extinguishing that hereditary profecution of malice, called the deadly fend; a conquest, which shall give him the honour of Prudence and Kingly power for evermore. And we have cause to hope, that his royall care shall be no lesse happy in preventing the like mischiefe, which threatens England, by

the audacious, common, and brave, yet outragious vanity of Duellifts. Unto this that I have spoken of lying, and of man-slaughter, it must be eadded, That each of these are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproofe and vengeance proportiona- 30 bly, more or lesse, in their severall degrees. There is much difference betweene Lies of necessity upon breach of promise; or complementall lyes; and such pernicious lyes, as proceed from feare and cowardize, or are uttered by false witnesses: the former fortbeing excusable by weaknesse or levitie; the latter being altogether detestable. No lese, if not more, difference there is, betweene killing of a man in open field, with even weapons; & that killing, which the Scriptures call killing by guile, dolo or per infidias; though our Lawes doe not much diftinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaking his owne priviledge, commandeth that the guilefull murderer be drawn by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is every guilefull murder performed by the fword, nor by evert violence: but there is a guilefull murder also, by poysoning ; and by 40 the pen, or by practice. For fuch diffinction is found, betweene comming prefumptuoutly upon a man, to flay him with guile; and lying in wait for bloud, privily, for the innocent, without a cause, upon hope of spoile, after such manner as the net is spread before the eyes of the birds . Frances the first, Queene Mary of England, and the Kings Majesty now reighing, have given notable testimony of their justice, upon three Noble men, who committed guilefull murder. Of the first kinde, King Francis upon the Lord of Talard: who being (faith the French Historian) de haute & uncienne lignee, & supporté de plusieurs grandes alliances; who being of high and ancient linage, and supported by divers great alliances, of which the Cardinall of Bellay (in especiall favour with the King) was one, was notwithstanding delivered over into the hands of the Hangman. Queen Mary, 50 upon a noble man of her owne Religion, and in many other respects very deare unto her. His Majesty, upon a Baron of Scotland; whose house was no lesse ancient and faithfull, than himselfe valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poylon, and of purulhment following such wicked Artisans, every age hath had too many examples. Of killing guilefully by the pen (that I may not speake of any Englifb Judge) the Author of the French Recherches gives unto us two notable infrances:

the one of des Elbury, who (faith Pasquier) fit mourir Montaign grand Maistre de France,

pour contenter l'opinion de celuy dont il estoit lors idolastre ; & Dien permit que depuis

il fut pendu & estrangle; who caused Montaigu great Master of France to die to content his mind (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) whom at that time Eshars worshipped as his Idol: but God permitted, that he himselfe was soone after hanged and strangled. The other was of the Great Francis the first upon his Chancellor Foyer: who to satisfie the Kings passion. practifed the destruction of the Admirall Chabor; a man most nobly descended, and of great fervice. For as in other men, so in Kings, the passion of love growes old, and weares out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admirall, he charged him with some offences which he had formerly committed. The Admirall, presuming upon the great good fervice which he had done the King in Piemont, and in the defence of Marfeilles against the Emperour, gave the King other language than became him; and defired nothing fo much, as a publike trial! Hereupon the King (it being eafie to provoke an ill disposition) gave commission to the Chancellor, as President, and other Judges, upon an information of the Kings advocate, to question the Admirals life. The Chancellor, an ambitious man, and of a large conscience, (which is not rare in men towards the Law) hoping highly to content the King; wrought with fome of the Judges with fo great cunning; with others, with fo sharpethreats; and with the rest, with so fair promises; as albeit nothing could be proved against the Admiral, worthy of the Kings displeasure, ver the Chancellor subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his Estate, Offices. and Liberty; though not able to prevaile against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward(the king hating falfhood in fo great a magistrate) other than his own degradation. arraignment, and condemnation? Belle leçon certes (faith Pasquier) à tout Juge pur demeurer toussours en soy, & ne lasser fluttuer sa conscience dedans les vagues d'une imaginare faveur, qui pour fin de jeu le submerge ; A faire lesson to all Judges, to dwell alwayes in themselves, and not to suffer their consciences to float upon the waves of imaginarie favour, which in the end overwhelmes them. And as for the Admirallsthough it might have bin answered unto his friends, if any bewailed his calamitie as undeferved, That he was trved according to his owne defire, by the Lawes of his Country, and by the Judges of Parliament; yet the Kings justice, surmounting all other his passions, gave back unto him his Honour, his Offices, his Liberty, and his Estate.

t. III.

The last Ads of Scipio in Spain. His return to Rome, where he is chosen Consul.

He last businesse that troubled Scipio in Spain, grew by the rebellion of the people, and muriny of his fouldiers. He fell dangerously fick, in such fort, that the rumor of his death ran current throughout Spain. This encouraged Mandonius and Indibilis, petty kings, that had for faken the Carthaginians, & followed Scipio a while beforesto take arms against the Romans. They were vainly perswaded, that after the Carthaginians were driven out, they themselves should become the might iest in all Spain. But feeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatnesse of their hopes; they thought it best, to take the present advantage, and hammer out their owne fortunes. So they rashly fell upon the Suessetani and Sedetani, Confederates of the Romans; and wafled their Country. Part of the Roman Army lying at Sucro, in flead of making head against these Rebels, grew to be affected with the like distemper. They had not reaped such profit of the Roman conquests, as might fatisfie their desires; or as they thought easie to be gotten, if they might be their owne Carvers. Wherefore, when the death of Scipio was reported, they thought, that the time ferved very well, to enrich themselves with the spoyle of the Country. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greatelt of all, driving away their Colonels, that should have bridled their furie; they chose out of their owne number two base fellowes, Albin Calenn, and Airin umber, to their Commanders. These tooke upon them all the Ensignes of Proconsuls, or Propretors; as if this their election had been like to that, wherein Lucius Martin was chosen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two Scipio's. But whileft they were deviling what exploits they might doe, for the enriching of themselves, in a time of such combustion as yvas expected; there arrived more certain newes, that Scipio vvas both alive, and ingood health. There came also new Colonels, sent unto them from their Generall: vvho mildly rebuking their vyant of confideration, and feeming to be glad that they had no further

Exod.21.

Exod.21.14.

Lib.s.c.18.6 cap. 11.

over-shot themselves; led them to Carthagena, there to receive their pay. Before their comming, Scipio had refolved to doe exemplary justice on the principal offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in fear of what they had deferved. Therefore he caused Syllanus to make ready the Companies which lay before in the Town, as it were to make an Expedition against Mandonius and Indibilis: he caused Albius and Airius with some thirty other of their Complices, to be fecretly apprehended in their lodgings; he called the Mutiners to affembly; and having them unarmed as they were, encircled round by Syllanus and his companies, prepared for the purpose; he bitterly inveighed against them all as Traitors. This done, Albim and Airim, with the other prisoners, were haled to the an as 1 rattors. 1 ins doile, 24.6. and beheaded, as was the Roman cuftome toward fuch of-fake; where they were whipt and beheaded, as was the Roman cuftome toward fuch offenders. The rest of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thousand, were caused to take their oath of obedience anew; and received every man his pay when he was fworn.

Mandonius and Indibilis continued in arms; notwith standing that they had certain word of Scipio his life and health. Well they could have bin contented to be quiet: but by the feverity used to the Roman Souldiers, they stood in fear, as being Spaniards, and greater offenders, of harder measure. Scipio went against them, and found them in a Valley, that was scarce large enough to hold all their Army. In the entrance thereof he fought with them: and fending Lalius with all his horse to fetch a compasse about the hils, and charge them in rear, he overthrew them. Indibilis and Mandonius had after this, no hope remaining to preferve themselves and their estates, otherwise than by making submission. Mandonius therefore came to Scipio: and humbly craving pardon, both for himself and for his brother Indibilis, obtained his request; yet so, that they were taught to acknowledge

themselves lesse free Princes, than formerly they had been.

Afterwards Scipio went toward Gades: and was met on the way by Masanissa; who secretly promifed to do him all service, if the people of Rome would fend him to make war in Africk. Unto Mago that lay in Gades, came directions from Carihage, that letting all care of Spaine alone, he should thence depart with his fleet into Italy; and there wagean Army of Gaules and Ligurians, to joyn with Hannibal. For this purpose, was mony sent unto him from Caribage; and he himfelf laid hold upon all that he could find in the town of Gades; without sparing either private men, the common treasury, or the Temples. In 30 his voyage thence, he landed at Carthagena; hoping to have taken it by surprise. But he failed in the attempt; and was so beaten to his ships, that he returned back to repose himfelse a while at Gades. The Gaditanes, offended with the robberies and spoyle that he had made at his taking leave of them, would not fuffer him again to enter into their City. By this he foresaw, that it would not be long ere they became Roman. Wherefore sending Meffengers into the Town, to complain of this uncourteous dealing, he allured their Magiftrates forth unto him; whom, notwithstanding all the excuse that they could make, he whipt and crucified. This done, he followed his former intended voyage; bidding Spain

The Isle and City of Gades, was yeelded to the Romans, presently after the departure 40 of Mago. Then did Scipio deliver up the Province, to those that were sent from Rome to fucceed him therein: and him felf with ten ships returned home. At his comming to Rome, he made fuit for the honour of a triumph. But it was denied him: for that it had as yet bin granted unto no Proconful, excepting to fuch, as received that dignitie after a Confulfhip, as it were by prorogation. But, to make amends for this repulse, the election of new Confuls being then in hand, by generall voice of the citie P. Cornelius Scipio was chosen Conful; and P. Licinius Crassus joyned with him. This Crassus, being high Priest, or Bishop of the Romans, might not, by the custome of those times, go far from the Citie; as being to intend the matters of their superstition : though Cafar, and others, who in ages following held the same office, were staied by no such religious impediment, from being far & long 5 absent. Hereby it came to passe, that Scipio, desiring to have the war transferred into Africk, was in no danger to lose that honorable charge, by any mischance of lot, in the divifion of Provinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of employment fo far off.

§. XVIII.

Scipio obtaines leave to make war in Africk. His preparations. Of Masatissa who was joyned with Scipio. The victories against Asdrubal and Syphax.

Dub. Cornelius Scipio, and P. Licinius Craffus, entring into their Confulship, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that Scipio should be allowed, to bestow part of the mony which he had brought out of Spaine into the rreasurie; upon the setting forth of solemn plaies, that he had vowed to make, whilest he was bufied in his Spanish wars. This helped well to revive the memory of his victories already gotten; and to give hope unto the People of greater victories in the war, which he in ended to make in Africk. To the same purpose, did the Spanello Embassages availe much in the Senate; especially that of the Saguntines: who magnified his actions highly and deservedly; faying, That they were the most happy of all their countriemen, since they being present, had seen him chosen Conful, and should carry home such joy full news. The Saguntine Embaffadors were lovingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to Rome (though costly it were both to them and to the Romans) had well deserved. Nevertheless, when Scipio proposed, that Africk might be decreed unto him for his Province, there wanted not many even of the principal men, that vehemently gain-faid him. Of these was o 2. Fabius Maximus the chiefe: who feems to have bin troubled with that difeafe, which too often causeth men, renowned for long approved vertue, to look asquint upon the actions of those, that follow them in the same kind. He alledged many reasons against the purpose of the Conful: whereof the chiefe were, That the treasurie was unable to sustain the charges of a war in Africk; and that it was extremely perillous to hazzard fo great forces, where they could not at pleasure be recalled unto the defence of Rome it selfe, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein Italy stood, not only of Hannibal, but of Mago his brother, that was arming the Liqurians: as also concerning the honour of the Conful; which would (he said) be greater in setting Italy free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harm to Afrack. Neither did he forboth to elevate the Spanish wars, as of lesse moment than the intended voyage against archage, nor withall to lay great blame upon Scipio, for having suffered Afdrubal to pass and Italy: shewing, that it was greatly to be feared, lest the like might happen again; and that a new Army, notwithstanding the good successe of Scapio, (if it hapned to be good) mightbe sent from Carthage, to the utter endangering of Rome, whilest the Roman forces were employed abroad. But the main point which he urged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, Africk to be that yeer a Province: which the Conful neverthelesse propounded in such wife, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. Scipio on the other fide, infifted upon this one point; That it was better to make an offensive, than a defensive war: especially against such as the Carthaginians, who being il provided of able men at home, did furnish themselves, by help of mony, withlevies made abroad. As for the care of Italy, he doubted not, but P. Licenius is Colleague would be as well able to difcharge it now, as others had done in times of ereater danger. So promifing to draw *Hannibal* into Africk, for defence of his own home; and taxing as civilly as he could, the envie of Fabius, which with stood such a gallant enternife, he proposed the matter again to the Senate. Much altercation there was about the maner of his proceeding: for a finuch as it was noised abroad, that if he could not bring the renate to his mind, he would carry it by the people. This offended many of the Ancients: who refented in this honourable man, a little spice of that arrogancie, which in following ages grew to be much hotter, in those that had commanded long abroad. But in conclusi-On, Scipio referred himselfe wholly to the Senates good will and pleasure; whereby he Obtained thus much, That the Ile of Sicil might be appointed unto him for his Province; with leave to passe over into Africk, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the Roman Senate have little care to furnish out Scipio to the war, by him intended upon Africk. Herewithall it fell Out, that Mago, comming on the sudden from the Baleares to Genua, and winning the Town, bred a feare of no leffe terrible invafion upon Italy, than that which Afdrub al had lately made. He could not indeed raise any great Army of the Ligurians: for that hee ^{to}und them diftracted with civill warres. Therefore he was driven to make choyfe of his partie; and to helpe those whom he thought fittest for his turne, against the others. This troublesome businesse, though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly have spared: yet it got him reputation by his victories; and made the unsteady Gauls ready to enter into his pay .Hereupon the dispersed Legions of the Romans, that under Proconsuls, and Prætors, lay ready to be employed where need should require; were dire-Eted unto the borders of Lombardie and Liguria, there to make head against Mago. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. For a seet either comming to his aide from Carthage, or by him fent thither (the report is uncertaine) loaden with the booty that he had taken, fell into the hands of the Roman Prætor, that governed in Sardinia. This did much disable him: and though after a while, there came letters from Carthage, together with 10 ftore of mony, heartning him in his proceedings; yet fome impediments which he found, and that fatall voyage of Scipio into Africke disturbed all; and made him be re-called

Against Hannibal was nothing done this yeere. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the Koman Historians have bin pleased to take notice. Onely it is said, that he fpent the Summer by the Temple of Juno Lacinia, where he raifed an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, graven in Punike and Greeke letters. Such accompt of winnings past, is commonly in Gamesters that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of remission and carelesnesses, in those that are upon the losing hand, a cause both of the fame for the present, and shortly after of dejection, when they finde a notable change. A 20 great pestilence, insesting both the Carthaginian and the Roman Campe, is said to have been the occasion of this yeeres idlenesse; which fell out not much amisse for the Citie of Rome, that was marvellously impoverished by this warre; and had already tried the utmost way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieve the present necessitie, it was well thought upon, that a great part of Campania (not many yeeres since confiscated) should be sold, or let out: in which bargaine, that the Citie might receive no losse, the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward, unto the detectors of lands

Of this, or other money, none was given to Scipio. Neither was he allowed to make presse of Souldiers for his African voyage; neither did he over-much labour to obtaine 30 it. That which the Senate refused, the people did for him: or rather they did it for themfelves; that were therein wifer than the Senate. It is usually found in Councels of estate, that the busie, or obstinate heads of a few, doe carry all the rest. And many times men make a furrender of their owne judgements, to the wisedome that hath gotten it selse a

name, by giving happy direction introubles forepast. Therefore, he that reposeth himfelfe upon the advice of many, shall often find himselfe deceived: the counsell of those many being wholly directed by the Empire of a few, that over-fway the reft. 2. Fabius was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his warie nature forted well with the bufinesse, that fell out in the chiefe of his employment. Unto him therefore 2. Fulviu adhered, with other of the Senators, that were growne old in following one course; from which 40 they could not shift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well advise, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needfull resolution of Scipio: in such sort, that besides his Roman forces, he had from divers parts of Italy about seven thousand Voluntaries. He had also provision from the severall Townes: Corne, Iron, Canvas for failes, Axes, Beed-hookes, Hand-mils, and the like im-

plements; Firre for building of ships, many thousands of Targets, Helmets, and Speares of all kindes : every place furnishing him with that commoditie, which it best could af-

Unto this willingnesse of the People, the diligence of Scipio was correspondent. In the compasse of five and forty dayes, he had both fell'd his Timber, built, and lanched 50 twentie Trireme, and ten Quinquereme Gallies; wherewith he transported his Army into Sicil. In Sicil he found, besides other forces, two Legions, that had served at Canna: which were old Souldiers, and (as he himselfe well knew) not guilty of the overthrows for which they had long under-gone a heavie censure. They had served under Marcellus and Levinus, at the taking of many Cities and strong pieces: in which regard, they were like to be of good use to him in Africk, where would be store of such employment. For increasing the number of his horse, he pressed three hundred Sicilians, all wealthy young men, and fuch as loved well their ease. These heasterward discharged from the Warre, highly

highly to their contentment: but with condition, that they should deliver their Horse and Arms, to as many Roman Gentlemen, which he brought over with him for the purpose. Whilest he was providing to have things in a readinesse for Africk, the banished Locrians that followed the Roman fide, made him acquainted with an intelligence, whereby they hoped to recover their City . Some handicraftf-men, that wrought for the Carthaginians in one of the Citadels of Locri, (for there were two in the Towne) being taken prisoners by the Romans, promised to betray the place, if they might be ransomed and rewarded. Scipio being advertised of this, gave order to have the attempt made by night: which happily succeeded; and that Citadel was surprised. The other Citadel was strongly defento ded by the Carthaginian Garrison, which fent to Hannibal for aide. The Romans in like fort fearing lest their owne paticitie should make them too weake for Hannibal, craved helpe of the Conful Scipio. The Towns men were doubtfully affected but the best, and most of them inclining to the Romans, kept Hannibal out, whom the comming of Scipib caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the Carihaginian Garrison to abandon the other Citadell. Many outrages were committed by the Roman Souldiers, that were left by Scipio in custodie of the Towne. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the Locrians unto the Roman Senate: not onely against those of the Garrison: but much more against Pleminius the Captaine, who gave bad example, and was worse than all the reft. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other villanies, the Temple of Pro-10 ferpina, that had a great fame of fanctitie, was spoyled by these barbarous Theeves. The Locrians therefore advised the Senate to make present amends to the goddesse for this facriledge: faying, that the like had never been committed, without notorious revenge by her taken upon the Authors. The Senate gave good eare to this complaint, comforted the Locrians, and redreffed the injuries done unto them; fent for Pleminius, with other principall offenders, whom they cast into prison, and used according to their deferts: as also they restored unto Proserpina her mony twice told. But old 2. Fabius was not herewithall contented. He laid much of the blame upon Scipio, that had placed fuch a man in Locri; and had not carefully hearkened to the complaints made against him. but suffered him to runne on in these his wicked courses. By the sharpe invective that 30 Fabim made, others tooke courage to speake what they pleased, as well against the demeanour of Scipio, as against the diffolutenesse of his Armie; which lay, as they said, idle in Sicil, neither mindefull of any service toward, nor fit for it is need should require. Finally, things were so far urged, that ten Legates were sent over into Sicil, together with the Prætor appointed for that Iland; two of the Tribunes, and one of the Ædiles; who should examine these matters; and either cause the Generall to returne into Italy, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all was, they found him fo well prepared against Caribage, as that they hastned him on his journey, and gave him high commendations at their returne.

Scipio had already employed Lalim in Africk; rather to make discovery, than to work any other greateffect of war. He took a great bootie: and strucke no little terrour into the Carthagimans; who saw their affaires to be upon terms of change. But the greatest fruit of his journy was, That speaking with Masanissa, he well informed himselfe of the state of Africk; and knew what was to be expected of those two Kings, that had promised to

joyne with the Romans at their landing.

Concerning Masanissa his revolt from the Carthaginians, and his compact made under-hand with the Romans, Livie doth professe, That there was no such evident cause Livilba thereof at the present; but that the long continance of his faith and constancie, in following times, must helpe to prove, that this his change, was not without fome good cause. But Appianus (an Historian far inferiour to Livie, both in Worth and Time) gives 50 one reason so probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessary truth. Onely the doubt is, How it could any way come to passe, that the knowledge of such a matter should have escaped the diligence of Livie, if it had been true: unlesse we should beleeve, that he wilfully forbare to rehearse a Tragedie; the forrow whereof would cause men to thinke amisse of Scipio. Howsoever it was, thus * Appian tels it: and many circumstances of things done, confirme it. Afdris- * Appian. Alexan. bal, the some of Gefco, had a faire daughter, whom both King Syphax and Masanissa lo de Bell Punic. ved. Masanisa, being brought up at Caribage, and being withall a goodly Gentleman of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by Asarabal to beehis sonne-in-law. When

Liv.ib.29.

When the virgin was betrothed unto him, he went into Spaine, and there did great service. But afterwards, the Caribaginian Senate thought the marriage of Afdrubals daughter to be a matter of State: and bestowed her upon Syphax, without standing to acquaint her father or Masanissa therewithall. This they did, for that Syphax was the more mighty Prince; and for that the indignity of the repulse, had made him become their enemy. Hereof Masanissa was advertised; and forthwith entred into intelligence with Scipio, secretly as he thought, yet not so secretly, but some notice was taken of it: which would have cost him his life, had he not with great circumspection conveigned himselfe home into his fathers Kingdome. Thus far forth we may beleeve Appianus: all the narration wellcohering with things past, and following. Onely it seemes, that how soever Sopho- 10 nisba, the daughter of Afdrubal, was promised by the Carthaginians unto Syphax: yet fince this their courtesie proceeded from fear, he thought it wildome to continue and increase the same their seare, by making faire promises to the Romans, untill Astrubalhad Sent for his daughter from Carihage, and the marriage was consummated. In other matters concerning the war it felfe, wherein Appian differs much from Livie, and from Polybina, whom (as appears by the broken pieces of his works remaining) Livie did follow; it will be no offence to take little heed unto his reports.

The fifth Booke of the first part

Masanisa was the sonne of Gala, a King of the Numidians: whose father dying, the Crown descended, by order of the Country, unto Defalces the brother, not unto Mafanessa the sonne. But this Uncle of Masanssa shortly dyed : and his elder sonne, who took 20 possession of the kingdome, was vanquished, and slaine in battell by a Rebel, that mode himselse Protector over the younger which was a child. The Traitor fortified himselse against Masanisa, whose returns he feared, by Alliances with the Carthaginians and syphax. But all would not serve: He and his Pupill, were dispossessed of their Estates by Masanisa; that was a skilfull Warriour, and well beloved for the memorie of his father Gala. The Carthaginians in reason would have been glad, that Masanisa, who had done them notable service, was thus confirmed in his Estate; had they not been guiltie of the injurie by them done unto him; whilest his Uncle or Cousin reigned, and he seemed unlikely to stand them in any stead. But syphax, by their procurement, and perhaps by his own malice, towards his Corrival, warred upon him; and over-charging him with num-39 bers, drave him out of his Kingdome. Nevertheleffe Mafanifa still retained the hearts of his people; and thereby remained strong enough, to infest both syphax and the Caribaginians; though he was often put in distresse, by great forces that were sent against him. He therefore keeping much about the leffer Syrris, between the borders of the Caribaginians and the Nation of the Garamans, expected the comming of the Romans: yet fo, as he made long roades over all the Country, even as far as to Hippo; and when Lalim arrived thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to hasten on Scipio to the invasion of Africk.

But Syphax, in whose great aide and succour was reposed more hope of good successe, than could be expected from the good will of poore Mafaniffa, fent an Embaffage into 40 Sicil about the same time, which was little pleasing unto Scipio. He excused himselfe of his promife lately made : and fignified his alliance with the Carthaginians ; adding, That he could not choose but fight for the defence of Africk, wherein he was borne and reigned; and for the defence of his beloved wives Country, if it were invaded. Nevertheleffe he promised to remain a Neuter, so long as the Romans and Carthaginians held war abroad, far enough from Africk, as hitherto they had done. This message hastened Scipio in his expedicion, much more than any perswasion could have done. For the promifed affiftance of Syphax had not a little advanced his enterprife; in procuring both the affent of the Senate, and the forwardnesse of many Adventurers. Lest therefore the failing of this hope, should worke too great a change in common opinion, Hee thought it 50 the best way, to prevent all discourse, and set the warre undertaken immediately on foot. The Embassadours he dismissed in haste, with letters to their King: wherein hee willed him to confider, that what hee had promised, hee had also sworne; and therefore should doe well to make it good. Having sent them away, Hee called his Souldiers together; and bade them make ready for the voyage, which hee intended no longer to deferre. For, said be, Masanisa hath been with Lelius: and Syphax hath newly sent to mee; greatly wondering upon what I should thus stay; and saying, That they will provide for themselves, if I faile their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine

tale prevented all further inquisition, that might else have been made concerning the message of these Embassadors: whose followers had been seene walking up and downe syracuse. And less any thing should afterwards breake out that might hinder the businesse, Scipio immediately sent about his sleet unto Lilybaum: and requesting by letters MiPomponius, that was Prætor in Sicil, to meet him there; hasted thither with his Army. At Lilybaum he agreed with the Prætor, about the division of the Legions between them; which to leave behinde for desence of the Iland; and which to carry with him information of the straight of the services of the straight of

This Roman Army landed in Africk, neere to a fore-land then called the faire Promontorie: which how farre it was from Carthage, or toward what point of the Compaffe, I cannot precisely affirme; because it is uncertaine, whether it were that Cape or Headland which bore the name of Mercurie, and lay to the North-east of Carihage; or whether that of Apollo, which lay Northerly from Carthage, and by West. The comming of Masanissa unto Scipio at his first arrivall, helpes to confirme the opinion of Xylander: who thinks the faire Promontorie to have been the fame, that was also called Mercuries Cape, fince with little difficulty Masanisia might come thither from the lefter Syris, whereabout was his common abiding. But forafmuch as without any memorable impediment foon after his arrivall Scipio encamped before Wica, that flood Westward from Carthage beyond the River Bagradas: it may rather seeme, that hee landed within the Promontorie of Apollo; whence the way to utica was not long. This is also strongly proyed; for that out of Carthage were fent, the next day, five hundred horse to trouble him in his dif-embarking. Neither was it fo hard for Mafaniffa, that roved about the Countrie with a troupe of horse, to finde out the Romans, though they landed farre from the place to the which he usually reforted, like as before hee had met with Laliusat Hippe that was farther off; as it would have been for Scipio, with his Armie and Carriages, to overcome the trouble of a long journey, and fetch a great compasse to utica, by Land; when he might have dif-embarqued neerer unto it. Nevertheleffe it may passe as a conjecture, That Scipio came first of all to Emporia, a plentifull Region about the leffer Syris; fince he gave charge to the Masters of his ships, at the setting forth from Lilybann, to shape their course for that coast. The Countrey thereabout was very rich, and fit for fustenance of an Army: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well provided to make refistance. Thus much perhaps Masanisa had signified unto Lalius, when he spake with o him at Hippo: thinking that the Romans, howfoever they made brave promifes, would not come strong enough to fight at head. But when he saw their Fleet and Army to bee fuch, as not onely ferved to invade the lands of Carthage, but threatned a conquest of the City and whole Estate: then might be better advise them to set saile for utica, and make War upon the Enemies at their owne doores.

The Carthaginians had atthattime neither any Captaine of great worth at home, nor better Army than of raw Souldiers; that were levied, or to be levied in hafte. Afarnbal the fon of Gefeo, the same that had lately been chased out of Spaine by Scipio, was their bestman of war. And good enough perhaps he was thought by Hanne and his fellowes, of whose faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobility, otogether with the affinity of King Syphax, made him paffeable. He was then with the King his fon-in-law, working him no doubt against the Romans: when letters were brought from Carthage, both to Syphax and to him, informing them of the Invafion: entreating the one of them to give affiftance, and commanding the other to make his re-Paire unto the Citie, where he was chosen Generall. But ere these could be ready, Scipio hadbeaten the troupe of Carthaginian horse, that were fent out of the Citie to disturbe his landing; and flaine Hanno a young Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and facked a Towne of the Carthaginians: wherein, befides other booty, hee tookeeight thousand prisoners; all which he conveighed aboord his Hulks or Ships of burden Hhhhh

CHAP.3.S.18.

burden, and fent them backe loaden into Sicil. He tooke likewise a Towne called Salera, which he held and fortified. In Salera lay another Hanno, with fourethousand Numidian horse: whose service being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled places, made Scapio to perceive the unskilfulnesse of their Leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he fent Masanissa before him: who rode up to the gates; and, by making a bravado, trained out the improvident Hanno fo farre, that he drew him unto a place, where the Romans lay in wait for him. The victorie was eafily gotten, and Hanno either taken, or flaine. With those that fled, the Romans entred pell-mell into the towne, which presently they made their owne. Thence went Scipio to Mica, a City of great importance, of which mention harh beene formerly made, and fate downe before it. Forty dayes he spent about it, affailing it both by Land and Sea, and using all his engines of battery, whereof he had plenty, yet was in no likelihood of prevailing. And now the Summer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to choose a place, and fortifie his Winter-Campe, which must be well stored against the yeere following. Whilest thus necessity urged him to leave trica; and shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprise, rather than any hope of better successe, caused him to stay there: Astrabal and Syphax gave him the honour of a faire pretence to leave the fiege. Aftrubal had made a Levie of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse: yet adventured not with this ill-trained Army to draw neere unto the Romans, before the comming of Syphan. Syphan brought with him unto Carthage fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: which 20 joyning unto the forces of Afarubal, they marched bravely toward Scipio; who thereby tooke occasion to dislodge. He chose for his Winter-Campe the banks of an Inlet, that had good harbour for his Navie. His foot-men he lodged on a Promontorie, joyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horse-men he bestowed upon lower ground, on the other shoare: in the bottome of the Creek he mored his ships; and there he quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged unto the Fleet. The whole campe he strongly fortified, and so attended the season of the yeere, when it should serve him agains to fight. Of cattell and other bootie Masanissa had brought in great store, by driving the Countrey, before the comming of Afdrubal and Syphax. Corne also he had gotten fome: and great store was sent him from Sicil and Sardinia. Likewise apparell for his 30 Souldiers, was fent from home, or from Sardinia: though fearce enough to ferve turne, for that it was a matter of more cost. The ships that brought these things, he fraighted homewards with fuch part of his bootie, as he could best spare; especially with captives to be fold for flaves. Afdrubal and Syphan encamped neere unto Scipio: not fo flrongly fortifying themselves, as did the Romans, either for that they wanted the severe institution, which the Komans used in the discipline of warre, or for that they presumed upon their multitude, against which they found in Scipio no disposition to issue foorth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter passed without action.

When Spring drew neere, Scipio thought it good to affay his old friend the Numidian King, if perhaps he might be wonne by perswasions to forsake the Carihagmians. 40 It was confidered, that those Barbarians were naturally unconstant; and particularly, that Syphax had given proofe before this of his much levitie. It might therefore bee hoped, That having wearied himselse, by lodging a whole Winter in the Campe : and being peradventure no lesse weary with fatiety of his wife, who had caused him to enter into this warre : he might be moved with a little entreatie to withdraw himfelfe home into his Kingdome, and reft a Neuter. But it is not unlikely, that fuch a friend as this King, had beene highly entertained and honoured in the City of Carthage, which was neere at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had beene invited, to make a step thither and repose himselfe a while : his wife Queene sophonishalying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. Howsoever it were, 59-50 phax did onely make an overture of peace: propounding it as reasonable, That Hannibal should by recalled out of Italy by the Carthaginians: and that the Romans in like fort should quietly depart out of Africke, and so make an end of the warre: wherewith now both Africke and Europe were disquieted. Unto this would not Scipio at the first give eare: yet being pressed earnestly by many messages from Syphax, and desiring to continue the inter-course of Embassadors, he began to make shew, as if he would consider of the motion. He was given to understand by those whom he had sent unto the King, That the Enemies had their campes without any great defence of earth, full of woodden Cab-

bins, and covered with boughs: and that the Numidians, fuch of them as came first with Syphax, used coverings of Mattes and Reeds; others, that came later, had thatched their lodgings with drie boughes and leaves : under which they lay carelefly without their Trenches. Upon this advertisement he bethought himselfe, That it would not be hard for him to fet their campes on fire, and thereby give them a notable overthrow. Without helpe of some such firatageme, hee fore- faw that it would be a worke of great difficulty for him, to proceed in his warres when time should serve. It was a plaine open Countrey wherein he lay : and the Enemies had great advantage of him in number, especially in horse; which, upon such ground, could not be resisted by the Roman Legions. The longer therefore that he thought upon the matter; the more needfull he found it for himselfe, to make some sudden attempt upon their Campe. To this end hee sent many Embaffadours, under pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeed of purpose to discover all that might concerne the intended surprise. With these Embassadours he sent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers, disguised like slaves; that wandering (as it were) idle up and downe the Campe, might observe the wayes and entrances, with whatfoever else was needfull. When he had learned as much as he defired: upon the fudden he fent word to Syphax, that it was vaine to hold any longer Treatie, for a funch as he could not get the consent of his Councell of warre; without whose approbation, all that himselfe could doe, was no more, than the good will of one man. This hedid, to the end that, without any breach of faith, he might put his defigne in execution. The Truce being thus cut off, Afdrubal and Syphax were very penfive; as having lately perswaded themselves, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better they began to devise, by what art they might draw Scapio out of his Campe, and provoke him to battaile in those Plaines. This if they could doe, they hoped to make his Councell of war repent as greatly the refufall of peace, as did Marcus Atilius after the like prefumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his Trenches, what else remained than to besiege him ? which they themselves were well able to do by land; and the Carthaginian fleet should doe by Sea, that was making ready for the purpose. By fuch discourses these two comforted themselves; recompencing (in conceipt) the losse of their hopes past, with that of victorie to come. But herein they were extreamly and worthily disappointed: for that consulting about the future, they provided not against present danger, but continued in the same negligence, which was growne upon them by the long discourse of peace. As for Scipio, he was not idle; but made preparation out of hand, as it were to doe somewhat against wice. Two thousand Souldiers he had made ready, and appointed to take the same peece of ground, whereon he lay against unca before. This he did, partly to keep secret that which he had in hand, lest being suspected by his owne Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to have notice of its partly to hinder those of utica from setting upon the few, that he purposed to leave behinde him in his Campe. He caused his men that night to sup well, and betimes; that they to might bee ready for the journey. After supper, he appointed such Companies as he thought fit, to the defence of his Campe; all the rest of the army he led forth, about nine of the clocke at night. The Carihaginians lay from him seaven miles and an halfe: whom he purposed to undertake himselfe with the one halfe of his army; the other halfe he committed to Lalius and Masanissa, whom he sent before him to set upon the campe of Syphax, that was father off. It was his meaning, that the campe of Syphax should be on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the Carihag mians. For the fire might feemeno have taken hold by casualty upon the Numidians, that lay faither off whereas if it first appeared in the campe of Afdrubal; it would be suspected as the doing of enemies; and give Syphax warning to looke to himself. To this end therefore Scipio marched faire and 50 fofily; that Lalius & Mafaniffa, who had a longer journey; and were to fetch a compaffe about for feare of being discovered, might have time to get before him, and do their fear. It was about two or three of the clocke in the morning, when the campe of syphase began to blaze: which not onely the Numidians, but their King himselfe, imputed unto calualty ; as thinking themselves fafe enough from enemies, for that the Carthag mians lay interposed betweene them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, fome, flarting halfcaffeepe; and others, that had fitten up late at drinking, ranne out of their Cabbins to grench the fire. But fo great was the tumult, that they neither could rightly understand in what case they were, nor give any remedie to the mischance, as it Hhhhhh 2

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was supposed. Many were smothered and burnt in the slame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for feare of the sudden mischiefe, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that escaped the fire, fell upon the enemies fword, which was ready to receive them. Especially Masanissa, that best knew the Countrie, did great execution upon them; having laid all the waies, by which hee foresaw that they would seeke to escape. The Caribaginians perceiving this fire. thought none other than that it was a pittifull mischance : so that some ranne out to helpe the poore Numidians; carrying onely what would ferve to quench the fire. Others ranne up to the Rampart: where , fearelesse of any danger towards themselves. they flood beholding the greatnesse of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as Scigio would have it. He therefore loft no time: but fetting upon those that were running towards the Numidians, he killed forme, and pursued the rest back into their campe, which in a little while he made to burne as bright, as did that of Syphax. Asdrubalsceing this, and knowing that the Romans were there, did not stand to make refiftance, but shifted onely for himselfe, and escaped with a few of his horse about him. If Hannibal, or any of the Barchine faction, had been taken in fuch a manner: it is more than probable, that old Hanno would have judged him worthy to be crucified. It would then have beene faid, that with leffe than one halfe of thirty thousand men, hee might at least have given some bad recompence, to them that were taking pains in kindling these fires, had he not beene only carefull how to fave his owne fear efull head. Nevertheleffe 20 Polybius acknowledgeth, and it is most likely to have beene true, That if Astrubal, or any of those about him, would have striven to shew valour, when the Campe was once on fire: He should not thereby have done any manner of good, because of the tumult and consternation. I shall not need to tell what a fearefull thing it was, to heare the cries of so many thousands that perished by fire and sword, or to behold the cruell flame that confumed them; which (as Polybius affirmes) none that bath beeing is able to describe. It is enough to say, That of those many thousands very few did escape; which accompanied Afdrubal and Syphax in their feverall wayes of flight. Befides thefe also there were some scatterers, especially of the Numidians, that saved themselves in the darke: but they were not many , as after shall appeare. Surely it must needes have beene yery hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwise made away, and what numbers escaped in the darke of night. Wherefore Livie, who in the rest of this Relation, as often elsewhere, doth follow Polybius, may seem to have followed some lesse worthy Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in casting up the summe. For hee reckons onely two thousand foot, and five hundred horse, to have escaped; forty thousand to have perished by sword or fire; and above fixe thousand to have bin taken prisoners: the whole number of all which together, is farre short of fourescore and thirteene thousand, which were in these two Campes...

Afarubal, putting himself into the next town that was very strongly fortified, thought there to finde the Romans worke, untill the Carthaginians at good leisure might repaire their Army. He had with him no more than two thousand foot, and five hundred horse: which hee thought sufficient to defend the Towne; if the Townes-men would not be wanting to themselves. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earnest in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yeeld. Unto this disputation, he well foresaw that the arrivall of Scipio would soone give anend. Wherefore, less they should lay hold upon him, and seeke the Victors savour by delivering him up; he shrunke away betimes; and made all haste to Carthage. As for the towne: which he lest; it opened the gates to Scipio, at his sirst comming: and thereby preserved it selfe from all manner of losse. The two next Towness adjoying would needs be valiant; and make countenance of war: but their strength not being answerable, they were soone taken by Scipio; who so abandoned them to the pleasure of his Souldiers. This being done; he returned to the steep of strice of strices.

The Carthaginians were fore troubled, as they had good reason, when, in stead of either Peace or Victory, which they lately hoped for they heard newes of such a lamentable overthrow. Necessity enforced them to make hastic provision for the surre: but how to doe it, sew of them saw any meanes. Some gave advice to crave peace of Scipio others, to send for Hannihal out of Italy; but the most, and they which finally prevailed, were of opinion. That notwithstanding the loss of this Army, they might went

defend themselves against the Romans, by raising new forces: especially, if Syrbax would not leave them. It was therefore concluded, That they should bend all their care this way, lewying in all hafte another Army; and fending Embaffadours to deale with Syphax, who lay then at a Towne called Abba, not paffing eight miles from Carthage. Immediately the same their unfortunate Commander, Asarabal the some of Gesco, was employed to make new levies of men and Queene Sophonicha went forth with Embaffadours to her busband Syphax; who having garhered together as many as hee could of his subjects that had escaped from the lare flaughter, was thinking to returne into his owne Kingdorne. Sophonisha laboured fo with her husband, that at length the wonne him to her owne defire. And it fell out at the fame time, that foure thousand Spaniards, waged by the Caribaginians, were brought over to serve in Africke. Of these were made fuch brave reports, as if their courage, and the armes which they used, were not to bee refifted. Even the multitude within Carthage beleeved these tales, and were more glad than they had cause to be; which is great wonder, fince in one Age, the whole country of spaine had been twice conquered, first, by the Carthaginians themselves, and after by the Romans. But with Syphan shefe tales prevailed much: which the Carthaginian Embaffadors helped with a lye , faying , That there were come ten thousand of these terrible Spaniards. Upon this confidence, the people of Currhage and their friends gathered fuch fpirit, that in thirty dates they made up an Army confifting wel-neere of thirty thousand men, reckoning the Spaniards, and Syphan with his Numidians in the number. So they incamped in a Region called , The Great Fields, about five dayes journey from utica. Scipio hearing of this, came from utica thither, to visit them; leaving behinde him his impediments, with some part of his Army, to make a shew of continuing the fiege. Two or three daies, after the meeting of both armies, passed away in skirmish. without any great thing done. It had now been time for, Afdrubal to follow the example of the Roman Fabrus, and feeke to weary out the Enemy by delayes. But either (which is likely) he was a farre worse Commander, or else, it was not in his power to give fuch directions as best pleased himselfe. The fourth day the Armies met in bartaile: wherein the Romans were marshalled by Scipio after their wonted manner, having their Italian horse in the right wing; and Masanisa with his Numidians in the left. On the contrary fide, Afdrubal and his Carthaginians had the right wing; Syphax, the left: and the Spaniards, the battaile. The victory was gotten without many blowes: for the untrained followers of Syphax and Afdrubal, could not sustaine the first charge of the Italians, or of Mafanilla. Only the Spaniards fought a long time, even untill they were all in a manner flaine: rather as men desperate, and not hoping for mercy, fince they were thus come over to fight against Scipio, who had otherwise deserved of them. than upon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obstinacie was beneficiall to those that fled, for that it hindred the Romans from making any great pursuit. Hereby Afdrubal, and Syphax escaped: Asdrubal, to Carthage; and Syphax home to his owne Kingdome: whether his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

Scippo, having thus gotten the maftery of the field tooke counfaile about the profecution of the warre. It was resolved upon as the best course, That he himselfe, with part of the Army, should attempt the Cities round about him: and that Masanisia, with his Numidians, and Lalius, with some of the Roman Legions, should followe after Syphax; not permitting him to take rest within his owne Kingdome, where easily else he might repaire his forces, and put them to new trouble. This advice, it seemes that Masanissa gave: who knew best the quality of the Numidians; and what good might bee done among them, by the reputation of a victory. The least that could be expected, was his reflitution into his own Kingdom, usurped by Syphax: which to accomplish, it no lesse concerned the Romans at the present, than it did himselfe. According to this order concluded . Lalius was fent away with Masanissa: and Scipio stayed behinde, carrying the warre from towne to towne. Many places yeelded for feare; many were taken by force; and all the subjects of Carthage wavered in their fidelity, as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of those unreasonable burdens, which their proud Mafers had laid upon them for maintenance of the warre in Spaine and Italy. What to doe in this case the Carthaginians could hardly resolve. Fortune was their Enemy; they had loft their Armies, and many of their Townes: neither durst they make bold to trouble their owne fubjects with any violent exaction of men or money; who nevertheleffe of Hhhhhh 3

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Fleet, and some, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embarque themselves for Italy. In this their trepidation Scipio come to Tunes, a City in those dayes very strong, 20 and standing in prospect almost of every part of Carsbage. This place, or rather some defencible piece adjoyning, he eafily tooke; the garrison for faking it, and running away as soone as he drew neere. But whilest he was about there to incampe, and fortifichimselse against the City, he might perceive the Carthaginian Fleet setting forth, and making towards wica: What this meant, he readily conceived; and stood in great feare, lest his own ships, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heavily loden with engines of battery, & wholly disposed in such order; as was most convenient for assaulting the towne) should make bad refistance, against a fleet appointed for that special service. Wherefore he hasted away towards usica, to affish with his presence in this needfull case. It fell out well, that he had sent his carriages, and all the great booty which he 30 drew along with him, thither before, at his going to Tunes. For had not he now made great expedition, he should have come too late. Neither could he indeed have been there in due time, if the Carthaginians had used such diligence as was convenient. But they rested one night in harbour by the way and at their comming to Misca, they tarried awhile to make a bravado; presenting themselves in order of battell, as if the Romans would have put forth to Sea against them. But Scipio had no such intent : hee thought it would be sufficient, if he could preserve his Gallies. As for the pleasure of their braverie at Sea; it should little availe the Carthaginians, if they got nothing by it, and lost their whole estate by Land. Wherefore he tooke his ships of burden, and fastning them together with cables, in foure ranks, one behinde another, made a foure-fold bridge over the Channel of the Haven; whereon he placed a thousand of his choice men, with store of Darts, and other casting weapons, to make defence. Some open spaces he left, whereat his Frigots, and other small Vessels, might run out and backe againe upon any advantage or need: but these he covered with planckes, using the masts and yards of his ships in stead of rafters, to joyne all together, that his men might helpe one another, and the bridge it selfe not be torne asunder. Scarce was this worke finished, when the Caribaginians, feeing none iffue forth against them, came into the Haven. The fight betweene them and the Romans that were in the Hulks, was rather like to the affaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that stood upon the bridge, had sure footing, and threw their weapons downwards, with their whole strength and violence; which the Cartha-50 ginians out of their Gallies, that were lower and uniteady, could not do. But the Roman Frigots & long boats, adventuring forth from behind the bridge, were greatly over-born by the force of the Gallies; and were one occasion of that small losse which followed. They that flood upon the Bridge were neither able to relieve them, nor yet could freely bestow their weapons among the Carthaginians, as before; for feare of hurting these their friends, that were intangled and mixed among the enemies. The Carthaginians had brought with them grappling hooks, hanging at Iron chaines. These they threw upon the masts and yards which served as arches to joyne the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all afunder; in fuch fort, that one ship followed another, & all the firstranke was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to save themselves as hastily as they could, by shifting into the next ranke of ships, that lay behinde them untouched. Neither did the Carthaginians trouble themselves any further in this laborious worke: but having haled away sixe ships of burden, and towed them out of the Haven, returned home to Carthage. Their wel-come was greater than their victory: because among so many grievous losses, onely this exploit had succeeded well, though it were of small importance.

though it were of small importance. Whilest things thus passed about Caribage, Lalius and Masanisa, in their journed to against Syphax, found as good successe as could be defired. The same of the victories already gotten, restored Masanisa to his Kingdome, without farther contention: the Ma-Cafili, his fubjects, joyfully receiving him, & forfaking the ulurpers. But here they staved not : neither indeed would Syphax permit them to be quiet. Hee had such abundance of menand horses, that he felt not greatly the losses past: and therefore being solicited by Aldrubal and Sophonisha, hee prepared agains for warre. But beside the instigation of his beloved wife ; the loffe of the Mafefili would let him take no reft : neither was it the purpose of Laliza and Masanisa, to give him any breathing time. It is common in men. to depart no leffe unwillingly from that which they have gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance; but to thinke all alike their owne, whereof they are in possession, bee the title unto some part never so unjust. Hercunto alludes the fable of the young Kite; which thought that she had vomitted up her owne gurs, when it was onely the garbage of some other fowle, that she had hastily swallowed, and was not able to digeft. But whether or no, Syphax, like the young Kite, beleeved the Kingdome of the Mafafili to be part of his entrailes: Lalim and Mafaniffa will shortly give him somewhat that shall make him cast his gorge. For to this purpose chiefly are they come fo farre. It concerned the Romans to dispossesse (if it might be) that King, whose false and hollow friendship towards them, had beene converted into strong enmity; as alfo to fet in his place another, who might do them fuch good offices, as Syphax had lately done unto the Caribaginians. How eafily this might be effected, Masanisa knew best. 30 as being well acquainted with the nature of those Countries, wherein even to this day though there be many strong Towns, yet the fortune of a battaile is enough, to translate the Kingdome from one Competitor to another. So they met with Syphax, who came against them with no lesse an Armie, than his former, and marshalled in the Roman or der, according to the skill, which he had learned of the Roman Centurion; long agoe fent unto him out of Spaine from Cn. Scipio. But though he could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight couragiously. They were a rabble of all forts, gathered up in hafte : and few of them had feene warre before. Encamping necre unto the Romans, it fell out, as commonly, that fome small troupes of horse on both fides, encountred one another in the mid-way : and they that had the worst, were 40 feconded by other of their fellowes. By continuance of the skirmish, more and more were drawne out from either Campe: fo that at length Syphax, unwilling to dichearten his men by taking any foile at their first meeting with the Enemy, came up with all his horse, which were the best part of his forces, and therewith over-charged Masanilla, whose numbers were farre leffe. But whilest he was profecuting his hope of victory: some Roman squadrons of Foot came against him through their own Troupes of horse; which fell to the fides, and made a lane for them. So their bartaile standing now more firme, than a little before; Syphax was unable, though he laboured much in vaine, to make them give ground. Mafanissa likewise, and his Troupes grew confident upon this affiftance and charging afresh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, caused him to give backe. Herewithall the Legions came in fight : which terrefied fo the Numidian horse, that they beganne presently to dis-band. Faine would siphax have stayed them from flight : and to that end made head in person against the Romans; with hope. that his men would be ashamed to leave him. But it fell out unhappily, that hee was cast from his horse, which received a wound, and so taken prisoner. Of others that were flaine or taken, the multitude was not great. It fufficed, that they for fooke the place. and fled, and that their King, upon whom all depended, was in the Romans hand. Mafanifatold Lalius, that this victory should made an end of the Numidian war, if presently they halted away to Cirta the chiefe Ciry of the Kingdome; whither he himselfe desired

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tobe fent before with the Horse, carrying Syphax along with him. Hereunto Lulium agreed. Masaniff a comming to Cirta, before any news of the Kings mischance was there arrived, called out the chiefe of the City to parlee: wherein by many faire promifes and threats, but especially by shewing unto them Syphax bound, he prevailed so farre, that the gates were forthwith opened unto him; and every one strove to get his favour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the rest, Queen Sophonisha yeelded her selfe into his hands, and vehemently befought him, that the might not be delivered up unto the Romans. Her youth, and excellent beauty, so commended her fuite, that Masanilla forthwith granted it; & to make good his promise, married her himselfe that very day: thereby to prevent Lalius and Scipio from determining otherwise of ber, since she was 10 his wife. But Lelius, when he came thither, tooke the matter hainoufly, fo that at first he would have haled her away, together with Syphax and other prisoners, and have fent her unto Scipio. But being over-intreated by Mafanifa, he suffered the matter to rest a while as he found it, and referred all to Scipio's discretion: to whom he sent away syphax and other captives immediately; following shortly after himselfe with Masanifa, when they had done what was needfull in the Kingdome.

At the comming of Syphax, there was great joy in the Roman Campe : the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the field; and his entertainment of Scipio and Aftarubal, both at one time, when Rome and Carthage together fought his friendship; with fisch other commemoration of his past and present forume; ministring to every 20 one a large argument of discourse. Scipio demanded of him, what had moved him, not onely to forfake the Roman friendship, but to make warre upon them, unprovoked. He briefly answered, That his wife had moved him so to doe; calling her a Fury, and a nefilent creature and faying, that Mafanifa was no wifer than hunfelfe, fince hee had now taken the same woman to his wife, who would shortly draw him to the same courfes, Hereat Scipio was greatly troubled; and stood in great doubt, lest this perillous woman should deprive him of Majanissa, as the had done of Syphan. It was not long, ere Majaniff a and Lalius came unto him : both of whom together he lovingly welcommed; and highly commended in publique, for their notable fervice in this Expedition. Then taking Masanissa apart, he brake with him, as touching Sophonisha: letting him understand, that the Romans had title to her head, and that she was a mischievous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he increated him to moderate his affoctions: and not to deface the memory of his great services already done (for which hee should bee highly rewarded to his owne contentment) by committing a great offence upon little reason. Masanila blusher, and wept; and finally promised to be governed by Scipio, whom he nevertheleffe intreated, to thinke upon his faith given to Sophonisha, that the should not bee delivered into the Romans power. So he departed to his owne Tent, where, after some time Spent in agony, he called unto him a servant of his that had the custody of his poylon (which Princes used then to have in a readinesse, against all mischances that might make them unwilling to live:) and tempering a potion for Saphonisha, fent it unto her with this message; That gladly he would have had her to live with him as his wife: but fince they who had power to hinder him of his defire, would not yeeld thereto, he fent her a cup, that should preserve her from falling alive into the hands of the Romans; willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to take order for her selfe.

At the receit of this Message and Present, shee onely said; That if her husband had no better token to fend unto his new wife, she must accept of this; adding, That she might have dyed more honourably, if the had not wedded to lately before her funerall. And herewithall the boldly dranke off the poison. Thus Livie reporteth. But Appian varies from this; and fets it downe agreably to that which hath beene spoken before, concerning the precontract betweene Mafanissa and Sophonisha. He faith, That after 50 the taking of Syphax, Embassadours from Cirta met with Lalius and Masanisa upon their way thither, yeelding up their City, and the Kings Palace: and that Sophoniba, for her owne private, sent messengers to excuse her marriage with Syphax, as made against her will, by compulsion of those in whose power she was. Masanisa readily admitted this excuse; and accepted her to wife. But when Scipio had received information from Syphax, how cunning in perswafion Sophonisha was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of Carthage; he fell out about her with Masanisa at his returne, and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the Romans. Masanisa said, she,

was his owne wife, and unto him betrothed many yeeres before. But Scipio would not heare of this or if it were true, yet he faid it was no reason, that Masanilla should keepe her in possession, as long as it was disputable, unto whom she might appertaine. Wherefore he willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claime unto her, wherein he should have no wrong. Herewithall he sent to fetch her away: and Malanilla accompanied the messengers, as it were to deliver her: but making her acquainted with the necessity, gave unto her a cup of poison, where with she ended her life, before they came that should have apprehended her. So he shewed unto the Romans her dead body, which he royally interred. The fudden violence of Masanissa his love. and the ready confent of Sophonisha to marry with him: adde not fo much credit unto this relation of Appian, as doth the want of all other evident cause (which Livie notes) Lib. 28. of the fudden falling out betweene him and the Carthaginians, under whom he had bin trained up, and done them great service. How soever it were; Scipio, hearing of this tragicall accident, fent for Masanissa, and comforted him as well as he could, lest his melancholy should leade him to some inconvenience. Having therefore gently rebuked him for his rafhnesse, he brought him forth in presence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had deserved of the City of Rome, he proclaimed him King, and gave unto him a Crowne of gold, with other Royall ornaments. This was indeed the ready way to divert his thoughts from the fad remembrance of that which was past, unto the more cheerefull contemplation of good fortune, that began to fmile upon him.

This was the first time that the Romans took upon them to create or proclaim a King. Which honour though Masanissa well deserved: yet would not the Title have redounded unto his great benefit; neither should he have beene much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their meanes recovered possession of his Country, together with the greatest part of Syphax his Dominions. It seemeth not unlikely, that had he remained a Neuter in these warres, and sustained himselfe with his troupe of horse, in such fort as he did before the comming of the Romans; he might reverthelesse have recovered his proper inheritance by the love of his owne fubjects without other helpe, when Syphane had once or twice beene vanquished. As for the inlargement of his Kingdome, it was not more than he deserved: neither were the Romans then in case, to make a conquest of Numidia for themselves; neither could they have wished a fitter opportunity, than of fuch a man, upon whom to beffow it, that was their affured friend, and paffable withall among the Numidians, as being (for the Masasyli were a Numidian Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberality of the Romans, was noised abroad as very glorious; and the Romans themselves, in a politicke fort of gravity, tooke highly upon them; as if even their faluting him by the name of King, had beene a matter of great confeduence. He thrived indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, incroaching upon his neighbours on all fides; but most of all upon the State of Carthage, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grew that Vermina the fon of Syphax (of whom we shall shortly speake more) which held some piece of his fathers Kingdome, defiring friendship of the Romans, and promiting by all meanes to deferve their love requested therewithall that they would call him King. But though it were so, that never any before him had made this a matter of fuit : yet the Roman Senate was puntilious herein, and answered very gravely, That it was not their custome to give Livillette the honour of that appellation, fave onely unto fuch Kings, as had greatly deferved of their City. Thus they made it a matter of State; and in processe of time grew so proud of this their imaginary prerogative, that they imputed as a fingular benefit unto Kings, that noway depended upon them, the falutation by * that name, though it were not accom- cogas commo panied with any ofter favour or profit thence redounding.

lib.I.

6. XIX. The Caribaginians defire Truce, and breake it.

He Carthaginians were extremely difmayed, when they heard of the great cal lamity, that was befallie their good friend syphax, and understood that Malanissa their mortall enemy, had got possession of his Kingdome. To increase their feare, Scipio returned agains to Tunes in view of their City: where he made an end of that Fortification, which he had begun at his last being there. The Caribagia

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nians had neither forces, nor courage, to withstand him: but their hearts so failed them, that they fent forthuntothem thirty Embaffadors, Princes of the city, which were their Privie Councell, to make suite for peace. These being admitted into the presence of scipio, did not onely profrate themselves on the ground; but kissed the * feet of him, and

The fift Booke of the first part

* Excerpt. è Po of those that sate in Councell with him. lyb.lib.15. Liv.lib.30.

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed themselves to have unjustly broken the Peace between them and Rome; and to have deferved whatfoever punishment it should please the Romans to inslict upon them. Yet they humbly befought Scipio and the rest, that in common regard of those misfortunes. whereto all men are subject, they would shew mercy unto the City of Carthage, and let 10 it remaine, as a monument of their clemency; which, by the folly of her Citizens, had now twice deserved to be overthrown, Herewithall they did not forget, to lay the blame upon Hannibal: who without their appointment had begunne the Warre; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole Citie. By this it appeares, that these Embassadours were no Barchines: but rather, that they were Hanno, and the choice of his company; who had now their long defired worke in hand, of suing unto the Romans for peace. Whatsoever they were, it must needs be that they were most insolent men over those that were subject unto their power, for they would not have made fuch adoration to the Romans in their owne necessity unlesse they themfelves had expected the like, where they had the advantage.

It was not unknowne to Scipio, or to his affiftants, in what poore cafe the city of Rome 20 then was; and how unable to defray the charges of continuing the warre. Neither were the Carihaginians, notwithstanding the losse of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the Romans themselves had very lately beene. For they had money enough, wherewithto wage more men: they had a Citie farre stronger than Rome; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the Roman resolution: and therefore distrusted the walls of Carthage; though Utica, a weaker Citie, had all this while held out against Scipio, and could not yet be forced by him and his Army, though so often victorious in the field. Scipio therefore accepted their submission, and told them, That though hee came into Africke, to make a conquest, and not a Peace: yet having the Conquest as it were in his hand, he 30 would not deny to grant them the Peace which they defired; for thereby should all Nations understand, that the people of Kome did follow the rule of Justice, both in making warre, and in concluding it. The Conditions which he imposed upon them, were these; That they should render up unto him all the prisoners that they had taken, together with all Renegadoes and fugitive flaves: That they should withdraw their Armies out of Italy and Gaule: That they should not meddle in Spaine, nor yet in any Hand betweene Italy and Africk: That they should deliver up all their shippes of warre, save twenty; and that they should pay a great summe of money, with certaine hundred thousand bushels of wheat and barley. To confider of these Articles, he gave them three dayes: and when they had approved them, he granted a Truce; that they might fend Embaffadours unto 40 the Roman Senate.

This done, Masanissa was dismissed, and went home into his Kingdome, as if the war had beene already at an end. Syphax was a little before fent with Lælius unto Rome: where the fame of these victories filled men with joy, and gave hope, that the long endured miseries would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were set open; and an holy day appointed for thankefgiving and supplication to their gods. Lelius was accompanied with Embaffadors from King Masanisa: who gratulating the happy fuccesse of the Romans in their African warre, and giving thankes unto the Senate for the benefits done by Scipio unto their Master, made request for the Numidians, such as were now his subjects and prisoners in Rome, that they might be bestowed upon him, who by 50 rendring them to liberty, should doe an activery plausible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reigne. The Roman Senate were not behinde with Masaniffa in complement: but shewing themselves to be highly pleased with all that Scipio had done, and should do for him, they called him King againe; released his Numidians that were captives; and fent him two purple Caffocks, that had each of them one gold button, with fuch other presents, as in time of their poverty might serve to te-Stiffe their good will. Scarcely were these and Lalius gone from Rome, when the newes came, that Embassadors from Carthage were arrived to desire peace. These Embassadors

were not admitted into the Citie, but were lodged without: untill Lælius being sent for, came backe from Oftia, to be prefent when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience given them in the Temple of Bellona; that stood in the Suburbs. The errand of these Embassadours, was peace, but the meaning of them and of their City, was onely to winne time, and get respite for warre; untill Hannibal and Mago should come out of Italy, either to chase the Romans out of Africk, or to obtaine peace for Carthage, by terrour of their great names and Armies, upon more easie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle discourse of the League, that was concluded betweene them and Lustains Carulus, at the end of the former warre. This League they faid, all things well confidered, did ftill remaine in force: neither had there fince beene any warre at all, betweene the people of Rome and the Carthaginians. For it was only Hannibal, that, without any leave from Carthage, had of his owne head befieged and razed the Towne of Saguntum: and after that adventured in like fort, without Commission, to passe the Alpes, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of Italy. This being fo, their Meffage was none other, than to defire, that the League before spoken of, made in the time of Catulus, might hereafter stand in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to doe. The Senators had cause to wonder at this tale, hearing these Embassadours make (as it were) a jeast of a warre, that had beene so terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many questions, concerning that peace made by Ludatius, and other paffages following betweene the two on Cities. But they excused themselves, by their age: (for they were all young men) and faid, That those things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but collusion, and that they fought no other than to gaine time, untill they might repaire the warre. Wherefore they were fent home in company of Lalim, without any conclusion at all of peace; and, in effect, without answer. This notwithstanding, we finde in Polybius, That the Senate receiving advertisement from Except, 2Polyb. Scipio, of that which had paffed betweene him and the Carthaginians in this Treatie of ub. 15. peace, approved the Conditions by him propounded, and gave him licence thereupon, to proceed unto conclusion. This may with good reason bee believed, since it was not unknowne, that if the warre continued, all these goodly hopes must rest upon the most uncertaine issue of one battell between Hannibal and Scipio: wherein if fortune should

be averse to them, their forces in Africke were no better than quite lost.

Matters thus hanging in fuspence, before the Carthaginian Embaffadours came backe from Rome, a Fleet out of Sicil, wherein were two hundred shippes of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for Africke, to victuall the Roman Campe, was over-taken by foule-weather at Sea, and hardly escaping wreck, was dispersed, and driven aground indivers parts of the Bay of Carthage, even in view, and under command of the Citie. There was at that time, as we finde in Appear, and may gather out of Polybeau, a great dearth of victualls in Carthage, which caused the people to cry out upon their Magistrates, that they should not let such a booty escape them, saying, that the danger of famine was greater and worse, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were so that hunger urged them, or that they yeelded to their owne greedy defires: the multitude in Carthage understood (as it seems) that all this discourse of Peace in hand, was no better than meere mockery, and therefore cared not for observation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in Carthage, as likewise in Alexandria, for Except. 2 Post. all the rascality, together with women and boyes, to be medling in uproares; the clamors 46.15. of the boyes being in such tumults no lesse violent than of the men. Wherefore it is no marvaile, if little regardwere had of reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. A Fleet was fent out under Asdrubal, to gather up the dispersed Roman shippes of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oares, recovered the station whereto their camp adjoyned) and bring them into Carihage; which was done. Scipio was hereat much offended : not onely for the loffe, and for that the Towne was thereby relieved; but for that by this breach of Truce, he fore-faw the intention of the Carthaginians to renew the warre, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he sent Embassadours unto them, both to require fatisfaction for the injury done; and to deterre them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had so much defired. These gave the Carthaginians to understand, That Letters were come from Rome unto Scipio, with allowance to conclude the Peace; upon those conditions which he had propounded. But (faid they) we hold it strange, That ye, who fo lately have cast your selves to the ground before us & kissed our feete,

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after an un-usuall manner of humility, confessing your selves to have persidiously broken the League that was betweene us, and thereby to have deferved such punishment as is due unto Rebels; should so soone forget what ye then uttered, and runne headlong againe into the same crimes, for which ye acknowledged your selves worthy to be destroyed, having only recourse unto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repose in Hannibal, that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amisse, that yee should consider, how long he hath bin pent up in a corner of Italy, among the Brutians; where he is in a manner befieged, and unable to stirre: so that yee are like to find his helpe wanting in your greatest need. Or let it be Supposed, that he were now in Africke, and ready to give in battaile: yet should it well agree with your wisedome, to doubt what might befall; remembring that he is a man, and not invincible. Now if it hould happen that he were overcome, what refuge have ye left unto your selves against hereafter? What gods will yee either sweare by , to be beleeved , or call upon in your misery? What words, and lamentable gesture will ye henceforth use, to move compassion? Surely yee have already wasted all your force of perswasion, and shall not againe deceive us, if ye refuse the grace, whereof at this present yee are capable. It is no marvell though the Carthaginians were angry, when they heard themselves upbraided with the base demeanour of their Embassadors. For it was not the generall opinion of the city, that the Truce was broken by themselves: though it had pleased Hanno, or such as were of his faction, to gratifie the Romans with all manner of submission; and to renounce not onely their hope of the future, but all justification of matters past. And indeed it seemes, that the Roman Embassadours were very much delighted, in the rehearfall of that point which was yeelded unto them, as knowing that thereon depended the justice of the quarrell. But the Caribaginians tooke this in so ill part, that hardly they could refraine from doing violence unto the men, who had used unto them such insolent speeches. Yet the fury of the multitude was in some fort appealed; either by Hanno, whom Appian, (I know not why) calles Hanno the Great: or by the very reverence, due unto the place of those that had uttered such liberall words. So they were dismissed in friendly fort, although it were without answer to their Proposition. There were also two gallies appointed for their fafe convoy home; though with little intent of good unto their persons. Asdrubal was then in the mid-way, as men failed from Carthage towards unca. 30 He, whether onely desirous to please the multitude, of whose disposition he was informed, or whether directed by publike order to cut off these Embassadours in their way homeward, lay waiting for them behinde a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the river Bagradas. Their Convoy having brought them on the way, as farre as to the mouth of Bagradus, wished them a good voyage; and so tooke leave of them, as if they had beene then in safety, since the Roman Camp was even in sight. The Embassadours tooke this in ill part; not as fearing any danger toward, but thinking themselves 100 much neglected, for affinuch as their attendants did so abruptly leave them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than Afdrubal fell upon them, in such manner, as they might well discerne his purpose; which was to have stemmed them. They rowed hard 40 therefore : and being in a Quinquereme, that had more bankes of Oares, than had any Gallie of Afdrubal, they slipt away, and made him over-shoot himselfe. Yet hee gave them chase, and had well-neere surprised them. But they discovered some Roman Companies on the shoare over against them, and therefore adventured to runne their Vessell aground: whereby they faved their owne lives, though a great part of their company were flaine, or hurt. This practice of the Carthaginians was inexcufable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartned in such a dishonorable attempt, by those that were defirous to continue the warre; that thereby they might be driven to studie nothing else, than how to get the victory, as having none other hope remayning. Yet likely it is, that the same feare, which had caused them to make such earnest suite for 50 peace, would also have caused them to be better advised, than thus to abandon all hope of Treatie; had they not beene given to understand, that Hannibal was already landed in Africk, in whom they repoled no small confidence; but verily persivaded themselves, that he would change their fortune, and teach the Romans to hold themselves conrented with more easie conditions, than were those that Scipes, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded. nga mininggan pangkanasa ang kalang pan

J. XX.
In what fort Hannibal frent the time after the battell of Metaurus. The doings of Mago in Italy. Hannibal and Mago called out of Italy. How the Romans were diverly affected by Hannibals departure.

Ver fince the loffe of that battell at Metaurus, Hannibal remained in the Country of the Brutians, waiting for another supply from Carthage. The Roman Confuls that succeded unto Claudius and Livius, by whom Afdrubal was overcome and flaine, were contented to be quiet all their yeare. Neither did Liemins the Colleague of Scipie, ought worthy of remembrance against Hannibal, being hindred by the pestilence that was in his Army. Sempronius the Conful, who followed Licinius; and Cn. Servilius Capio, who followed Sempronius, were earnefly bent to have done somewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitlesse. In some skirmishes with Hannibal, they had the better; in some the worse : and a few poore Townes they got from him; as it were by stealth; his care being more to preserve his Armie, than to keep those places that were weake.

The Romans had at this time for many great pieces of work in hand, that their chiefe enemy was become not the chief part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent upon Africk wherein they were at no small charges to maintaine the Army which (as was hoped) should bring the War to a short and happy conclusion. They stood neverthelesse in much feare of Mago, the brother of Hannibal: who took exceeding pains among the Lin gurians and Gaules to raise an Army, wherewith to kindle anew the War in Italy, that began to waxe cold. Mage folicited afforthe Hetrurians, and found them fo ready to ftirre in his behal fe, that if he could have entred their Country strong, it might have proved no leffe needfull for Scipio to returne home out of Africk, than fhortly it was for Hannibal to make speedunto the defence of Carthage. These dangers caused the Romans to imploy one of their Confuls or Proconfuls, with an Army, among the Hetrurians; another among the Gaules; and a third among the Ligurians: for a fruch as it was uncertain, upon to which fide Mago would break out. Being thus bufied, it is no wonder though they forbore

to overcharge Hannibal with any great power.

As for Mago, when things were in some readinesse for his setting forwards, he met in the Countrey of the Insurans, which is about Milan, with M. Cornelius the Roman Proconful, and P. Quintilius Varrus one of the Pretors. With these he fought a battell, where in though his vertue shewed it selfe worthy of his Father and Brethren; yet his fortune was Carthagim an. The fight continued along while doubtfull; in such fort that the Roman Commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore Quintilius the Pretor, taking unto him all the Roman Horse, thought to have shaken the Enemies to pieces. The Legions at the same time gave a loud shout: and strained themselves hard, as if at that brunt the victory should have been carried before them. But Mago opposed his Elephants to the Horse: the service of those beasts being fitter for such use, than against the Squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent, and braying of these Elephants did so affright the Horse, that they started aside, and were scattered over the field; their Riders being unable to manage them. Hereby the Numidians got advantage upon them: whose manner of fight was more availeable against those that were loose, than against the Troupes that were close and thick. Then fell the Elephants upon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a shoure of darts, and killed soure of them; causing all the rest to give back. This notwithstanding, the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemy; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make refistance, they held their ground. The Proconful therefore brought up those forces, which he had kept unto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these, Mago imployed some of his Gaules, whom he had in readinesse for the like occasion. But the Gaules discharged their parts very ill. They were some beaten off, and recoiled so hastily, that they brought feare upon all the rest. When Mago sawthat his men began to shrinke, He pur himselfe in the head of his Army; and held them so well toit, that keeping their order, they made a faire Retrait, with their faces toward the Enemie. But at length hee received a grievous wound in his thigh; whereof shortly after hee dyed. He was taken up, and carried out of danger by some of his owne Tiiii

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men: the rest of them, after little further resissance, provided every one for himselse: So the Romans obtained victory, not without great cost: as purchasing the death of about five thousand enemies, with the losse of two thousand and three hundred of the Pretors Army, besides those that dyed of the Proconsuls Legions; also besides divers Colonels. Captaines, and Gentlemen of marke, that fell in this hot piece of service. Neither were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seeme that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recovered some ground that might affure them from pursuit. However it were, this victory would have much imported for the affurance of Italy, if the State of Carthage could longer have permitted these valiant sonnes of Amilear to abide therein. But Mage with-drawing himselse (by easie journies, because of his wound) 10 into Liguria, found there Embassadors from Carthage attending him : who gave him to understand the pleasure of their City, which was, That both he and Hannibal should prefently repaire home with all their forces; not staying any longer to think upon the conquest of Italy, since Carthage it selfe was ready to be lost. He obeyed this Commandement, and imbarqued shortly his Army; but dyed of his wound about Sardinia, in the

About the same time Hannibal received the like command from Carthage, to returne into Africk. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the teares, that were ready to burst out, whilst the Embassadors were delivering their errand. When their message was done; He told them, That this was yet 20 plaine dealing. For, said He, They that now directly bid me come home, have long agoe done their best to bale me out of Italy; though more closely and crookedly they went to worke, by Ropping the supply that should have enabled me to mannage the Warre here. Scipio therefore Shallnot need to bragge, that hee bath drawne me home by the beeles : it is Hanno that bath wrought this noble feat; and overwhelmed the house of the Barchines, for lacke of other means to doe it, with the ruine of Carthage. He had before prepared a Fleet in readinesse, doubting that which after came to passe: wherein he imbarqued, besides his owne men, as many of the Italians as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were, that shrunke back from him, and refused to doe service in this expedition of whom, such as he could take, he flew; not sparing those that fled into the Temple of Juno Lacinia, which 39 had been held an inviolable Sanctuary unto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of Italy no lesse passionate, than men are wont to be, when they leave their owne Countries to go into exile. He looked back unto the shore: accusing both gods and men; and cursing his ownedulnesse, in that he had not led his Army from Canna, hot and bloudied as it was, directly unto the walls of Rome. With fuch vexation of spirit He quitted the possession of Italy : wherein hee had lived almost halfe his time.

If it could have been foretold unto the Romans, in the first beginning of this Warre, with what exceeding joy in times following they should entertaine the newes of Hannibalhis departure out of Italy: they would (I think) leffe earnestly have pressed the Car- 40 thaginians to fend him over thither. When fure advertisement was brought unto the Citie, that Hannibal was gone with all his Armie: an Holy-day was appointed for thanksgiving unto their gods; and extraordinary great sacrifices publikely made, for joy of fuch happy tidings. Yet old 2. Fabius was of opinion, That the danger did still remaine the fame, though the place were changed : for that Hannibal at his comming into Africk, would finde P. Scipio other manner of worke, than he had been troubled with at any time before; and would doe greater matters in his owne Country, than ever he was able to performe abroad in a land of strangers. The remove of the War from their owne doores, and the conceit of that victory for which they hoped; was enough to make them prefume further, than at other times they would have done. When therefore the Sagnn-50 tine Embassadors brought unto them a great masse of Gold and Silver, together with fome Agents of the Carthaginians taken by them in Spaine : onely the Carthaginian prifoners were accepted; the treasure was rendred back unto the Saguntines that had surprised it. Upon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those monies that had bin borrowed in time of more necessity from private men. Hence also proceeded the severe chastisement laid upon those 12. Colonies, that for want either of meanes or of good will, had refused to give aid to the Romans. They were commanded, and inforced to give double the number of Foot to that which they

had been wont to let out for the Wars, with a proportion of Horle answerable to the very most of their ability. So confident were the Romans grown (though their wealth were not as yet futable to the greatnesse of their spirit) upon the good sixcesse of the battell at Metaurus, and the hopes which they reposed in Scipio. All this notwithstanding when they confidered more nearely of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Army, whereof *Italy* had been few daies fince discharged, was landed fafe in — frick: they began to revolve a thousand fearfull matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, left 2. Fabius (who died about the fame time) would be found a true Prophet. For, bethinking themselves of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against Syphax and Afdrubal no specialty of such great worth, as might promife the like fuccesse against another manner of Generall, followed by other manner of men, than were either of those two. The Numidian King had been wont to bring into the field a rascall multitude of halfe scullions, that were good for nothing; being himselfe afit Captaine for fuch Souldiers. Likewife Afdrubalthe fon of Gesco, was a Commander well thought of by the Carthaginian Senate; but otherwise, one, that in the field was only good at faving himselfe by a swift retrait. But now there came an Army of men hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, fleshed many hundred times in Roman bloud, and wearing the spoyles, not only of good souldiers, but of brave Captaines, by them flaine. Such talke used the people of Rome, saying, That Scipio was like to meet win battell with many that had flaine Roman Pretors, yea, and Confuls with their owne hands; with many that had been first in getting over the Trenches of severall Roman Camps, or in winning the tops of wals at the fiege of Towns; briefly, that he should now be opposed by an Army, as good as ever had served in War, and following the dreadfull name of Hannibal.

6. X X I.

Hannibal in Africk prepares to fight with Scipio; treats with him about peace in vaine; lofeth a battell at Nadagara, and persivades the Carthaginians to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.

TAnnibal disembarqued his Army at Leptis, almost an hundred miles from Carthage, Eastward from the Headland of Mercurie, and somewhat more than one degree to the South. He was ill provided of Horse; which it was not easie for him to transport out of Italy. Therefore it behooved him to land, as he did, somewhat farre from the Enemy; that he might furnish himselfe of these and the like needfull helpes against the day of battell. From Leptis he passed on to Adrumetum, and so along through the In-land Country, gathering friends unto him by the way. Tychaus a Numidian Prince, and familiar friend of Syphax, was faid to have in those dayes the best Horo les of service, that were to be found in Africk. Him therefore did Hannibal allure unto his partie: making him understand, that if the Romans got the victory, it should be easie for Mafanissa, by their countenance and helpe to oppresse both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes as hindered his prospect. This argument, and the same of him that used it, prevailed with Tychaus ; who shortly after brought unto the Carthaginian two thousand Horse. Appian further addes, That MeZetullus, (the same who had made himselse Protector over Majanissa his Cousins; and was Head of a Family, and adverse to the Numidian Kings of that race) brought to Hannibal another thousand Horse: as likewise, that Verming the Son of Sypahx, holding a great part of his Fathers Kingdome, began at the same time to affaile the places that yeelded obedience to Masanissa. This Vermine, as we finde in Livie, came with more than 16. thouland men (for he lost more than so many) to succour Hannibal when it was too late.

The Carthaginians were at this time in fuch hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were ; that they could not attend the leifure of those preparations, which would have made the victory affured. When they confidered the worth of Hannibal, and the greatnesse of his Acts: it offended them to thinke, that they had beene sobase as to make humble suit unto the Romans for peace; whilest they had such a brave Championalive, to maintaine their cause by Warre. But when as they bethought themselves of their owne sufferings, which, for want of Roman magnanimity to endure

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them, appeared greater than indeed they were: then cried they out earnestly, that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles. either good or bad : and to this purpose they sent their Mandates to Hannibal : requiring him, without any further protraction, to doe what he could doe out of hand. Hannibal made answer, That they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Armie: but fince he was Generall of their forces, He thought it reasonable that they should suffer him to doe as a Generall ought to doe; and to choose his owne times. Neverthelesse, to give them satisfation, He made great marches to Zama; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce made by the Carthaginians: The violence done to his Embaf- 10 fadors: and the newes of Hannibal his being landed in Africk, made Scipio to understand the resolution of the Carthaginians, which was, not to yeeld unto any conditions unprofitable for themselves, as long as they were able to make refistance. Wherefore he sent unto Majanissa: and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other businesse apart. Ten Roman Companies, of Horse and Foot together, Mafamiffa had with him; that were lent unto him by Scipio, to doe him fervice in the establishing and inlarging of his Kingdome. But he well understood, that those and many more besides all his owne forces, would but little availe him; if Hannibal should drive the Romans out of Africk. Wherefore taking such order as he could upon the sudden, for the safety of his owne kingdome; with foure thousand Horse, and fixe thousand Foot, he made all hafte unto Scipio.

Sooneafter the beginning of these new troubles, the Carthaginian Embassadors that had been at Rome, returned back under the conduct of Lalius and Fulvius: who brought them fafe into the Roman Campe. There when they arrived, and understood what had lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaved themselves towards the Roman Embassadors: they made little doubt, how their owne heads should answer for such no-

torious outrage. To confirme them in this opinion:

M. Babius one of the late Embassadors that had bin in Carthage, being left by Scipioto take charge of the Camp, laid hands upon them and detained them; fending word unto his Generall, who was gone abroad to make Warre in the Country, that he had them in 30 his power, and that now the Carthaginians might be repaid in their owne Coyne, for the injurie by them lately done . Scipio was very glad to heare of this; and commanded Babias to use them with all possible courtesie, and send them safe home. By thus doing, He brake the hearts of his enemies; and caused them to acknowledge themselves (which was a great victory) far leffe honourable than the Romans. This notwithstanding, he made more cruell War upon them than before : taking their Townes by force; and putting them to facke, without hearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the Romans, as often as they took a Town by affault, to put all that came in their way to the fword, what sever they were, without regard. This they did, to make themselves terrible: and the betterto worke such impression in the mindes of those, with whom they had to doe, they used of-40 tentimes to kill the very Dogges and other Beafts, that ran athwart them in the streets; hewing their bodies afunder, as men delighted in shedding of bloud. This being their pra-Ctice at other times: it is likely that now they omitted no piece of cruelty; when they meant to give proofe of their vehement indignation, and revengefull minds, for the injuries received. Hence it partly grew, that the Carthaginians were so carnest in pressing Hannibal to fight.

Hannibal being incamped at Zama, sent forth his Scowts and Spies, to discover where the Romans lay, what they were doing, and as much a might be, of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, & brought unto Scipio: who in stead of trussing themup, gave them free leave to view his Campear pleasure, appointing one to conduct them up and 50 downe, and shew them whatsoever they defired. This done, Hee gave them leave to depart; and fent them away fafe unto their Generall. Hannibal understanding this, admired the bravery and courage of his enemy: with whom on the fudden he grew defirous to have an Enter-view, and personall conference, and fignified so much unto him by a mesfenger fent of purpole. Of this motion the Roman liked well: and returned answer, that Hee would meete him shortly in a place convenient. The next day Masanisa came with his Army : whom Scipio taking with him, removed unto a Towne called Nadagara; neare unto which he sate downe, in a place otherwise commodious, and close

by a water that might opportunely ferve his Campe. Thence he fent word unto the Carthaginian, That the time and place did fitly ferve, if he had ought to fay to him. Hannibal thereupon removed from Zama, and came within foure miles of the enemy: where he incamped well to his owne good liking in all things elfe; excepting that his men were driven to take much paines, in fetching their water fomewhat farre off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals each of them with a troupe of Horse, rode forth of their Campes, till they came unto a piece of ground; which was before well fearched for feare of ambush. There they will their followers to stand off: and themselves with each of them one Interpreter, encountred each other in the mid-way o betweene their Companies. They remained a while filent, viewing one the other with mutuall admiration. Then beganne the Carthaginian, faluting the Roman, to deliver his minde to this effect: That it had been better both for Carthage, and Rome, if they could have limited and contained their ambition within the shores of Africk and of Italy; for that the Countries of Sicil and of Spaine, about which their fathers and themselves had striven, were no sufficient recompence for so many Fleets as had been lost, and of fo much bloud as had been shedde, in making those costly purchases. But fince things past could not bee recalled: He said, That it was meet for them to consider, unto what extreme dangers their owne Cities had been exposed, by the greedy defire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was even time for them now at length, to make io an end of their obstinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wisedome hereaster. And to such peaceable disposition, Hee affirmed that his owne yeares, and long tryall of Fortune, both good and evill, had made him inclinable. But much he feared, that Scipio, by want of the like experience, might rather fixe his minde upon uncertaine hopes, than upon the contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affaires are subject. Tet (faid he) mine owne example may peradventure suffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that same Hannibal who after my vistorie at Canna won the createst part of Italie: and devised with my selfe, what I should doe with your City of Rome, which I hoped verily to have taken. Once I brought mine armie to your walls, as thou half since brought thine to ours of Carthage: but now, see the change! I stand here ontreating thee to grant us peace. This may ferve as a document of Fortunes instability. I have fought with thy father Scipio: He was the first of the Roman Generalls that ever met me in the field. I did then little think, that the time would come, that I (hould have such businesse, as now at the present, with his son. But this is even one of Fortunes pageants. whereof she hath many. And thou maist have experience of the like in thy selfe, who knows how soone. Thinke upon M. Atilius: If he would have hearkened unto such perswassions, as I now use to thee, he might have returned home to Rome an happy man, and so maist thou doe now if any reasonable offer will give thee satisfaction. How saift thou? Canst thou bee contented, that all Spaine, Sicil, Sardinia, and what foever Ilands else are situate between Italie and Africk be abandoned by the Corthaginians for ever, and left unto the Romans. to bear dominion therein? Thou shalt have glory enough by effecting thus much: and the Romanes may well be glad of such a bargaine. As for mour owne quiet shall henceforth give us contentment. And the same contentment of ours shall make us faithfully observe the peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too little, I must desire thee to ponder well how great an hazzard thou must undergoe for obtaining a very little more, than that which thou maift have without contention. It is now in thine owne power to lay hold upon good fortune, if it please thee: stay but untill to morrow night, and thou maist take such fortune as it please the gods. The issue of battaile is uncertain, and many times beguileth expectation. Men and steele we shall each of us bring into the field; but of the victory neither of us hath assurance. Let us therefore without more adoe make peace. And doe not tell mee that some false-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like treaty: It 18 I Hannibal that now defire peace with thee which I would never doe if I thought it not expedient for my country. And thinking it expedient. I will alwaies maintaine it like as I have maintained, unto my power, as long as the gods did not envie me, the war by me begun.

Hereunto Scipio made answer, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in Scicil and in Spaine which had moved the Romans to enter into this or the former Warre: but that the defence of the Mamertines, and afterwards of the Saguntines, their confederates, had caused them to put on those armes; which the gods by the finall issue of the Warres had approved, and would approve to bee most just. As for the mutability of Fortune,

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he faid, that hee was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of insolence or over-weening, he might well refuie the conditions offered. For was it not plaine that all these Countries, with which the Carthaginians now so willingly departed, were already won from the Romans ? If, said he, these conditions had bin propounded whilest as yet ye detained some part of Italy, they might peradventure not have bin rejected. But as the case no stands, I see no reason why I should remit unto you any one piece of these my former demands, to which the Carthaginians have yeelded already, and thought me to be gracious in dealing so moderately. Rather I say, that the injuries which they have done me since. have made them unworthy of obtaining peace upon so friendly termes. But I cannot blame thee, Hannibal, though thou wouldst be glad to make thy Citizens understand, from how 10 much of their burden they are by thy meanes eased. Onely thou must thinke that in like fort it concernes me in honour not to let them begainers or favers by the wrongs which they have done of late. Thou knowest well, that besides those offers which thou here hast made they were wel contented to restore unto us ransome-free, all prisoners that they have of ours to pay us five thou fand talents , to deliver up their gallies, and to deliver hoftages for affurance of faire dealing . And must they now be discharged of all this by their breach of truce, their spoiling of our fleet, and their violating our Embassadors? Not so. But if they can be contented, besides all this, to make such amends as I shall require, for these injuries newly donesthen will I take advice with my counsell what answer to give yousotherwise you may even prepare forwarre, and blame your own selves for that I have denied you peace. 20

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his owne Campe, with no other newes than warre ; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battell, wherein should be decided the quarrell betweene Rome and Carthage. The next morning at break of day they iffued into the field: a notable march, and fuch as hath very feldome been found; whether we regard the Generals, their Armies, the two Cities that contended, or the great importance of the battell at hand. Scipio ordered his men after the Roman manner: placing first the Hastari, divided into their Maniples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable distance between them: Not farre behind these followed the Principes, likewise divided; and so after them the Triarii. But herein Scipio altered a little the ordinary custome of the Romans: He placed not the Maniples of his Principes opposite unto the voyd spaces 30 between the Haftati, that so the Hastati, as was usuall, might fall back between the Principes; but he placed them directly one behind another, as it were, in File. This he did, because of the Elephants, whereof Hannibal had many. For of those beasts the danger was lesse whilest there was open way to let them through. Therefore he took such order, that when they had paffed through the spaces betweene the first Battalions, they should not come upon the Principes in Front Unto his Velites, or those of the light armature that were to begin the fight, he gave direction, that when they found themselves to be over-charged, either by the Enemies, or (which was most to be feared) by the Elephants, they should run back through those lanes that were betweene the Maniples; and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able, should continue on their flight, un- 40 till they were got behind all their owne Army; thereby leaving roome enough unto those that were wounded, or cast behind, to save themselves on the void ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the second and third battels, without cloying up the way betweene the Maniples, which he defired to keep open. His Italian horse he placed in the left wing, under C. Lalius. In the right wing was Masanissa with his Numidians. He himselfe riding up and downe, exhorted his men to doe valiantly; using words, not many, but forcible. He bade them remember what they had atchieved, fince their comming into Africk. He told them, that if this day were theirs, the Warre was at an end : and that their victory in this War, should make them Lords of all the World, for that afterwards, nonewould be found able to refift them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he 50 asked them whither they would flie. They were farre from home, yea, and far from their owne standing Campe: neither was there any place in Africk, that would give them shelter: if they fell into the Carthaginians hands, they knew what to expect. And therefore there was none other way, but death or victory: unlesse they would live like wretched flaves under most mercilesseenemies. In such necessity, he said, that they which consider themselves to be, and take resolution answerable thereunto, have never been knowne to faile of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other fide placedhis Elephants, that were more than fourescore, in

Front of his Battell. Next behind these, he made his Vantguard all of Mercenaries, Liqurians, Gaules, Baleares, and Moores. Then followed his Battell; which was of Caribaoinians & Africans, more interessed in the quarrell than were those Mercenaries; though not so good souldiers: but to helpe (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them foure thousand Macedonians, lately fent from King Philip. More than the space of a furlong behinde these came his Rereward, confishing of those brave Souldiers which had ferved him in his Italian warres; and were the onely men, in whom he reposed any confidence. Opposite to Lalius, in his owne right wing he bestowed the Carthaginian Horse. Tycheus and the Numidians he placed in his lest wing against Masanisa. He was indeed farre too weake for the Enemie in horse, both in number and in goodnesse. For 10 Tycheus and Mezetullus had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercifed as were the foure thousand of Masanisa. The Caribaginians also were no more, nor none other than fuch as could be levied in the hafte of a few dayes; and the remainder of those, that had of late been often vanquished, and accustomed to flye. But it was no time for Hannibal, neither had he perhaps authoritie, to make these his companions alight and serve on foot, setting better men in their saddles. All that he could have done, was to flay a little longer, and expect more helpe. Had Vermina the fon of Syphax come this ther, as he did in few dayes after, with fixteene thousand and upwards, the most of them Horse, the advantage of number might have served well to supply all other defect. Yet fince the Lords of Carthage would brooke no delay, Hannibal must be faine to comfort himselfe with the hope that he reposed in his old Italian souldiers; whose vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their feverall conditions: promifing unto the Mercenaries bountifull rewards; threatning the Carthaginians with inevitable fervitude if they loft that day: but especially animating his old fellow-fouldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained against farre greater numbers. He bade them to looke upon the Enemies, and make an estimate, whether they were any thing like so many, as that huge Army which they had flaughtered at Canne. He willed them to remember, That it was one P. Scipio even the father of this man, whom they had first of all compeloled to runne away. He told them, that these Legions, which they yonder beheld, were, for the most part of them, the very worst of the Roman Souldiers; even such as for their daftardly flight out of fundry battels, could no longer be trufted to beare Armes in their owne Countrie. As for the rest, they were young men, the sons of Cowards, and bred up in the continual feare of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily slain or chafed. Wherefore he entreated these his old companions, upon whose vertue he meant wholly to repose himselfe, that they would this day strive to make good their honour; and to purchase the same of men invincible.

Such exhortations used the two Generals before the fight. When they drew neere together the Numidian horsemen on both sides began to skirmish. The Trumpets and other inftruments of warre, founded to battell: and Hannibal commanded his Elephants to breake upon the Romans. Of these Elephants (as they were alwayes an uncertaine kind of help) those that stood neere unto the point of the left wing, turned back for feare: and ran upon their own Numidian Horse; which they affrighted and disordered. Masanissa efpying this, gave charge upon the same Numidians; and not suffering them to re-ally them felves drave them quite out of the field. The rest of those beasts made a great spoile of the Roman Velites, whom they followed into the spaces betweene the Maniples: but without any harm to the Battalions themselves; which gave them open way, accordingly as Seipie had well provided. Divers of them receiving many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be governed; but ran backe upon the right point of their owne battell, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithall they difordered the Carthaginian Horse which were in that wing : against whom they gave to Lalin the same advantage that Masanisa had against the Numidians; which heused in like fort. In the meane while, the battels of foot advanced, and drew neere together with a flow and wately pace, till they were almost within a weapons cast: at what time they gave a shour, and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time seemed both in audacitie, and in quicknesse, to have the better of the Romans; wounding many, and doing more harme, than they took. But the Roman discipline after a while prevailed against the boisterous violence of these untrained Barbarians. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battel

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of the Principes, following somewhat neere after the Hastaizencouraged their fellowes: and shewed themselves ready, if need were, to relieve them. Contrariwise, the Mercenaries received no manner of helpe or comfort, from those that should have seconded them. For the new-levied Carthaginians and Africans, when they faw their hired fouldiers give back, did also themselves retire. This caused the Ligurians, Gaules, and the rest. to thinke themselves betrayed: whereupon they enclined unto slight. The Carthaginian Battell was herewith more terrefied than before, fo as it refused to give way unto the Mercenaries for their fafe retrait; and yet withall forbore to make head against the Enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to aske them what they meant by this: Feare and Indignation caused those that were at once chased by the Romans, and betrayed, as to they thought, by their owne fellowes, to turne their armes with an heedlesse sure gainst both the one and the other. Thus were many of the Carthaginians beaten downe and flaine, through their owne indifcretion, by their owne Mercenaries. The Roman Hastari in like fort, fighting with desperate men in a throng, had their hands so full of worke, that the Principes were faine to come up unto them, and helpe to over-beare this great medley of enemies, that were together by the eares among themselves. In this place was made a great flaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the Caribaginians: which, hindering one another, could neither fight, nor eafily flye. Such of them as escaped, ranne towards Hannibal: who kept his ground, and would not stirre one foot, to helpe or fave these Run-awayes. He caused his men to bend their Pikes at those of his 20 owne fide, that would have rushed upon him: whom he thereby compelled to turneafide beyond his Battell, and fave themselves in the open field. The ground, over which the Romans were now to march, ere they could meet with Hannibal, was covered with heapes of dead bodies and weapons; and so slipperie with bloud, that Scipio began to standing reat doubt, lest the orders of his Battalions should be dissolved in passing that way. In such case, if he should fight with that warlike Armie, which hee saw before him, remaining yet entire, and without feare expecting him; He might bee well affured to receive a notable overthrow. He caused therefore the Hastati to make a stand there where they were, opposite to the maine battell of the Hannibalians. Then drawing up his Principes and Triarii, he placed them, when they had overcome the bad way, all in 20 one Front with the Hastatz, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, he advanced towards Hannibal: who entertained him after another manner, than ever he had beene received in his life before. All the dayes worke till now, seemed to have been a matter of pastime, in regard of the sharpe Conflict, that was maintained betweenethese notable Souldiers. The Romans were encouraged by their having prevailed all the day before: they were also farre the more in number. But these old Souldiers of Hannibal were fresh; (and perhaps) the better men. They fought with such obstinate resolution, that no man gave backe one foot; bur rather chose to die on the ground whereon he stood. So that, after a long time, it was uncertaine which part had the worse: unlesse it may seeme, that the Romans were beginning to shrinke; for as much as the returne of 40 Masanissand Lalius from pursuit of the Enemies Horse, is said to have beene most hap-Eactept.è Pol. pie and in a needfull time. These upon a sudden charged the Hannibalians in Rere; and over-bearing them by meere violence-compelled them to fall to Rout.

In this Battell there died of the Romans fifteene hundred and upwards: on the Carthaginian fide, above twenty thousand; befides as many that were taken; of whom, Sopater Captain of the Macedonians was one. The fingular skill that Hannibal shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by Polybius; and was accknowledged, as Livie reports, by Scipio himselfe. But the Enemies were too strong for him in Horse: and being enjoyned, as he was, by the State of Carthage, to take battell with fuch disadvantage, he could worke no marvels. He faved himselfe with a few Horse; and stayed not in his 50 journey, till he came to Adrumerum. Thence was he fent for to Carthage; from which he had beene absent sixe and thirtie yeeres. At his comming into the Senate, He said plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take such peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the Carthaginians not knowing what other course to take, resolved to send Embassadours againe, and trie the favour of Scapio, whose Armes they could not now re-

Scipia having spoyled the Enemies Campe, returned backe to Utica: where he found P. Lentulm newly arrived, with fifty Gallies and an hundred Ships of burden. With this

this Fleet, and that which he had before, He thought it best to make towards Caribage: rather of purpose to terrefie the Citie, than with any hope to take it. His Legions he committed unto Cn. Offavius whom he willed to meet him there by land. Then fending Lalius away to Rome with newes of the victory, fet faile from Utica towards Carthage. He was encountred on the way by ten Embaffadours from the City: who bearing up with the Admirall Gallie began to use the pitiful gesture of suppliants. But they received none other answer than that they should meet him at Tunes, where he would give them audience. So rowing along before the City, and viewing it more in bravery, than with meaning to attempt it; He returned back to Wicca, and called backe Offavius thither, o with whom in person He set forwards to Tunes. As they were in their journy thither, they heard the newes, that Vermina the sonne of Syphax, was comming with an Army of more Horse than Foot, to the succour of those that were already vanquished. This Vermina feemes to have bin both carelesse of getting intelligence how things passed, and very defective in all other duties requifite in the Commander of an Army. Part of the Roman foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him: which did not onely beat him, but fo compasse him in, that he hardly escaped himselfe with a few; leaving fifteene thousand of his followers dead behinde him, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. If this good company had bin with Hannibal at Nadagara, they should have been far better conducted, and might well have changed the Fortune of the day; which the o Carthaginian lost by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to be doubted, that this victory, though it were no great accesse unto the former; yet served well to daunt the Carthaginians, and imprint in them the greater feare of Scipio. When he came to Tunes, there met him thirty Embassadours from Carthage: whose behaviour, though it was more pitifull than it had bin before, yet procured it lesse commisseration, by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like fort humbled themselves. Nevertheleffe it was confidered, what a long and laborious work it would prove, to beliege the mightie Citie of Carthage. And particularly, Scipio stood in great doubt, lest the honour of this warre, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands, and given to one of the Confuls. Cn. Servilius Capio, that Conful who had charge of the war against Hannibal, at fuch time as he departed out of Italy: was bold to passe over into the Ile of Secul (as it were in chase of Hannibal by him terrefied and driven away) with a purpose thence to have proceeded into Africk, and taken from Scipio the command of the Army there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose, to restraine the ambition of this Consul Servilius. After him followed Tiberius Claudius, who made suite for the same Province of Africk: and was therein fo earnest, that though neither the Senate, nor People, would grant him his defire; yet he needs would be going, procuring onely leave of the Senate, that he being Conful might joyne with Scipio, were it with no more than equall authority. But ere he could have his Fleet and all things in a readinesse for the journey, whereinno man cared to further him. Winter came on, and he was onely toft at Sea with to foule weather; first upon the Coast of Hetruria, and afterwards by Sardinia; where his Consulship expired, and so he returned home a private man. Then came the joyfull newes to Rome of the victory obtained against Hannibal, and that the warre was now even at an end. Yet was Lentulus the new Confull so passionate in desiring Africk for his Province, That he faid he would fuffer nothing to passe in the Senate, untill he had first his will. Much adoe there was about this and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the people, at last it was ordered. That if Peace were granted, it should begranted by Scipio; if the warre continued, Scipio should have command therein by Land, and the Conful at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused Scipio to give the more favourable answer unto the Carthaginian Embassadours. He willed them to consider what they had deferved : and in regard thereof to think them felves well dealt with all; in that he was contented to leave unto them their libertie and their owne Lawes, without appointing any Governour over them, or Garrison to hold them in subjection; leaving also unto them their possessions in Africk, such as they were at the beginning of this war. Astouching the rest he was at a point, That, before he either granted them peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilest the late Treaty was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yeeld, then required He, That immediatly they should deliver up to the Romans all prisoners fugitives, and reneg ado's, that they had of theirs: likewife all their Gallies, excepting ten: and all their Elephants. That they should make

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no warre at all thence-forth out of Africke, neither yet within Africke, without licence of the Romans: That the Countries, Townes, goods what soever, belonging any mife unto Mafanissa, or to any of his Ancestors, which were in their possession, Should be all by them restored unto him : That they should finde corne for the Roman Army, and wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, untill the Peace were fully concluded: That they Should pay tenne thousand Talents of Silver, in the terme of sifite yeeres, by two hundred Talents a yeare; and that for observance of Conditions, they should give an hundred hostages: such as Scipio would choose, being none of them under four eteene yeeres of age, nor above

With these conditions the Embassadours returned home, and reported them unto 10 the Citie. They were very unpleafing; and therefore one Gesco stood up to speake against them: and exhorted the people, who gave good attention, that they should not condescend unto such intolerable demands. But Hannibal perceiving this, and noting withall what favourable audience was given to this vaine Oratour, by the unquiet, yet unwarlike Multitude, was bold to pull him downe from his standing, by plaine force. Hereat all the People murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by fuch infolence of this prefumptuous Captain. Which Hannibal perceiving, role up and spake unto them, saying; That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the customes of the Citie would allow; for a finuch as he had been thence absent ever fince he was a Boy of nine yeeres old, untill he was now a man of five and forty. 20 Having thus excused himselfe of the disorder, he discoursed unto them concerning the Peace: and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting abilitie to defend themselves, had the Demands of the Enemie beene yet more rigorous. Finally, upon good advice, they resolved to yeeld unto the Conditions propounded by Scipio: to whom they paid out of hand five and twenty thousand pounds weight in filver, in recompence of damages, and injuries by them done to his Fleet and Embaffadours. Scipio granted them Truce for three moneths, in which time they might negotiate with the State of Rome, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall he gave injunction, that they should neither in the meane while send Embassadours any whither else, nor yet dismisse any Embassadours to them fent, without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their 30

Atthistime Hanne, and they of his Faction, were become wife and honourable men, errand was. by the miseries whereinto Garthage was fallen through their malicious counsels. Afdrubal, surnamed the Kid, a venerable man, and a great friend of Hanno, was chiefe of the Embaffages which they fear to Rome for obtaining peace. They went thither in company of Scapio his Embaffadours, who related unto the Senate and People these joyfull newes. About the fame time arrived at Rome Embaffadours from Philip King of Macedon: who, together with the Carthaginians, were faine to waite a while for audience, till the election of new Confuls then in hand was finished; and order taken, for the provinces of them, and the new Prætors. Then were the Macedonian Embaffadors 40 called into the Senate: who first answering unto some points, wherein the Romans had lately fignified unto their King, that they found themselves grieved; returned the blame upon those Greeks themselves, that had made their complaint at Rome. Then accused they Marcin Aurelius: who being one of the three Embaffadours, that had lately been fent from Rome unto King Philip, tarried in Greece behind his fellowes, and there leviingmen, made warre upon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was betweent him and the Romans. Further they defired of the Senate, That one Sopater, a Muerdonian Gentleman, with other of their Countri-men, that had lately ferved Hannibalfor Pay; and being taken prisoners in Africke, were kept in bonds by Sapio, might betelesfed and delivered unto them. Unro all this M. Furius, whom Aurelin had fent 50 to Rome for that purpole, made a sharp answer. He faid, that the Greekes which were confederate with Rome, endured formany injuries at the hands of Philip, that M. Aurelius was faine to flay behinde, to help them as he might; which elle were like to be brought under the Kings subjection. As for Sopater, he affirmed him to be one of the Kings Counfell, and very inward with him: one that served nor formoney, but carried money wich him, and four thousand men, fent from the King to the aid of Hannibal. About these points, when the Macedonian Embassadours could make unto the Senate no good answer, they were willed to return, and tell their Master; That warre he fought,

and war he should find, if he proceeded as he had begun. For in two maine points He had broken the League, that was between him and the Romans: first, in that he had wronged their Confederates; and secondly in that he had ayded their Enemies against them with men and money.

These quarrels with Philip, that promised to open a way into Greece and the Easterne Countries, helped well the Carthaginian Embassadours in their solicitation of Peace They appeared a very reverend company, when they entred into the Senate: and Aldrubal above the rest was much respected, as one, whose good offices had kept the Romans from necessity of sending Embassadours to Carthage, upon the like errand. He liberally granted, that the justice of the quarrell had beene wholly on the Romans side; faving, that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuse the Citie that had beene too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsell. But if Hanno and himselfe might have had their wils, the Carthaginians, even at the best of their Fortune, should have granted the peace which they now defired. Herewithall he commended the moderation of the Romans, as no small argument of their valour; by which alwayes they had beene victorious. To the same effect spake the rest of the Embassadours : all of them entreating to have the Peace ratisfied; though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diversity of their stile. They had patience enough to endure such reproofe of Perjury, as they themfelves might have laid upon the Romans; if their diligence and fortune had been fuch as the Romans was. Among the rest, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would sweare to keepe the peace hereafter: Asdrubal made answer; Even by the same gods, that are so severe unto those that violate their Leagues.

Lentulus the Conful, interposing the authoritie of his office, would have hindred the Senate from proceeding unto conclusion of peace; for that hereby he was like to lose the honour, which he purposed to get by making warre in Africke. But the matter was propounded unto the people, in whom rested the Soveraign Command of Rome; and by them referred wholly unto the pleafure of the Senate. So it was decreed. That Scipio. with tenne Delegates, sent unto him from Rome of purpose, should make a League with the Caribaginians, upon fuch Conditions as feemed best: which were none other, than the fame which he had already propounded. For this favour the Carebaginian Embaffadours humbly thanked the Senate; and craved licence, that they might visite their Countrimen, which were prisoners in Rome: afterwards, that they might ransome and carry home with them some that were their especiall friends; of whom they gave in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundred of those Prisoners, which the Embassadours world choose, should be sent over into Africk, and be freely restored to liberty by Scipio, when the peace was fully concluded. So they took leave, and returned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were ap-

pointed by the Senate to joyne with Scipio in commission.

At their comming into Africk, the Peace was given, and accepted, without any controversie or disputation. The Prisoners, Fugitives, and Renegado's, were delivered up to Scipio: likewife the Gallies, and the Elephants. Scipio took more vengeance upon the Renegado's, than upon the Fugitives; and upon those of the Romans, than upon the Latines or other Italians. The Latines he beheaded the Romans he crucified. About the first payment of their money the Carihaginians were formewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasurie could have spared two hundred Talents for the present; yet fince the penfion was annuall, and to continue fiftie yeeres; it was thought meet to lay the burden upon the Citizens. At the collection of the fumme there was piteous lamentation, as if now the Roman yoke had begun to pinch them; fo as many, even of the Senatours, could not forbeare weeping. Contrariwife, Hannibal could not refraine from laughter. For which when he was checked by Afdrubal Hadm, and told, That it worst of all beseemed him to laugh, fince he had bin the cause why all others did weep; He answered. That laughter did not alwaies proceed from joy; but sometimes from extremity of indignation: Yet, said He, My laughter is more seasonable, and lesse absurd, than Your teares. For ye (bould have went when ye gave up your (hips and Elephants, and when Je bound your own hands from the use of armes without the good leave of the Romans first obtained. This miserable condition keeps us under, and holds us in assured servitude. But of these matters yee had no feeling. Non when a little money is wrung out of your private

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purses, ye have thereof some sense. God grant that thetime come not hereafter, wherein yee Shall acknowledge, that it was the very least part of your misery for which ye have shed these teares. Thus discoursed Hannibal unto those, who, tasting the bitter fruits of their own malicious counsell, repented when it was too late; and in stead of cursing their own disorders, which had bred this grievous disease, accused the Physician, whose noble endevours

had bin employed in procuring the remedie.

Scipio being totake leave of Africk, produced Masanista, and magnified him in prefence of the Armie, with high commendations not undeservedly. To him also he configned over those towns of King Syphax, which the Romans at that present held: wherein to fay truth, he gave him but his due; and that which other wife he knew not well how 10 to bestow. But the love of the Romans, & friendship of Scipio, was fully answerable, now and hereafter, to all the deservings of this Numidian King. About Carihage there rested no more to be done. Wherefore the Romans embarqued themselves for Sicil: where when they arrived at Lilybaum, Scipio with some part of his Army tooke his way home to Rome by land; and fent the reft before him thither by Sea. His journy through Italy was no leffe glorious than any triumph: all the people thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to doe him honour as he passed along. He entred the Citie in Triumph: neither was there ever before, or after, any triumph celebrated with fo great joy of the people, as was this of Scipio; though, in bravery of the pompe, there were others in time Thortly following, that exceeded this. Whether Syphax were carried through the Citie 26 in this Triumph, and died soone after in prison; or whether he were dead a while before; it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be avowed. That it was a barbarous custome of the Romans, to infult over the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contumeliously in Triumph ; yea, though they were such, as had alwayes made faire and courteous warre. But hereof we shall have better example ere the same age passe. It was neither the person of syphax, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much beautified the Triumph of Scipio; as did the contemplation of that grievous warre past, whereof the Romans had bin in a manner without hope that ever they should fee Italy free. This made them looke cheerefully upon the Author of so great a conversion; and filled them with more joy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gave to Scipio the 30 Title of the African: stilling him by the name of that Province which he had subdued. This honourable kinde of furname, taken from a conquered Province, grew afterwards more common, and was usurped by men of lesse desert: especially by many of the Cafars, who fometimes arrogated unto themselves the title of Countries, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if fuch glorious Attributes could have made them like in vertue unto Scipio the African.

CHAP. IV.

Of Philip the father of Perseus, King of Macedon: his first Acts and War with the Romans, by whom he was subdued.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the East-Countries, and desirous of warre there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Wars, at one time. The Etolians over-run Peloponness. Philip and his Associates make war against the Ætolians. Alteration of the 50 State in Sparta. The Ætolians invade Greece and Macedon, and are invaded at home

Plut.invitā Sertorii.



hath bin affigned as a probable cause. For fince Nature is confined unto a subject that is not unbounded; the workes of Nature must needs be finite, & many of them refemble one the other. Now in those actions, that feem to have their whole dependance upon the will of man, wee are less

F the great fimilitude found in worldly events, the limitation of matter to wonder, if we finde lesse varietie: since it is no great portion of things which is

obnoxious unto humane power; and fince they are the fame affections, by which the wills of fundrie men are over-ruled, in managing the affaires of our daily life. It may be observed in the change of Empires, before those times whereof we now write, how the Assyrians or Chaldeans invaded the Kingdome of the Medes, with two hundred thoufand Foot, and threescore thousand Horse: but failing in their intended conquest, they became subject within a while themselves unto the Medes and Persians. In like manner Daring, and after him Xerxes, fell upon the Greekes with fuch number of men, as might have feemed refiftlesse. But after that the Persians were beaten home againe, their Empire was never fecure of the Greekes: who at all times of leifure from intestine Warre, to devised upon that conquest thereof, which finally they made under the great Alexander. If Nabuchodonofor with his rough old Souldiers, had undertaken the Medes; or Cyrun with his well-trayned Armie, had made attempt upon Greece; the iffue might, in humane reason, have beene farre different. Yet would it then have beene expedient for them to employ the travell and vertue of their men, rather than the greatnesse of their names, against those people; that were no lesse valiant, though lesse renowned than their owne. For the menacing words used by Cyrus, and some small displeasures done to the Greekes (in which kinde it may be, that Nabuchodonofor likewife offended the Medes and Persians) were not so availeable to victory, as to draw on revenge in the future. Great Kingdomes, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the old Lyon, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolfe, gored by the Bull, yea and kickt by the Asse. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by misse-understanding the language of Fame; and defpifing the vertue that makes little nov fe, adventure to provoke it against themselves; as if it were not possible that their owne glorie should be foiled by any of lesse-noted excellence. Against the same stone, whereat Xerxes, and before him (as I take it) Exilmerodach, had flumbled; Pyrrhuthe Epirot hath dasht his foot. He was not indeed the King of all Greece; though most of marke, and a better Souldier than any other Greekilb King, when he entred into warre against the Romans. This warre he undertooke as it were for his minds fake: having received no injurie; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the Greekes that ferved under him, to prevaile to fo easily against the barbarous Romans, that they should onely serve as a step to his further intended conquests, of Sicil and Africk. But when the Romans, by their victory against Pyrrhu, had found their owne vertue to be of richer metall, than was the more fhinning valour of the Greekes: then did all the bravery of the Epyrot (his Elephants and what foever else had ferved to make him terrible) ferve only to make the Romans, in time following, to thinke more highly of themselves. * For since they had overcome the best *The King of Warriour in Greece, even Him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a yeere after tended invinmake himselse Lord of Greece and Macedon: what should hinder them from the con-cible Narie, quest of all those unwarlike Provinces, which in compasse of 12. yeeres a Macedonian being beaten King of late memory had wonne? Certainly there washereunto requifite no more, than ith seas, invito bring to their owne devotion by some good meanes, the whole Country of Greece: ted us to those all the rest, this done, would follow of it selfe. How to deale with the Greekes, Philip having broken and Alexander had shewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learne, by the greatest

getting more acquaintance with the Nation. When therefore the first Punicke warre was ended, which followed soone after the gathered togewars of Fyrrhus and of the Tarenines: then were the Romans at good leifure to hearken ther, we never after newes in Greece; and to entertaine any good occasion, that should be on that side of any of his presented. They had also then a strong Fleet: and were become , though not otherwise preparations very skilfull Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wi- after that time; shed, that the Illyrian Queene Tenta made at the same time cruell war upon the Greekes: wasting their Countrey, and sacking their Townes, onely because they were unable to refift, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrell if the Romans were defi-Lib.5, cap.2.5.7. rous to enter; the Queene was not flow to give them cause. And their happy accomplishing of that warre which they made with Her, was, in their own opinion, a matter not unworthy to make their Patronage to bee defired by the Greekes. But no fuch thing happened: though they fent Embassadours, as it were to offer themselves; by fignifying, that for love of Greece they had undertaken this Illyrian warre. Thus beganne the first acquaintance betwixt the Greekes and Romans: which afterwards encreased very hastily, through the indiscretion of King Philip the Macedonian; whose businesse with

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with them, being now the subject of our storie, it is meet that we should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reigne, and his first Actions. It was like to prove a bufie time in the world, when, within the space of 4-yeers, new Kings began to reign in the most of all Countries knowne; and 3. of them young boyes, in 3. of the greatest Kingdomes. This hapned from the third yeere of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad. unto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died Seleucus Ceraunus Kino of Asia and Syria, in whose roome succeeded his brother Antiochus, afterwards called the Great. Ptolomy Philopater succeded in the Kingdome of Egypt unto his father Euergetes. And Philip the fonne of Demetrius, being 16:0r 17. yeeres old, received the Kingdom of Macedon, together with the Patronage of the Acheans & most of the Greekes; by the decease of his Uncle Amigonus Doson, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the same time also was the like change in Cappadocia, Lacedamon, and the Countries about Mount Taurus. For Ariarathes then began his reigne in Cappadocia. Lycurgu found means to make himselse King over the Lacedamonians, whose Commonweale, fince the flight of Cleomenes, had continued in a manner headleffe; and Acham. a kinsman of Antiochue, but a Rebell unto him, occupied the Regions neere unto Mount Taurus, and kept a while the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third yeers of the 100 and fortieth Olympiad it was that open war brake out between Rome & Carthage; and that Hannibal began his great Invafion upon Italy. Those troubles of the We-Antiochus, Ptolomy, & the rest, we shall speake hereafter, when the Romans find them out.

fterne world, which were indeed the greatest, we have already followed unto an end: Of 20 Philip, soone after the beginning of his reigne, came into Peloponnesus; greatly defired of the Acheans, and many others his dependants. That Country, having freed it selfeby the helpe of Antigonus from the danger (accounted great) of an easie subjection unto Cleamenes: was now become no leffe obnoxious to the Macedonian, than it should have beene to the Spartan; & therewithall it lay open unto the violence of the Aetolians; who despised even the Macedonian Kings, that were Patrons thereof. The Aesolians were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted unto any other Art than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell upon the Meffenians that were their owne Clients, and (excepting the Eleans, that were anciently of their confanguinity) the onely good friends which they had at the present in Peloponnesus. Their invasion was no lesse unexpected, than it was unjust: whereby with greater case they made spoile of the Countrey; finding none prepared to make refistance. The Achaans, were called by the Messenians to help: which they did the more willingly; because the Aetolians passing without leave through their Territory, had (as was their manner) done what harme they lifted. Old Aratus could hardly abide these Aetolians; as both knowing well their nature, and remembring the injuries; wherewith most ingratefully they had requited no small benefits done to them by the Achaens. He was therefore so hastie to fall upon this their Army, that he could hardly endure to ftay few daies untill the time of his owne Office came; being chosen Prætor of the Acheans for the yeere following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himselfe a man fitter (as hath beene already noted of him) for any other fervice, than leading of an Army. He suffered them to passe quietly along with their booties through a part of the Countrey, wherein he might very eafily have distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so neere, when they had recovered ground of advantage, that they eafily defeated all his Armie. So they departed home rich, and well animated to returne againe. As for the Acheans, they got hereby onely the friendship of the Messenians: with whom, by licence of King Philip, they made Confederacy. Shortly after, the Aetolians invaded Peloponnesus againe; having no more to doe, than to passe over the narrow Streights of the Corinthian Bay, called now the Gulph of Lepanto, where they might land in the Countrey of the Eleans. 50 There joyned with them, in this their fecond invalion, a great number of the Illyrians: who neglecting that Condition imposed upon them by the Romans, of setting out no ships of war unto the coast of Greece: made bold to seek adventures againe, & did great mischiese. Demetrius Pharius, a creature of the Komans, commanded a part of these Illyrians: who shortly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingdome, as is shewed before. But this Demetrius went another way, & fell upon the Ilands of the Cyclades in the Aegean sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King Philip, or his friends. The rest of the Illyrians under Scerdilaidas, or Scerdileius, having

gotten what they could else-where by roving at Sea, accompanied the Enlians into Peloponnessu: who made greater havocke in the Countrey now, than in their former Expedition, and returned home, without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made unto Philip, when he came to Corinih. And because men were desirous to satisfie themselves with some speedy revenge: there were that urged to have some grievous punishment layd upon the Laced emonians; who were thought under-hand to have favoured the Liolians, in meere despight of the Acheans and Macedonians, by whom themselves had lately beene subdued. It is true, that the Laced amanians had been fo affected: & (which was worse) at the arrivall of Philips they flew fuch friends of his, as having checked their inclination, feemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselves to judgement: but intreated the King, that he would abstaine from comming to them with an Army: fince their Towne was lately much disquieted with civill discord, which they hoped foone to appeale, and meant alwayes to remaine at his devotion. Philip was eafily fatisfied with this : not for that he(or rather old Aratus, who then wholly governed him) did mif-understand the Laced amonians: but for that a greater worke was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at Corinth, in prefence of the King, the Embafsadours of the Acheans, Boestians, Epirots, and Acarnanians: all complaining upon the Ætolians and defiring to have war decreed against them, by common affent. Philip sent his letters unto the Aulians, requiring them to make ready their answer in some convenient time: if they could alledge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at Rhium for that purpose: whither if it pleased him to come, or fend, he should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to have beene there at the day. But when the Ætolians understood this for certaine, they adjourned the Councell unto a further time: faying, That fuch weighty matters ought not to be handled, fave in the great Parliament of all Actolia. This tricke of Law notwithstanding, open war was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how wel they had deserved it made election of Scopas to be their Prætor, that was Author of these Invasions made on Peloponnesse; and the onely man, o in a fort, upon whom they must have laid the blame of these actions, if they would have shifted it from the publike.

After this, Philip went into Macedon, where he prepared builty for the warre against the yeere following. He also affayed the Illyrian, Scerdilaidas, with faire words and promiles; whom he easily won from the Atolian fide, forafmuch as the Atolians had couzened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like fort the Acheans, who had first of all others proclaimed the warre in their owne Countrey, fent unto the Acarnanians, Epirots, Messenians, and Laced amonians: requesting them forthwith to declare themselves, and to denounce war unto the Etolians; without staying (as it were) to await the event. Hereunto they received divers answers according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The Acarnanians, a free-hearted and valiant though a small Nation, and bordering upon the Atolians, of whom they stood in continual danger; faid, that they could not honeftly refuse to shew their faithfull meahing in that warre, which was concluded by generall affent. The Epirors that were more mighty, were nevertheleffe more cunning and referved: fo that they ftood upon a needleffe point, and defired to be held excused, until Philip (of whose meaning they needed not to have made any doubt) should first proclaime the war. The Messenians, for whose cause the warre was undertaken, excused themselves, by reason of a Towne which the Enlians held upon their borders, and faid, that they durft not be over-bold, untill that bridle were taken out of their mouths. As for the Laced amonians, the chiefe of them to fludied onely, how to mannage the treason, for which their City had beene so lately pardoned and therefore difmissed the Embassadours of the Confederates, without any answer at all. They had three yeeres together continued subject against their wills to the Macedonians, expecting still when Cleomenes should returne out of Egypt to reigne over them againe, and maintaine, as hee was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they chose not any Kings, but were contented with the rule of Ephori. Of these there were some, that thought the publike safety to confist, in holding their faith with the Macedonian that had preferred them. And hereto they referred all their coun-Tailes: being perhaps a little moved with respect of the benefit, which might redound

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unto themselves, by adhering firmely to those which at the present bore rule over them. Others, and those the greater part, were still devising, how to make all ready for Cleomenes against his return; & sought to joyne with the Atolians, which were the most likely to give him strong affistance. The Macedonian faction had the more authority, and durst more freely speake their mindes: but the contrary side was the more passionate, ad spared not by murders or any other violent courses, to set forward their defire. Neither did it suffice, that about these times there came certaine report of Cleomenes his death. For it was the liberty and honour of Sparta, which these intended: fancying unto themselves the glory of their Ancestors in such Ages past, as were not like to come againe. Cleomenes was, they knew, the most able man to restore them unto their greatnesse and lustre; which once hee had in a manner performed: But fince hee was dead, and that, without injury to his well-deferving vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would have, and those of the race of Hercules, as in former times; for that without fuch helpes, they must continue little better than subjects unto the Macedonian. and farre leffe by him respected, than were the Acheans. Thus were they transported by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among them, procured the Ltolians to fend an Embaffie to Sparta: which propounded the matter openly unto the people, whereof no one of the Citizens durst have made himselfe the Author. Much disputation, and hor, there was, betweene those of the Macedonian partie, and these their opposites: in such wise that nothing could be concluded; un- 20 till by maffacre or banishment of all, or the chiefe, that spake against the Ecolians, the diversity of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded betweene the Laced amonians and Etolians: without all regard of the Macedonians or Acheans, who had spared the Citie, when they might have destroied it. Then also they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was so nice, and fo regardfull of their ancient Lawes, as touching the choosing of the one King, that we may justly wonder, how they grew so carelesse in making choyce of the other. In the one of their Royall Families they found Agesipolis, the sonne of Agesipolis, the sonof King Cleombrotus: and him they admitted to reigne over them, as heire apparent to his grandfather. This Agespolis was a yong Boy, standing in neede of a Guardian : & had an 30 Uncle, his Fathers brother, that was fit for the Government. Yet because the Law required, that the some, how yong soever, should have his fathers whole right and title: the Laced amonians, though standing in neede of a man, were so punctuall in observation of the Law, that they made this childe their King, and appointed his Uncle Cleomenes to be his Protector. But in the other branch of the Royall Family, though there was no want of heires: yet would not the people trouble themselves about any of them, to examine the goodnesse of his Claime, but made election of one Lycurgus, who having no manner of title to the Kingdome, bestowed upon each of the Ephori, a Talent, and thereby made himselfe be saluted King of Sparia, and a Gentleman of the race of Hercules. This Lycurgus, to gratifie his Partifans, and to approve his worth by acti- 40 on, invaded the Countrey of the Argives: which lay open and unguarded, as in a time of peace. There he did great spoile, and won divers Townes; whereof two he retained, and annexed unto the State of Lacedamon. After such open hostility, the Lacedamonians declared themselves on the Liolian side; and proclaimed warre against the Achæans.

Thus the beginnings of the warre fell out much otherwise, than the Acheans and their Consederates had expected, when they first made preparation. Philip was not ready: the Epirois gave uncertaine answer: the Messenians would not stirre: all the burden must lieupon themselves and the poore Acarnanians, whom the Etolians, by savour of the Eleans, could invade at pleasure, as they were like to doe; and by helpe of the Lacedamonians, could assale on all parts at once. It was not long ere the Etolians, passing over the Bay of Corinth, surprised the Towne of Egira: which if they could have held, they should thereby grievously have molested the Acheans, for that it stood in the mid-way between Egium and Sycion, two of their principall Cities, and gave open way into the heart of all their Countrey. But as Egira was taken by surprise: so was it presently lost againe, through greedinesse of spoile; whilest they that should have made it their first care, to assure the place unto themselves, by occupying the citades and other peeces of strength, fell heedlessy to ransacke private houses, and thereby gave

the Citizens leave to make head; by whom they were driven with great flaughter backe unto their Fleet. About the fame time, another Ætolian Army landing among the Eleans, fell upon the Westerne Coast of Achaia; wasting all the Territory of the Dymeans and other people, that were first beginners of the Achean Consederacie. The Dymeans and their neighbours made head against these Invaders; but were so well beaten, that the enemy grew bolder with them than before. They sent for helpe unto their Prætor, and to all the Townes of their Society invaine. For the Acheans having lately been much weakened by Cleomenes, were now able to do little of themselves: neither could they get any strength of Mercenaries; forasimuch as at the end of Cleomenes his warre, they had to covetously with held part of their due from those that served them therein. So through this disability of the Acheans, and insufficiency of their Prætor; the Dymeans, with others, were driven to with hold their contribution heretofore made for the publike service, & to convert the money to their own defence. Lycurgus also with his Lacedemonians, began to win upon the Areadians, that were consederate with Philip & the Acheans.

Philip came to the borders of the Atolians, whilft their Army was thus employed a farre off in Pelpoonnesw. The Epirois joyned all their forces with him: and by such their willing readines, drew him to the fiege of a Frontier peece, which they defired to get into their own hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped shortly to make themselves Masters of Ambracia. There he spent forty dayes, ere he could end the business which tended onely to the benefit of the Epirois. Had he entred into the heart of Etolia at his first comming in; it was thought that he might have had an end of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken upon small Towns or Forts: and not feldome, that the importunity of Affociates, to have their own defires fulfilled. converts the preparations of great Kings to those uses for which they never were intended; thereby hindering the profecution of their maine defignes. Thus was our King Henrie the eight led afide, & quite out of his way, by Maximilian the Emperor to the fiege of Tournay: at fuch time as the French King Lewis the twelfth, hearing that the ftrong City of Terwin was loft, and that his Cavallerie, wherein rested his chiefe confidence. two thousand were beaten by the Earle of Essex with seven hundred English; was thinking to withdraw himselfe into Brittaine, infeare that Henrie would have come to Paris

The flay that Philip made at Ambracus, did wondroufly emboldenthe Atolians: in fuch fort, as their Prætor Scopus adventured to leade all their forces out of the Country: and therewith not onely to over-runne Theffalie, but to make impression into Macedon: He ranne as farre as to Dium, a City of Macedon upon the Egean Sea: which, being forfaken by the Inhabitants at his comming, He tooke, and razed to the ground. He spared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildingstherein, but overturned all: and among the rest, he threw down the Statua's that were there erected, of the Macedonian Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Country-men at his returne; for a smuch as hereby they thought their Nation to be growne terrible, not onely (as before)unto Peloponnessus, but even to Macedon it selfe. But this their pride was soone abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their owne Countrey, for their paines taken at Dium. Philip having dispatched his worke at Ambracus, made a strong invasion upon Atolia. He tooke Phoetia, Metropolis, Oeniade, Paanium, Elaus, and divers other Towns and Castles of theirs: of which he burnt some, and fortified others. He also beat the Atolians in fundry skirmishes; and wasted all the Countrie over, without receiving any harme. This done, while he was about to make a cut over the Streights into Peloponne sm, and to doe the like spoile in the Country of the Eleans, whereto he was vehemently solicited by the Achaan Embassadours; newes came out of Macedon, that the Dardamans were ready with a great Armie to fall upon the Countrey. These Dardanians were abarbarous people, divided by Mount Hamus from the Northerne part of Macedon, & were accustomed to seeke booty in that wealthy Kingdome, when they found their own times. Having therefore intelligence, that Philip was about to make a journey into Pelo-Ponnefus; they purposed in his absence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could for themselves in his Countrey; as had beene their manner upon the like advantages. This made the King to dismisse the Achean Embassadours, (whom he should have accompanied home with his Armie) and to bid them have patience untill another yeere. So hee tooke his way homewards: and as hee was passing out of Acarnania into Epirus, there repaired unto him Demetrius Pharius, with no more than

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one Ship; that was newly chased out of his Kingdome by the Romans. This Demetring had lately shewed himselfe a friend to Antigonus Doson in the warres of Cleomenes: and returning in his last Voyage from the Cyclades, was readie, at their first request, to take part with Philips Captaines. These, or the like considerations, made him welcome unto the Macedonian King: whose Counsailor he was ever after. The Dardanians hearing of the Kings returne, brake up their Army; and gave over for the present their invasion of Macedon, towards which they were already on their way.

All that Summer following the King rested at Lariffa in Thessale, whilest his people gathered in their Harvest. But the Exclians rested not. They avenged themselves upon the Epirots : whom for the harmes by them and Philip done in Eiolia, they required to with all extremities of warre, among which, the most notable was the ruine of the most famous Temple of Dodona. When Winter grew on, & all thought of war, untill another yeer, was laid afide: Philip fole a journey into Peliponnefu, with five thousand Foot, & about foure hundred Horfe. As foon as he was within Corinth; He commanded the gates to be that, that no word should be carried foorth of his arrivall. He fent privily for old Ararm to come thither unto him: with whom he tooke order, when, and in what places, he would have the Achaan Souldiers ready to meete him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Countrie, with formwhat more than two thousand Foot & an hundred horse; little thinking to meete with fuch opposition. Indeed they had little cause to seare: since the Achains themselves were not aware that the King was in their Land with his Ma- 20 redonians; untill they heard, that these two thousand Eleans, Evolians, and their sellowes, were by him furprifed, and all made prisoners for flaine. By this exploit which he did at his first comming, Philip got very much reputation, and likewise he purchased both reputation and love, by divers actions immediately following. He won P forbis, an exceeding frong Towne, in the borders of Arradia, which the Eleans and Arollians then held. He won it by affault at his first comming: wherein it much availed him, that the Enemie, not belowing that he would undertake fuch a peece of worke at fuch an unseasonable time of the yeer, was carelesse of providing even such store of weapons, as might have served to defend it. The Towne was preserved by the King from sacke; and given to the Achiens, of his own meere motion, before they requested it. Thence went 30 he to Laffon, which yeelded for very feare; hearing how eafily he had taken Pfophis. This Towns also he gave to the Achievas. The like liberality he used towards others, that had ancient title unto places by him recovered. Then fell he upon the Country of Elis, where was much wealth to bee gotten: for that the people were addicted to husbandrie, and lived abroad in Villages; even such as were of the wealthier fort among them. So he came to the Citic of Olympia: where having done facrifice to Jupiter, feasted his Captaines, and refreshed his Army three dayes, He proceeded on to the spoile of those, that had taken pleasure to share with the Etolians, in the spoiles of their otherwise-deferving neighbours. Great abundance of Cattell he tooke, with great numbers of flaves, and much wealth of all forts, fuch as could be found in rich villages. Then fell he in hand with 40 the Townes, whereinto a great multitude of the Countrie-people were fled. Some of these were taken at the first affault. Some yeelded for seare. Some prevented the labour of his journey, by sending Embaffadours to yeeld before he came. And some that were held with Garrifons against their wills, tooke courage to fet themselves at liberty, by feeing the King so neere: to whose Patronage thenceforth they betooke themselves. And many places were spoiled by the Erolian Captains ; because they distrusted their ability to hold them. So the King won more Towns in the Country, than the sharpneffe of winter would fuffer him to flay three dayes. Faine he would have fought with the Erolians: but they made fuch hafte from him, that he could not overtake them, till they had covered themselves within the Towne of Samteum; where they thought to 50 have beene fafe. But Philip affaulted them therein to forcibly, that he made them glad to yeeld the place; obtaining licence to depart, with their lives and armes. Having performed fo much in this expedition, the King repoled himselfe awhile in Megalopolu; and then removed to Argos, where he spentall the rest of the Winter.

Before the Kings arrivall in Pelopomes, the Luced emonions, with Lycurgin their new King, had gotten somewhat in Arcatia; & threatned to do great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamity that fell upon the Eleans, of the danger hanging over their owne heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themselves home.

This Lyeurgus, as he had no other righero the Kingdome of Sparta, than that which he could buy with money ! fo was he neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him; nor from those jealousies, with which Usurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one Chilon, of the Royall blood, that thinking himselfe to have best right unto the Kingdome, purposed to make way thereunto by massacre of his opposites; & afterwards to confirme himselfe, by propounding unto the multitude such reformation of the State as was most popular: namely, by making an equal distribution of all the lands among the whole mumber of the Citizens, according to the ancient inflitution of that Commonwealth. He won to his partie fome two hundred men; with whom he fell upon the Ephoris as they were together at supper, and slew them all. Then went he to Lyourg'm his house: 10 who perceiving the danger, stole away and fled. It remained that he should give account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds being not hereto predifpoled; they so little regarded his goodly offers, as even whileft he was using his best perswalions, they were consulting how to apprehend him. chilon perceived whereabout they went, and shifted presently away. So he lived afterwardsamong the Achains a banifled man, & hated of his own people. As for Lycurgan, he returned home: & suspecting thenceforth all those of Hercules his race, found meanes to drive out his fellow-King young Agesipolis; whereby he made himselfe Lord alone. His doings grew to be suspected, in such fort, as once he should have beene appreliended by the Ephori. But though his actions hitherto might have beene defended ; yet rather than to adventure himselfe into judgement, hee chose to file for a time, and sojourne among his friends the Etolians. His wel-knowne vehemencie in opposition to the Macedonians, had procured unto him fuch good liking among the people, that in his absence they beganne to confider the weakeneffe of their owne furmifes against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, He took better heede unto himselfe: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was fo acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not be in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they lifted. By what actions he got the name of a Tyrant of at what time it was, that he chased Agesipolis out of the City; I do not certainly finde. Like 30 enough it is, That his being the first of three usurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the ranke of Tyrants; which the last of the three very iustly deserved. Whatsoever he was toward some private Citizens: in the warre against Philip, He behaved himselfe as a provident man, and carefull of his Countries good.

§. II.

How Phillip was misadvised by ill Counsailors: who asterwards wrought treason agains hims and were justly panished. He invadeth the Etolians a second time: and forceth them to sue for peace: which is granted unto them.

Hilft the King lay at Argos devising upon his businesse for the veer following, fome ambitious men that were about him, studied so diligently for their own greatheffe, as they were like to have spoiled all that he tooke in hand. Antigonas Doson had left unto Philip such Counsailors, as to him did seeme the fittelt men for governing of his youth. The chiefe of thefe was Apelles; that had the tharge of his person, & also the ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himself agreat Politician, thought that he should doe a notable peece of service to his Prince, if hee could reduce the Achaans unto the same degree of subjection, wherein the Ma-50 redonians lived. To bring this to paffe; during the late Expedition he had caused some of the Macedonians to thrust the Achaans our of their lodgings, and to strip them of the booty that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out, Hee was bold to chaffile some of that Nation; causing his Ministers to take and whippe them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refraine) to help their fellowess them he laid by the heeles, and punished as Mutiners. Hereby he thought to bring it to paffe by little and little, that they mould be qualified with an habite of blind obedience; and thinke nothing unjust that pleased the King. But these Achieuns were renderly senfible in matters of liberty: whereof if they could have beene contended to fuffer any

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little diminution, they needed not have troubled the Macedonians to helpe them in the war against Cleomenes. They be mouned themselves unto old Araius; and besought him to thinke upon some good order, that they might not bee oppressed by degrees. Aran forthwith dealt earnestly with the King; as in a matter more weighty than at first it might seeme. The King bestowed gracious words upon those that had beene wronged, and forbade Apelles to follow the course begunne. Hereat Apelles was inwardly vexed, though he differabled his choler for a time. He thought fo well of his owne Project, that he could not endure to lay it afide; being perhaps unable to doe the King any valuable service, in businesse of other nature. He purposed therefore hereafter to beginne at the head; fince, in biting at the taile, the fifth had shot away from his. To mouth. It could not otherwise be than that among the Acheans there were some, who bore no hearty affection to Arasm. These he enquired out, and sending for them, entertained them with words of Court; promifing to become their especiall friend, and commend them unto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himselfe : letting him know, that as long as he continued to make much of Aratus, he must be faine to deale precisely with the Acheans, and as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to give countenance unto those others whom he himselfe commended, then should the Acheans, and all other Peloponnesians. be quickely brought to conforme themselves unto the duty of obedient Subjects. By fuch perswassions, he drew the King to be present at Agium, where the Achaans were 20 to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would have bin needfull in a businesse of more importance, the King by faire words and threatnings together, obtained fo much, That Eperatus, avery infufficient man, but one of Apelles his new favourites, was chosen Prætor, in stead of one more worthy, for whom Araum had laboured. This was thought a good introduction unto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by Patras and Dyma, to a very strong Cafile held by the Eleans, which was called Tichos. The garrifon yeelded it up for feare, at his first comming: whereof he was glad, for that he had an earnest defire to bestow it upon the Dymaans, as he presently did.

The King thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no messengers from the 20 Eleans, to sue for peace. For at his departure out of their Countrey the last Winter, he had let loose one Amphidamus a Captaine of theirs, that was his prisoner; because he found him an intelligent man, and one that undertooke to make them for fake their alliance with the Liolians, and joyne with him upon reasonable termes. This if they could be contented to doe, he willed Amphidamus to let them understand, That he would render unto them freely all prisoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forreine invation; & that they should hold their liberty entire, living after their owne Lawes, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept under by any garrison. These conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit as they might have done. But when Philip came to the Castle of Tichos, and made a new invasion upon 40 their Countrey: then beganne the Eleans, (that were not before over-haftie to beleeve fuch faire promises) to suspect Amphidamus as a Traitour, and one that was set on worke for no other end, than to breede a mutuall diffidence betweene them and the A10lians. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands upon him, and send him prisoner into Ætolia. But he perceived their intent, and got away to Dyma: in good time for himselfe; in better for Aratus. For the King (as was faid) marvailing what should be the cause, that hee heard no newes from the Eleans, concerning the offers which hee had made unto them by Amphidamus: Apelles, his Counsailor thereby tooke occasion to Supplant Aratus. He said that old Aratus, and his sonne together, had such devices in their heads, as tended little to the Kings good: And long of them he faid it was, that the 50 Eleans did thus hold out. For when Amphidamus was dismissed home, the two Arati, (the father and the fon) had taken him aside and given him to understand, that it would be very prejudiciall to all Peloponness, if the Eleans once became at the devotion of the Macedonian: And this was the true cause, why neither Amphidamus was very carefull in doing this message, nor the Eleans in hearkning to the Kings offers. All this was a false lye, devised by Apelles himselfe, upon no other ground than his owne malice. Philip had no sooner heard this tale, but in a great rage he sent for the two Arati, and bade Apelles rehearse it over againe to their faces. Apelles did so, and with a bold countenance,

ralking to them as to men already convicted. And when he had faid all the reft, ere either Philip or they spake any word; He added this clause as it were in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you fuch ungratefull wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the Achaans; & therein having made it known what ye are, to depart into Macedon, and leave you to your felves. Old Arasus gravely admonished the King; That whenfoever he heard any accufation, especially against a friend of his owne, or a man of worth, He should forbeare a while to give credit, untill hee had diligently examined the bufineffe. For fuch deliberation was Kingly, and he should never thereof repent him. At the present he said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talke with Amphidamus, and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to Apelles . For o it would be a very abfurd thing. That the King should make himselfe the Author of a report in the open Parliament of Achaia, whereof there was none other evidence, than one mans yea, and anothers no. Hereof the King liked well; and faid that he would make fufficient inquirie. So passed a few dayes: wherein whilest Apelles delaied to bring in the proofe, which indeed he wanted, Amphidamus came from Elis, and rold what had befalne him there. The King was not forgetfull, to examine him about the conspiracie of the Arate: which when he found no better than a meere device against his honourable friends: He entertained them in loving maner as before. As for his love to Apelles, though it was hereby formewhat cooled; yet by meanes of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remission therein could be discerned.

The unrestfull temper of Apelles, having with much vehemencie brought nothing to paffe; beganne (as commonly Ambition ufeth) to fwell and grow venemous for want of his free motion. He betakes himselfe to his cunning againe: and as before, being checket in his doings with those of the vulgar, he had prepared a snare for the Arais: so fayling of them; he thinkes it wisedome to lay for the King himself, and for all at once which were about him. In fuch manner formetime, the Spider thought to have taken the Swallow which drave away Flies out of the chimnie; but was carried (net and all) into the Aire by the bird, that was too ftrong to be caught and held by the fubrile workemanship of a Cob-web. Of the foure that next unto Apelles were left by Antigonus in chiefe place 30 about Philip; Taurion, his Lievtenant in Peloponnessus, and Alexander Captaine of the Guard, were faithfull men, and fuch as would not be corrupted. The other two, Leoniiis Captain of the Targettiers, and Megaleas chiefe of the Secretaries, were easily won to be at Apelles his disposition. This politician therefore studied how to remove the other two from their places, and put some Creatures of his owne into their roomes. Against Alexander he went to worke the ordinary way, by calumniation and privie detraction. But for the supplanting of Taurion he used more finenesse; loading him with daily commendations, as a notable man of war, and one, whom for his many vertues the King might ill spare from being alwayes in his presence. By such Art he thought to have removed him, as we fay, Out of Gods ble sing into a warme Sunne. In the meane feafon Arasus retired him felfe; and fought to avoide the dangerous friendship of the King by forbearing to meddle in affaires of State. As for the new Prætor of Achaia, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the King; He was a man of no dispatch; and one that hadno grace with the people. Wherefore a great deale of time was loft, whilst Philip wanted both the money and the Corne, wherewith he should have beene furnished by the Acheans. This made the King understand his owne errour; which he wisely fought to reforme betimes. He perswaded the Achaans to rejourne their Parliament from Agium, to Sycion, the Towne of Aratus. There he dealt with the old man and his fon, perswading them to forget what was past, and laying all the blame upon Apelles, on whom thenceforth he intended to keepea more diligent eye. So by the travell of thefe so worthy men. He eafily obtained what he would of the Acheans. Fifty talents they gave him out of hand; with great store of Corne: & further decreed, That fo long as he himfelfe in person followed the wars in Pelopomesus, he should receive tentalents amoneth. Being thus enabled, he began to provide shipping, that so he might invade the Arolians, Eleans, and Lucedemonians, that were maritime people, at his pleasure, and hinder their excursions by Sea.

It vexed Apelles beyond measure, to see things go forward so well without his helpes even by the ministery of those whom he most hated. Wherefore he entred into conspiracie with Leonism and Megaleas: binding himselfe and them by Oath, to crosse and

bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King should take in hand. By so doing, they thought to bring it to passe, that very want of ability to doe any thing without them; should make him speake them faire, and be glad to submit himselfe to their directions. The King it is like had stood in some awe of them whilst he was a child; and therefore these wise men perswaded themselves, that, by looking bigge upon him, and imputing unto him all that fell out ill through their own misgovernment of his affaires. they might rule him as a childe still. Apelles would needs goe to Chalcis, there to take order for the provisions, which were to come that way out of Macedon: The other two staid behinde with the King, to play their parts; all more mindfull of their wicked oath.

The fifth Booke of the first pars

His Fleet and Army being in a readinesse: Philip made countenance, as if he would have bent all his forces against the Eleans; to whose aid therfore the Liolians sent men, little fearing that the mischiese would have fallen, as soone after it did, upon themselves. But against the Eleans and those that came to helpe them, Philip thought it enough to leave the Achaans, with some part of his & their Mercenaries. He himselfe with the body of his Army putting to Sea, landed in the Ile of Cephallenia: whence the Etolians. dwelling over against it, used to furnish themselves of shipping, when they went to rove abroad. There he befieged the Towne of Palaa, that had beene very ferviceable to the Enemie against him and his Consederates; and might beevery usefull to him, if hee could get it. Whilest he lay before this Towne, there came unto him fifteene shippes 20 of watre from Scerdilaidas; and many good Souldiers, from the Epirois, Acarnanians, and Messenians. But the Towne was obstinate; and would not be terrefied with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts fave one, on which fide Philip carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith he overthrew two hundred foot thereof. Leonism Captaine of the Targeniers, was appointed by the King to make the affault. But he, remembring his covenant with Apelles, did both wilfully forbeare to doe his best; and caused others to do the like. So the Macedonians were put to foile, and many flaine, not of the worst Souldiers; but fuch as had gotten over the breach, and would have carried the Towne, if the Treason of their Captaine, and some by him corrupted, had not hindred the victory. The King was angry with this, but there was no remedie; and therefore 30. he thought upon breaking up the fiege. For it was easier unto the Townes-men to make up the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilest he stood thus perplexed and uncertaine what course to take: the Messenians and Acarnanians lay hard upon him, each of them defirous to draw him into their owne Countrey. The Meffenians alledged, that Lycurgus was busie in wasting their Countrey : upon whom the King might come unawares in one day; the Exefian windes which then blew, serving fitly for his Navigation. Hereto also Leonizus perswaded; who considered that those windes, as they would eafily carry him thither, fo would they detaine him there perforce (blowing all the Dogge-dayes) and make him fpend the Summer to finall or no purpose. But Aratus gave better counsaile, and prevailed. He shewed how unfitting it were, to let the 40 Aetolians over-runne all Theffalie againe, and fome part of Macedon, whilest the King withdrew his Armie farre off to seeke small adventures. Rather, he said that the time now served well to carry the warre into Aetolia; since the Prætor was gone thence abroad on roving, with the one halfe of their strength. As for Lycurgus; he was not strong enough to doe much harme in Peloponnesw: and it might suffice, if the Achaens were appointed to make head against him. According to this advice, the King sets sayle for Actolia, and enters the Bay of Ambraira, which divided the Accolians from Acamania. The Acarnanians were glad to fee him on their borders; and joyned with him as many of them as could beare armes, to helpe in taking vengeance upon their bad neighbours. He marched up into the in-land Countrey and taking some places by the way, which he 50 filled with Garrisons to affure his Retrait; He passed onto Thermum, which was the Receptacke of the Aetolians, and funcit place of defence in all extremities. The Country round about was a great Fastnesse, environed with rockie Mountaines of very narrow, Reepe, and difficult afcent. There wid the Aerokans use to hold all their chiefe meetings, their Faires, their election of Magistrates, and their solemne Games. There also they used to bestow the most precious of their goods , as in a place of greatest security. This opinion of the naturall strength, had made them carelesse in looking unto it. When Philip therefore had overcome the bad way, there was nothing elfe to do than to take spoile: whereof

whereof he found fuch plenty, that he thought the paines of his journey well recompenced. So he loaded his Armie: and confuming all that could not be carryed away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chiefe of all belonging unto the Etolians; in remembrance of their like courtefie, shewed upon the Temples of Dium and Dodona. This burning of the Temple, might (questionlesse) more for the Kings honour have beene forborne. But perhaps he thought, as Monsieur du Gourgues the French Captaine told the Spaniards in Florida, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his returne from Thermum, the Atolians laid for him: which that they would doe, he beleeved before; and therefore was not taken unawares. Three thousand of them there were that 10 lying in ambush, fell upon his skirts: but he laid a Counter-ambush for them, of his Itbreans; who staying behind the rest, did set upon the backes of the Exolians, whilest they were builly charging in Rere the Armie that went before. So with flaughter of the enemy, he returned the same way that he came: and burning downe those places that he had raken before, as also wasting the Country round about him. He safely carried all that he had gotten aboard his fleet. Once the Atolians made countenance of fight, iffuing out of Stratus in great bravery. But they were beaten home fafter than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The joy of this victorious Expedition being every way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any finister accident; it pleased the King to make a great feast unto all his friends and Captaines. Thither were invited among the rest Leontius, with his fellow Megaleas. They came, because they could not choose but their heavie looks argued, what little pleasure they tooke in the Kings prosperity. It grieved them to think, that they should be able to give no better account unto Apelles, of their hindering the Kings businesse; fince Apelles himselfe, as will be shewed anon, had played his own part with a most mischievous dexteritie. Finding Aratus on the way home to his Tent: they fell to reviling him, throwing stones at him, so that they caused a great uprore; many running in (ashappens in fuch cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King sending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed. Which made him fend for Leonius and his fellowes. But Leonius was gotten out of the way: Megaleas, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their disorder: and they, to give him froward answers: insomuch, as they said at length, That they would never give over, till they had rewarded Aratus with a mischiefe as hedeserved. Hereupon the King committed them to ward. Leonius hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his Targettiers at his heeles : and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands upon Megaleas, yea and to cast him into prison? Why, faid the King, it was even I. This refolute answer, which Leonius had not expected, made him depart both sad and angrie; seeing himselse out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedy the matter. Shortly after Megaless was called forth to his answer, and was charged by Aratus with many great crimes. Among which were, The hindrance of the Kings victory at Palea, and the Compact made with Apelles: matters no leffe touching Leomius, that stood by as a looker on, than Megaleas that was accused. In conciufion the prefumptions against him were fo strong, and his answers thereto so weake; that he, and Crinon one of his fellowes, were condemned in twenty Talents: Crinon being remanded back to prison; and Leonius becomming Baile for Megaleas. This was done upon the way home-wards, as the King was returning to Corinth.

Philip dispatched well a great deale of businesse this yeere. For as soone as hee was at Corinib, he tooke in hand an Expedition against the Lacedamonians. These and the Eleans had done what harme they could in Peloponnefus, whileft the King was absent: The Acheans had opposed them as well as they could; with ill successe, yet so, as they hindred them from doing such harme as else they would have done. But when Philip came, he over-ranthe Country about Lacedamonie was in a maner at the gates of Sparta, ere men could well beleeve that he was returned out of Aerolia. He tooke not in this Expedition any Cities, but made great waste in the fields: and having beaten the enemie in some skirmishes, carried backe with him to Corinth a rich booty of cattell, slaves, and other Countrie-spoile. At Corinth he found attending him, Embassadors from the Rhodians and Chians, that requested him to set Greece at quiet, by granting peace unto the Aetolians. They had gracious audience : and he willed them to deale first with the Aetolians, who if they would make the fame request, should not finde him unreasonable. The

Etolians had sped ill that yeer: neither saw they any likely hopes for the yeeres following. The Army that they had sent forth to waste Thessay and Macedon, found such opposition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the meane season they had beene grievously afflicted, as before is any thing to effect. In the centre of their owne Countrey. All Greece and Macedon was shewed, by Philip in the centre of their owne Countrey. All Greece and Macedon was up in armes against them, and their weake Allies the Eleans and Lacedamonians. Neither was it certaine, how long the one or other of these their Peloponnessan friends should be able to hold out, since they were not strong enough to keepe the field, but had already suffered those miseries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each to seeke their owne peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the £10-10 lians readily entertained, this negotiation of Peace: and taking truce for thirty dayes with the King, deak with him by intercession of the same Embassadors, to intreat his present the King, deak with him by intercession of the same Embassadors, to intreat his present the King, deak with him by intercession of the same Embassadors, to intreat his present at a Diet of their mation, that should be held at Rhium; whither if he would vouch safe to come, they promised that he should find them conformable to any good reason.

The fifth Booke of the first part

Whilest these things were in hand, Leonius and Megaleas thought to have terrefied the King, by raifing fedition against him in the Army. But this device forted to no good effect. The fouldiers were eafily and quickly incenfed against many of the Kings friends, who were faid to be the cause, why they were not rewarded with so much of the booty, as they thought to belong of right unto them. But their anger spent it selfe in a noise, and breaking open of doores, without further harme done. This was enough to informe 20 the King (who eafily pacified his men with gentle words) that some about him were very falle. Yea the Souldiers themselves, repenting of their insolence, defired to have the Authors of the turnult fought out, and punished according to their deferts. The King made shew as if he had not cared to make such inquisition. But Leonius and Megaleas were afraid lest the matter would soone come out of it selfe to their extreme danger. Wherefore they sent unto Apelles, the Head and Architect of their treason; reque-Ring him speedily to repaire unto Corinth , where hee might stand betweene them and the Kings displeasure. Apelles had not all this while beene wanting to the businesse, undertaken by him and his treacherous companions. Hee had taken upon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his owne hand and thereby was hee growne into fuch credit, that all the Kings Officers in Macedon and Theffalse addressed themfelves unto him, and received from him their dispatch in every businesse. Likewise the Greekes in all their flattering Decrees, tooke occasion to magnifie the vertue of Apelles, making flight mention (onely for fashions sake) of the King : who seemed no better than the Minister and Executioner of Apelles his will and pleasure. Such was the arrogancie of this great man, in fetting himselfe out unto the people: but in managing the Kings affaires, hee made it his speciall care, that money, and all things needfull for the publike service, should bee wanting. Yea hee enforced the King, for very neede, to fell his owne Plate and houshold vessels: thinking to resolve these and all other difficulties, by onely faying, Sir, be ruled wholly by me, and all shall be as you would wish. Hereto if the King would give assent, then had this Politician obtained his hearts defire. Now taking his journey from Chalcis in the Isle of Eubæa, to the City of Corinh were Philip then lay: he was fetcht in with great pompe and royalty, by a great number of the Captaines and Souldiers; which Leonisus and Megaleas drew forth to meete him on the way. So entring the city with a goodly traine, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings chamber. But Philip was well aware of his pride, and had vehement suspicion of his falsehood. Wherefore one was sent to tell him, that he should wait a while, or come another time, for the King was not now at leifure to be spoken with. It was a pretty thing, that fuch a check as this made all his attendants for fake him, as a man in difgrace; in such fort, that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him save his owne Pages. After this, the King vouchfafed him now and then some slender graces: but in consultations, or other matters of privacie, he used him not at all. This taught Megaleas to looke to himselfe, and run away betimes. Hercupon the King sent forth Taurion his Lievtenant of Peloponnesu, with all the Targettiers, as it were to do some piece of service, but indeed of purpose to apprehend Leonizus in the absence of his followers. Leontius being taken, dispatched away a messenger presently to his Targettiers, to signifie what was befallen him: and they forthwith fent unto the King in his behalfe. They made request, That if any other thing were objected against him, he might not be called forth to triall before their returne: as for the debt of Megaleas, if that were all the matter, they faid they were ready to make a purse for his discharge. This affection of the souldiers made Philip more hastie than else he would have beene, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters of Megaleas were intercepted, which hee wrote unto the *Etolians*, vilifying the King with opprobrious words, and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that Philip was even ready to sinke under the burden of his owne poverty. By this the King understood more perfectly the shille to keepe him so poore. Wherefore he sent one to pursue Megaleas that was fled to Thebes. As for Apelles, he committed both him, his sonne, and another that was inward with him, to prison; wherein all of them shortly ended their lives. Megaleas also, neither daring to stand to tryall, nor knowing whither to sly, was weary of his own life; and slew himselfe about the same time.

The Etolians, as they had begun this warre upon hope of accomplishing what they listed in the Nonage of Philip: so finding that the vigour of this young Prince, tempered with the cold advice of Aratus, wrought very effectually toward their overthrow; they grew very defirous to make an end of it. Nevertheleffe being a curbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold upon all advantages, when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of Apelles, Leontius, and Megaleas, together with some indignation 20 thereupon conceived by some of the Kings Targettiers, they began to hope anew, that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at Rhium. Of this was Philip nothing forry. For being in good hope throughly to tame this unquiet Nation; He thought it much to concerne his owne honour, that all the blame of the beginning and continuing the War should rest upon themselves. Wherfore he willed his Confederates to lay afide all thought of peace, and to prepare for War against the yeare following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his Macedonian Souldiers, by yeelding to let them winter in their owne Countrey. In his returne homeward, he called into judgement one Prolomie, a companion with Apelles and Leontius in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the Macedonians; and 30 suffered death. These were the same Macedonians, that lately could not endure to heare of Leentius his imprisonment; yet now they think the man worthy to die that was but his adherent. So vain is the confidence, on which Rebels use to build, in their favour with the Multitude.

During his abode in Macedon, Philip won fome bordering Townes; from which the Dardanians, Ætolians, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make rodes into his Kingdome: when he had thus provided for fafety of his owne; the Atolians might well know what they were to expect. Burthere came againe Embassadors from the Rhodians and Chians, with others from Ptolomy King of Egypt, and from the Citic of By-Zantium, recontinuing the former folicitation about the Peace. This fashion had been taken up in matters of Greece, ever fince the Kings that reigned after Alexander, had takenupon them to fet the whole Country at liberty: No fooner was any Province or Citie in danger to bee oppressed and subdued by force of warre, but presently there were found interceffors, who pitying the effusion of Greekish bloud, would importune the stronger to relinquish his advantage. By doing such friendly offices in time of need, the Princes and States abroad fought to binde unto them those people, that were how soever weake in numbers, yet very good fouldiers. But hereby it came to passe, that the more froward fort, especially the Atolians, whose whole Nation was addicted to falsehood and robbery; durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their Neighbours: being well affured that if they had the worst, The love of Greece would be sufficient for to redeemetheir quiet. They had, fince the late Treaty of peace, done what harme they could in Peloponnesus : but being beaten by the Acheans, and standing inseare to be more foundly beaten at home, they defired now, more earnestly than before, to make an end of the Warre as soone as they might. Philip made such answer unto the Embassadours, as he had done the former yeare; That he gave not occasion to the beginning of this Warre, nor was at the present affraid to continue it, or unwilling to end it: But that the Etolians, if they had a defire to live in rest, must first be dealt withall, to signifie plainly their determination, whereto himselfe would returne such answer as he should think fit.

CHAP. 4. \$.3.

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Philip had at this time no great liking unto the Peace, being a yong Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the War. But it happened in the middest of this Negotiation, that he was advertised by letters out of Macedon, what a notable victory Hamibal had obtained against the Romans in the battell at Thraspmene. These letters he communicated unto Demetrius Pharius: who greatly encouraged him to take part ters he communicated unto Demetrius Pharius: who greatly encouraged him to take part ters he communicated unto Demetrius Pharius: who greatly encouraged him to take part with Hamibal: and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the Italian War. Hereby he with Hamibal: and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the Italian was concluded grew more inclinable than before unto Peace with the Letolians: which was concluded shortly in a meeting at Naupattus. There did Agelaus an Etalian make a great Oration: should finishing War betweene themselves, without being molested by the Barbarians. To about finishing War betweene themselves, without being molested by the Barbarians. To about finishing War betweene themselves, without being molested by the Barbarians. To about finishing War betweene themselves, without being molested by the Barbarians. To about finishing War betweene themselves, without being molested by the Barbarians. To about finishing War betweene themselves, without being molested by the Barbarians. To about finishing the country should forthwith look East ward, and seek by all means to set to be doubted, that they would forthwith look East ward, and seek by all means to set to be doubted, that they would forthwith look East ward, and seek by all means to set to be doubted, that they would forthwith look East ward, and seek by all means to set to be doubted, that they would forthwith look East ward, and seek by all means to set the search ward, and seek by all means to set the search ward, and seek by all means to set the search ward, and seek by all means to set the search war

Such advice could the *Esolians* then give, when they stood infeare of danger threatning them at hand: but being soone after weary of rest, as being accustomed to enrich
themselves by pillage, they were so farre from observing and following their owngood
counsell, that they invited the *Romans* into Greece, whereby they brought themselves and
the whole Country (but themselves before any other part of the Country) under servitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That every one should keepe
what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages

5. III.

Philip at the perswasion of Demetrius Pharius, enters into League with Hannibal, against the Romans. The Tenour of the League between Hannibal and Philip.

→ His being agreed upon: the *Greekes* betooke themselves to quiet courses of life; and Philip to prepare for the businesse of Italy, about which he consulted with Demetrius Pharius. And thus passed the time away, till the great battell of Canna: after which he joyned in league with Hannibal, as hath been shewed before. Demetrius Pharius bore great malice unto the Romans; and knew no other way to be avenged upon them, or to recover his owne loft kingdome, than by procuring the Macedonian, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsell, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwise been farre more expedient for Poilip, to have supported the weaker of those two great Cities against the more mighty. For by so doing, he should perhaps have brought them to peaceupon some equal termes, and thereby, as did Hiero, a farre weaker Prince, 40 have both secured his owne Estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of chiefe place in his friendship. The iffue of the counsell which he followed, will appeare soone after this. His first quarrell with the Romans ; the trouble which they and the Atolians did put him to in Greece; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, upon fuch Conditions that might eafily be broken: have been related in another place, as belonging unto the second Punick War. Wherefore I will only here set down the tenour of the League between Him and Carthage: which may seeme not unworthy to be read, if only inregard of the forme it selfethenused; though it had been over-long to have been inferted into a more busic peece.

The Oath and Covenants be-

tweene Hannibal Generall of the Carthaginians, and Xenophanes, Embassador of Philip King of Macedon.

HIS is the League ratified by oath, which Hannibal the Generall, and with him Mago, Myrcal, and Barmocal, as also the Senators of Cartnage von a property and all the Carthaginians that are in his Army, have made with Xenophanes the son of Cleomachus Athenian, whom King Philip the son of Demerrius hath son of Cleomachus Athenian, whom King Philip the son of Demerrius hath fent unto us, for himselfe and the Macedonians, and his Associates: Before Jupiter, and Juno. and Apollo : before * The God of the Carthaginians, Hercules and Tolaus : before Mars, * Danon. Triton, Neptune: before The Gods accompanying Armes, the Sunne, the Moone, and the 20 Earth; before Rivers and Meddowes, and Waters; before all the Gods that have power over Carthage; before all the Gods that rule over Macedon, and the rest of Greece; before all the Gods that are Presidents of Warre, and present at the making of this League. Hannibal the Generall bath (aid, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the Carthaginians in his Army: Be it agreed betweene You and Us, that this Oath stand for friendship and loving affection, that We become friends, familiar, and brethren, upon Covenant, that the fafety of the Lords the Carthaginians, and of Hannibal the Generall, and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Provinces of the Carthaginians, using the same Lawes, and of the Uticans, and as many Cities and Nations as obey the Carthaginians, and of the Souldiers and Affociates, and of all Townes and Nations with which we hold triend hip in Italy, Gaule, and Ligaria, and with whom we shall hold friendship or make alliance hereafter in this Region; be preserved by King Philip and the Macedonians, and such of the Greeks as are their Associates. In like maner shall King Philip and the Macedonians, and other the Greeks his Affociates, be faved and preserved by the Carthaginian Armies, and by the Uticans, and by all Cities and Nations that obey the Carthaginians, and by their Associates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in Italy, Gaule, and Liguria that are of our Alliance, or shall bereafter joyne with Us in Italy. Wee shall not take Counsell one against the other nor deale fraudulen: ly one with the other. With all readine se and good will without deceit or subtlety, We shall be enemies unto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting those Kings, Townes, and Havens, withwhich Wee bave already league and friendship. We also shall be enemies to the enemies of King Philip. o excepting those Kings, Cities, & Nations, with which we have already league and friendship. The Warthat We have with the Romans, have Ye also with them, untill the Gods shall give us a new and happy end. Te shall and us with those things whereof we have need, and shall do according to the Covenants betweene Us. But if the Gods shall not give unto You and Ustheir helpe in this War against the Romans and their Associates then if the Romans offer friendship, We shall make friendship in such wise that Te shall be partakers of the same friendship, With Condition, That they shall not have power to make War upon you: Neither shall the Romans be Lords over the Corcyr & 211s, nor over those of Apollonia, nor Dyrrachium, nor over Pharus nor Dimalle nor the Parthini nor Atintania. They shall also render unto Demetrius Pharius all these that belong unto him, as many as are within the Romans Dominions. But oif the Romans (after fuch peace made) shall make War upon Yee or Us . We will succour one another in that War, as either shall have need. The same shall be observed in War made by any other, excepting those Kings, Cities, and States, with whom we hold already league and friendhip. To this league if We or Te shall think fit to adde or detract, such addition or detraction shall be made by our common confent.

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How Philip yeelded to his naturall vices, being therein soothed by Demetrius Pharius. His desire to tyrannize upon the free States his Associates: With the troubles into which hee thereby fell whilest he bore a part in the second Punick War. He poysoneth Aratus: and grows hatefull to the Acheans.

Ttherto *Philip* had carried himfelfe as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wisedome, hee might have offered his friendship to the Romans, that were like to be oppressed, than to the Carthaginians, who had the better hand: yet this his medling in the Punick War, proceeded from a roy all greatnesse of minde, with a defire to secure and increase his owne estate, adding therewithall reputation to his Countrie. But in this businesse he was guided (as hath been said) by Demetrius Pharius: who, looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himfelfe to his defires: and thereby shortly governed him as he listed. For the vertues of Philip were not indeed fuch as they seemed. He was luftfull, bloudy, and tyrannicall: defirous of power to doe what he listed, and not otherwise listing to doe what he ought, than so farre forth, as by making a faire shew he might breed in men such good opinion of him, as should help to serve his turne in all that he took in hand. Before he should busie himselfe in Italy, herhought it requisite in good policie, to bring the Greekes that were his Associates, under a more absolute forme of subjection. Hereunto Apelles had advised him before: and he had liked reasonably well of the course. But Apelles was aboysterous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his owne glory, thought himselfe deepely wronged if hee might not wholly have his owne way, but were driven to await the Kings opportunity at other times. Demetrius Pharius could well be contented to observe the kings humours: and guided, like a Coach-man with the reines in his hand, those affections which himfelfedid onely feeme to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit: fo as, without any manner of contention, he supplanted Aratus: which the violence of Apelles

There arose about these times a very hot Faction among the Messenians, betweene 30 could never doe. the Nobility and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diverted (as happens often after a forreigne War) unto domesticall objects, than allayed and reduced unto a more quiet temper. In processe of no long time, the contention among them grew fo violent, that Philp was intreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: refolving fo to end the matter, that they should not henceforth strive any more about their Government: for that he would affume it wholly to himselfe. At his comming thither, he found Araius busie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his owne fecret purpole. Wherefore he consulted not with this reverend old man: but talked in private with fuch of the Meffenians as repaired unto him. He asked the Governours, what they meant to ftand thus disputing : and whether they had 40 not Lawes, to bridle the infolence of the unruly Rabble: Contrariwife, in talking with theheads of the popular Faction, He faid it was strange, that they being so many, would fuffer themselves to be opposed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrants. Thus whilest each of them prefumed on the Kings affistance; they thought it best to goe roundly to worke, erethat hee were gone that should countenance their doings. The Governours therefore would have apprehended some seditious Orators, that were, they faid, the stirrers up of the multitude unto sedition. Upon this occasion, the people tooke Armes: and running upon the Nobility and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage, almost two hundred. Philip thought, it seemes, that it would be casie to worry the Sheepe, when the Dogs their guardians were slaine. But 5 his falshood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger Aratus forbeare to tell him of it in publike, with very bitter and difgracefull words. The King was angry at this. But having already done more than was commendable, or excufable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein hee should need the help and countenance of his best friends; Hee was content to smother his displeasure, and make as faire weather as he could. Hee ledde old Aratus aside by the hand; and went up into the Castle of Ithome, that was over Messene. There he pretended to doe sacrifice : and sacrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keepe the place

to his ownerse; for that it was of notable strength, and would serve to command the further parts of Peloponnesus, as the Citadel of Corinth, which he had already, commanded the entrance into that Country. Whilest he was therefore facrificing, and had the entrals of the beast delivered into his hands, as was the manner; he shewed them to Aratus, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he faw therein did fignifie, That being now in possession of this place, he should quietly goe out of it, or rather keep it to himselfe. He thought perhaps, that the old man would have foothed him a little; were it only for defire to make amends for the angry words newly spoken by his son. But as Aratus stood doubtfull whatto answer, Demetrius Pharius gave this verdict: If thou be a footh fayer, thou no maist goe thy waies, and let flip this good advantage; if thou be a King, thou must not neglect the opportunity, but hold the Oxe by both his horns. Thus he spake ; resembling It home and Acrocorinthus unto the two horns of Peloponne (us. Yet would Philip needs heare the oninion of Aratus: who told him plainly, That it were well done to keep the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith unto the Meffenians: But if, by feizing upon Ithome, He must lose all the other Castles that he held, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left unto him by Antigonus, which was his credit; then were it far better to depart with his fouldiers, and keep men in duty, as he had done hitherto, by their own good wils, than by fortifying any firong places against them, to make them of his friends become his enemies.

To this good advice *Philip* yeelded at the present but not without some dislike thenceforth growing betweene him and the *Arati*; whom he thought more froward than beseemed them, in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man desirous at all, to deale
any longer in the Kings affaires, or be inward with him. For, as he plainly discovered his
tyrannous purposes: so likewise he perceived, that in resorting to his house. He had been
dishonest with his sons wise. He therefore staid at home: where at good leisure he might
repent, that in despight of *Cleomenes*, his owne Countri-man, and a temperate Prince, he
had brought the *Macedonians* into *Peloponnesus*.

Philip made a Voyage out of Peloponness into Epirus, wherein Aratus refused to beare him company. In this journey he found by experience what Aratus had lately told to him, That unhonest counsels are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The Epirus were his sollowers and dependants; and so they purposed to continue. But he would needs have them so to remaine, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious unto his Will, He seised upon their Towne of Oricum, and laid siege to Apollonia; having no good colour of these doings: but thinking himself strong enough to doe what he listed, and not seeing whence they should procure friends to helpe them. Thus in stead of setting the Country, as his intended Voyage into Italy required: He kindled a fire in it which he could never quench, untill it had laid hold on his own Palace. Whilesh he was thus labouring to bind the hands that should have fought for him in Italy gains thin, but procured the Atolians to breake the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that Warre; the occurrents whereof we have related before, in the place whereto it belonged. In mannaging whereof, though *Philip* did the offices of a good Captaine: yet when leifure ferved, He made it apparent that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former defire, of oppressing the liberty of the Messenians, but made another journey into their Country, with hope to deceive them as before. They understood him better now than before; and therefore were not hasty to trust him too farre. When he saw that his cunning would not serve, He went to worke by force; and calling them his enemies, invaded them with open Warre. But in that Warre he could doe little good; perhaps, because none of his Consederates were desirous to helpe him in such an enterprise. In this attempt upon Messene, he lost Demetrius Pharius; that was his Counfellor and Flatterer, not his Perverter; as appeares by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that he sped, the more angry he waxed against those that seemed not to savour his injurious doings. Wherefore by the ministery of Taurion, his Lievtenant, he poyfoned old Aratus; and shortly after that he poyfoned also the yonger Aratus: hoping that these things would never have been knowne, because they were done secretly, and the poysons themselves were more sure than manifest in operation. The Siegonians, and all the people of Achaia, decreed unto

CHAP.4.5.5.

Aratus more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymnes, and Processions, to be celebrated every yeare twice, with a Priest ordained unto him for that purpose; as was accustomed unto the Heroes, or men, whom they thought to be translated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are faid to have been encouraged by an Oracle of Apollo. which is like enough to have been true, fince the helpe of the Devill is never failing to the increase of Idolatry.

The fift Booke of the first part

The loving memory of Aratus their Patron, and fingular Benefactor, could not but worke in the Acheans a marvellous diflike of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He shall therefore heare of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counfell for themselves. At the present, the murder was not generally knowne or beleeved: neither were they in case to subsist, without his help that had committed it. The Ato. Is lians were a most outragious people, great darers, and shamelesse robbers. With these the Romans made a league: whereof the Conditions were foon divulged, especially that maine point, concerning the division of the purchase which they should make, namely, That the Atolians should have the Country and Townes; but the Romans the spovle. and carry away the people to fell for flaves. The Achains, who in times of greater quiet. could not endure to make streight alliance with the Atolians, as knowing their uncivil disposition; were much the more averse from them, when they perceived how they had called in the Barbarians (for fuch did the Greekes acount all other Nations except their owne) to make havock of the Country. The same consideration moved also the Lacedemonians to stand off a while, before they would declare themselves for the Atolians; 20 whose friendship they had embraced in the late War. The industry therefore of Philip, and the great care which he seemed to take of the Acheans his Confederates, sufficed to retaine them: especially, at such time, as their owne necessity was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged unto himselfe the Dymaans, by an inestimable benefit :recovering their Town, after it had bin taken by the Romans and Atolians; and redeeming their people wherefoever they might bee found, that had been carried away Captive, and fold abroad for flaves. Thus might he have blotted out the memory of offences past; if the malignity of his naturall condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and given men to understand, that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a 10 shew of goodnesse. Among other foule acts, whereof he was not ashamed; He took Polycratia the wife of the yonger Aratus, and carried her into Macedon: little regarding how this might serve to confirme in the people their opinion, that he was guilty of the old mans death. But of fuch faults he shall be told, when the Romans make War upon him the fecondtime: for, of that which happened in this their first Invasion, I hold it superstuous to make repetition.

6. V. Of Philopoemen Generall of the Acheans: and Machanidas, Tyrant of Lacedamon. Abst-40 tell between them, wherein Machanidas is flain.

Thappens often, that the decease of one eminent man discovers the vertue of another. In the place of Aratus there stood up Philopamen: whose notable va-Lour, and great skill in Armes, made the Nation of the Acheans redoubtable among all the Greekes, and carelesse of such protection, as in former times they had needed against the violence of their neighbours. This is that Philopamen: who being then a young man, and having no command; did especiall service to Antigenus at the battell of Sellafia against Cleomenes. Thence forward untill now he had spent the most part of his time in the Ile of Crete: the Inhabitants whereof being a valiant people, and feldome or never at peace betweene themselves; He bettered among them his knowledge, 50 and practice in the Art of Warre. At his returne home, He had charge of the Horse: wherein he carried himselfe so strictly, travelling with all the Cities of the Confederacie to have his followers well mounted, and armed at all pieces: as also he so diligently trained them up in all exercise of service, that he made the Acheans very strong in that part of their forces. Being afterward chosen Prætor or Generall of the Nation, Hee had no lesse care to reforme their military discipline throughout, whereby his Countrie might be strong enough to defend it selfe, and not any longer (as in former times) need to depend upon the helpe of others. Hee perswaded the Achaans to cut off their vaine

expence of bravery, in apparell, houshold-stuffe, and curious fare, and to bestow that cost upon their Armes: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to prove the better Souldiers, and futable in behaviour, unto the pride of their furniture. They had ferved hitherto with little light Bucklers, and slender Darts, to cast afar off; that were usefull in skirmishing at some distance, or for surprises, or sudden and hastic Expeditions, whereto Aratus had bin most accustomed. But when they came to handie-strokes, they were good for nothing, so long as they were wholly driven to rely upon the courage of their Mercenaries. Philopomen altered this: causing them to arme themselves more weightily, to use a larger kind of shield, with good swords, and strong , pikes, fit for service at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order, and altered the form of their embattelling: not making the Files fo deep as had bin accustomed, but extending the Front, that he mightuse the service of many hands.

Eight moneths were spent of that yeer, in which he first was Prator of the Achaans. when Machanidas the Tyrant of Lacedamon caused him to make trial, how his fouldiers had profited by his discipline. This Machanidas was the succetsor unto Lycurgus, a man more violent than his foregoer. He kept in pay a strong Army of mercenaries: and he kept them not onely to fight for Sparta, but to hold the Citie in obedience to himselfe perforce. Wherefore it behoved him not to take part with the Acheans, that were favorers of liberty; but to strengthenhimselfe by friendship of the Atolians: who, in making an Alliances, took no further notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their own profit. The people also of Lacedamon, through their inveterate hatred unto the Argives. Achains, and Macedonians; were in like fort (all or most of them) inclinable to the Atolian Faction. Very unwifely. For in feeking to take revenge upon those that had lately hindred them from getting the Lordship of Peloponneswithey hindred themselves thereby from recovering the Mastry of their own Citie. This affection of the Spartans, together with the regard of his own fecurity, and no small hope of good that would follow, fuffered not Machanidas to be idle; but alwaies made him ready to fall upon his neighbours backes, and take of theirs what he could, whileft they were enforced, by greater necessity, to turne face another way. Thus had he often done, especially in the absence o of Philip: whose sudden comming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had usually made himfaile of his attempts. At the present he was stronger in men, than were the Acheans, and thought his owne men better Souldiers than were

Whilest Philip therefore was busied else-where, he entred the Country of the Manuneans: being not without hope to doe as Cleomenes had done beforehim; yea and perhaps to get the *Lord [hip of Peloponne fus, as having stronger friends and weaker oppo- *Excerpt. d Pol. sition, than Cleomenes had found. But Philopamen was ready to entertain him at Maniz-Plut in vita Phil nea; where was fought between them a great battell. The Tyrant had brought into lopamen. the field upon Carts a great many of engines, wherewith to beat upon the Squadrons of his Enemies, and put them in diforder. To prevent this danger, Philopæmen fent forth his light armature a good way before him; fo as Machanidas was faine to doe the like. To fecond thefe, from the one and the other fide came in continual supply still at length all the Mercenaries, both of the Achaans and of Machanidas, were drawn up to the fight: being so farre advanced, each before their owne Phalanx, that it could no otherwise be different which preffed forward, or which recoyled, than by rifing of the duft. Thus were Machanidas his Engines made unferviceable, by the interpolition of his own men; in such manner as the Cannon is hindred from doing execution, in most of the battels fought in these our times. The Mercenaries of the Tyrant prevailed at length: not onely by their advantage of number, but (as Polybins well observeth) by surmounting their polybins opposites in degree of courage; wherein usually the hired Souldiers of Tyrants exceed those that are waged by free States. For as it is true, that a free people are much more valiant than they which live oppressed by Tyrannie, since the one, by doing their best in fight, have hope to acquire somewhat beneficiall to themselves, whereas the other doe fight (as it were) to affure their owne servitude: so the Mercenaries of a Tyrant, being made partakers with him in the fruits of his prosperity, have as good cause to maintaine his quarrell as their own; whereas they that ferve under a free State, have no other motive to doe manfully, than their bare stipend. Further than this, When a free State hath gotten the victory many companies (if not all) of forrein Auxiliaries are presently cast;

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6. VI.

Philip having peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus Cappadocia, Ponius, Paphlagonia, Bishynia, and their Linages. Of the Galatians.

Y this victorie the Acheans learned to thinke well of themselves. Neither needed they indeed after a while (fuch was their discipline and continual exercise) to account themselves in matter of war inseriour to any, that should have brought against them no great oddes of number. As for the Macedonian, he made no great 50 use of them. But when he had once concluded peace with the Romans and Etolians, he studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; fince the fortune of his friends the Carthaginians declined in the West. He tooke in hand many matters together, or very nearely together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the Acheans would have done him fervice, they must, by helping him to oppresse others that never had wronged him, have taught him the way how to deale with themselves. He greatly hated Attalu King of Pergamu, who had joyned with the Romans and Eiolians in warre against him. This

CHAP. 4. \$.6. of the History of the World.

This Atalus, though a King, was fcarce yet a Nobleman, otherwife than as he was ennobled by his own, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune began in Phileterus his Uncle: who being guelded, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a childe, grew afterwards thereby to be the more effectmed as great men in those times reposed much confidence in Eunuches, whose affections could not be obliged unto wives or children. He was entertained into the family of Docimus, a Captaine following Antigonus the first; and after the death of Antigonus, he accompanied his Master, that betooke himselfe to Lysimachus King of Thrace. Lysimachus hada good opinion of him; and put him in trust with his money and accounts. But when at length he stood in seare of this King, that 10 grew a bloudy Tyrant; he fled into Asia, where he seized upon the Towne of Pergamus, and nine thousand talents belonging to Lysimachus. The Towne and money, together with his owne service, he offered unto Seleuchus the first, that then was ready to give Lysimachus battell. His offer was kindly accepted, but never performed; for that Seleuchus, having flaine Lysimachus, dyed shortly after himselse, before he made use of Phileterus or his mony . So this Eunuch still retained Pergamus, with the Country round about it; and reigned therein twenty years as an absolute King. He had two brethren: of which the elder is faid to have bin a poor Carter; and the younger perhaps nor much better, before such time they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. Philetærus left his Kindome to the elder of these, or to the son of the elder, called Eumenes. This Eumeones enlarged his Kingdome; making his advantage of the diffention between Seleuchus Calinicus and Antiochus Hierax, the fons of the second Antiochus. He fought a battell with Hierax, neere unto Sardes, and won the victory. At which time, to animate his men against the Gaules that served under his Enemy, he used a pretty device. He wrote the word * Victory upon the hand of his Soothfayer, in fuch colours as would eafily come off: * Jul Front. and when the hot liver of the beast that was facrificed, had cleanly taken the print of the Strails of the letters, He published this unto his Army as a Miracle; plainly foreshewing that the gods would be affiftant in that Battell.

After this Victory, he grew a dreadfull enemy to Seleuchus: who never durst attempt to recover from him, by Warre, the Territory that he had gotten and held. Finally, o when he had reigned two and twenty yeeres, he died by a furfeit of over-much drinke, and left his kingdome to Attalus, of whom we now entreat, that was fon unto Attalus the youngest brother of Philetarus. Attalus was an undertaking Prince, very bountifull. and no leffe valiant. By his owne proper forces he restored his friend Ariara: hes the Cappadocian into his Kingdome, whence he had been expelled. He was grievously molefted by Achaus: who letting up himselfe as king against Antiochus the great, reigned in the leffer Asia. He was besieged in his own City of Pergamus: but by the helpe of the Tellofage, a Nation of the Gaules, whom he called over out of Thrace, He recovered all that he had lost. When these Gaules had once gotten footing in Asia, they never wanted employment but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quar-40 ters, or interposed themselves, without invitation; and sound themselves worke in quarrels of their owne making. They caused Prusias King of Buhyma to cease from his war against Byzantium. Whereunto when he had condescended; they neverthelesse within a while after invaded his Kingdome. Hee obtained against them a great victory; and used it with great crueltie, sparing neither age nor sexe. But the swarme of them increafing, they occupied the Region about Hellespont: where, in seating themselves, they were much beholding unto Arralus. Nevertheleffe, presuming afterwards upon their strength, they forced their Neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute: in the sharpe exaction whereof, they had no more respect unto Attalus, than to any that had worse deserved of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them: and Hee being victorious, compelled them to containe themselves within the bounds of that Province, which tooke name from them in time following, and was called Galatia. Yet continued they still to oppresse the weakest of their neighbours; and to fill up the Armies of those, that could best hire them.

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the posterity of such as had saved themselves and their Provinces, in the flothfull reigne of the Persians; or in the busic times of Alexander, and his Macedonian followers. The Cappadocians were very ancient. For the first of their line had married with Atoffa, fifter unto the great King Cyrus. Their Countrey was taken from them by Perdiccas, as is shewed before. But the fon of that king, whom

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Perdiccas crucified, espying his time while the Macedonians were at civill warresamong themselves; recovered his dominion, and passed it over to his off-spring. The Kings of Poneus had also their beginning from the Persian Empire; and are said to have issued from the royall house of Achamenes. The Paphlagonians derived themselves from Pylamenes, a King that assisted Priamus at the warre of Troy. These, applying themselves unto the times, were alwayes conformable unto the strongest. The Ancestors of Prusias had begun to reigne in Bythinia, some few generations before that of the great Alexander. They lay fomewhat out of the Macedonians way : by whom therefore, having other employment, they were the leffe molested. Calantus, one of Alexanders Captains, made an expedition into their Country; where he was vanquished. They had afterwards to doe with 10 a Lievtenant of Antigonu, that made them somewhat more bumble. And thus they shuffled, as did the rest, untill the reigne of Prusias, whom we have already sometimes mentioned.

6. VII.

The Town of Cios taken by Philip, at the instance of Prusias, King of Bythinia, and cruelly destroyed. By this and the like actions, Philip growes hat efull to many of the Greeks: and is marred upon by Attalus King of Pergamus, and by the Rhodians.

Rusias, as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with Analus; whose greatnesse 20 he suspected. He therefore strengthened himselfe, by taking to wife the daughter of Philip; as Attalus, on the contrary fide, entred into a strict Confederacie with the Liolians, Rhodians, and other of the Greekes. But when Philip had ended his Atolian warre, and was devising with Anizochus about sharing betweene them two the Kingdome of Egypt, wherein Prolomie Philopater, a friend unto them both, was newly dead; and had left his son Prol. Epiphanes, a young childe, his heire: the Bythinian entreated this his Father-in-law to come over into Asia, there to winne the Towne of the Ciani, and bestow it upon him. Prustas had no right unto the Towne, nor just matter of quarrell against it : but it was fitly seated for him, and therewithall rich. Philip came, as 30 one that could not well deny to help his Son-in-law. But hereby he mightily offended no small part of Greece. Embassadours came to him whilest he lay at the fiege, from the Rhodians, and divers other States: intreating him to forfake the enterprise. He gave dilatorie, but otherwise gentle answers: making shew as if he would condescend to their request, when he intended nothing lesse. At length he got the Towne: where, even in presence of the Embassadours, of whose solicitation he had seemed so regardfull, Hee omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby he rendred himselfe odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruell Prince. Especially his fact was detested of the Rhodians, who had made vehement intercession for the poore Ciani: and were advertised by Embassadours of purpose sent unto them from Philip, That, how soever it were in his power to winne 40 the Towne as soone as he listed, yet in regard of his love to the Rhodians, he was contented to give it over. And by this his clemency, the Embassadours said, that he would manifest unto the world what slanderous tongues they were, which noysed abroad such reports, as went of his falshood and oppression. Whilest the Embassadours were declaming at Rhodes in the Theater to this effect; there came some that made a true relation of what had hapned: shewing that Philip had facked and destroyed the town of Cios, and, after a cruell flaughter of the Inhabitants, had made flaves of all that escaped the sword. If the Rhodians tooke this in great despite, no lesse were the Atolians inflamed against him : fince they had fent a Captain to take charge of the Towne; being warned before by his doings at Lysimachia and Chalcedon (which he had withdrawn from their Confederacie to his owne) what little trust was to be reposed in the faith of this King. But most of all others was Assalus moved with confideration of the Masedonians violent ambition, & of his own estate. He had much to lose; and was not without hope of getting much if he could make a strong Partie in Greece. He had already, as a new King, followed the example of Alexanders Captains, in purchasing with much liberalitie the love of the Athenians; which were notable Trumpeters of other mens vertue, having lost their owne. On the friendship of the Linkans he had cause to presume; having bound them unto him by good offices, many and great, in their late warre with Philip. The Rhodians that were mighty at Sea, and held very good intelligence with the Egyptians, Syrians, and many other Princes and States, he eafily drew into a streight alliance with him, by their hatred newly conceived against Philip.

Upon confidence in these his friends, but most of all, in the ready affistance of the Rhodians, Analus prepared to deale with the Macedonian by open war. It had bin unfeafonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the enemy tended; fince his defire to fasten upon Asia was manifest, and his falshood no lesse manifest, than was such his defire. They met with him shortly not far from Chios, and fought with him a battell at Sea: wherin though Artalus was driven to run his own ship on ground, hardly escaping to land: to though the Admirall of the Rhodians took his deaths wound: and though Philip after the battel took harbor under a Promontory, by which they had fought, so that he had the gathering of the wracks upon the shoare: Yet for a smuch as he had suffered far greater losse of ships and men, than had the enemie; and fince he durst not in few dayes after put forth to Sea, when Attalus and the Rhodians came to brave him in his Port; the honour of the victory was adjudged to his Enemies. This notwithstanding, Philip afterwards befieged and won some towns in Caria: whether only in a bravery, and to despight his opposites; or whether upon any hopeful defire of conquest, it is uncertain. The stratagem, by which he won Prinaffus, is worthy of noting. He attempted it by a Mine: & finding the earth fo flony, that it refifted his work; he neverthelesse commanded the Pioners to make a noise under ground; and secretly in the night time he raised great mounts about the entrance of the Mine, to breed an opinion in the befieged, that the work went marvelloufly forward. At length he fent word to the Townf-men, that by his undermining, two acres of their wall stood only upon woodden props, to which if he gave fire, and entred by a Breach, they should expect no mercy. The Prina sians little thought, that he had fetcht all his earth and rubbish by night a great way off, to raise up those heaps which they saw; but rather that all had bin extracted out of the Mine. Wherefore they suffered themselves to be out-faced, and gave up the Town as loft, which the Enemy had no hope to win by force . But Philip could not flay to fettle himself in those parts. Attalm and the Rhodians were too strong for him at sea, and compelled him to make hast back into Macedon; whither they followed him all the way in maner of pursuit.

6. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian war, seek matter of quarrell against Philip. The Athenians upon flight cause proclaim war against Philip; moved thereto by Attalus; whom they flatter. Philip wins divers Towns; and makes peremptory answer to the Roman Embassadour. The furious resolution of the Abydeni.

Hefe Asiatique matters, which no way concerned the Romans, yet served well to make anoyfe in Rome; and fill the peoples heads, if not with a defire of making warre in Macedon, at least with a conceit that it were expedient so to doe. The Roman Senate was perfectly informed of the state of those Eastern Countries; and knew, that there was none other Nation than the Greeks, which lay betweene them and the Lordship of Asia. These Greekes were factious, and seldome or never at peace. As for the Macedonian; though length of time, and continuall dealings in Greece ever fince the reignes of Philip and Alexander, had left no difference betweene him and the Naturalls: yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, because he was originally for sooth a Barbarian: many of them hated him upon ancient quarrels: and they that had beene most beholding unto him, were neverthelesse weary of him, by reason of his personall faults. All this gave hope, that the affaires of Greece would not long detaine the Roman Armies: especially fince the divisions of the Country were such, that every petry Eflate was apt to take counsell apart for it selfe; without much regarding the generality. But the poore Commonalty of Rome had no great affection to fuch a chargeable enter-Prise. They were already quite exhausted, by that grievous war with Hannibal: wherein they had given by Loane to the Republike, all their money: neither had they as yet received, neither did they receive untill fifteene or fixteene yeers after this, their whole summe backe againe. That part of paymental so which was already made, being not in present mony, but much of it in Land: it behoved them to rest a while; and bestow the

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more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the leffe able to beftow cost. Wherefore they tooke no pleasure to heare, that Arralus and the Rhodians had sent Embassadours to solicite them against Philip, with report of his bold attempts in Asia: or that M. Aurelius, their Agent in Greece, had fent letters of the same tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by fetting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that folicited not onely the Townes upon the Continent, but all the Ilands in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadours, as one that meant shortly to hold warre with the Romans upon their owne ground. Philip had indeed no fuch intent: neither was he much too strong, either of himself, or by his alliance in Greece, to be refisted by Attalus and the Rhodians; especially with the help of the Etolians their 10 good friends, and (in a manner) his owne professed enemies. But such things must be published abroad, if onely to predispose men unto the warre, and give it the more honest

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thrive by intermedling in the affaires of those that were more mighty than himselfe. He was too unskilfull, or otherwise too unapt, to retaine his old friends: yet would he needs be seeking new enemies. And he found them such, as he deserved to have them: for he offered his helpe to their destruction, when they were in misery, and had done him no harme. It behoved him therefore, either to have strained his forces to the utmost in making warre upon them; or in defifting from that injurious course, to have made amends for the wrongs 26 past, by doing friendly offices of his owne accord. But He, having broken that League of peace, which is of all other the most naturall, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, unlesse they thinke themselves justly provoked; was afterwards too fondly perfwaded, that he might well be secure of the Romans, because of the written Covenants of peace betweene him and them. There is not any forme of oath, whereby fuch Articles of peace can be held inviolable, fave onely * by the water of Styx, that is, by Necessia: which whilest it binds one partie, or both unto performance, making it apparent, that he shall be a loser who starts from the Conditions; it may so long (and so long onely) be presumed, that there shall be no breach. Till Hannibal was vanquished, the Romans never hearkened after Philip: for necessity made them let him alone. But when once they 20 had peace with Carthage, then was the river of Styx dryed up: and then could they swear *Plant, Amphitr. as * Mercurie did in the Comedie, by their own selves, even by their good swords, that they had good reason to make war upon him. The voyage of Sopater into Africk, and the present war against Attalus, were matter of quarrell as much as needed: or if this were not enough; the Athenians helped to furnish them with more. The Athenians, being at this time Lords of no more than their own barren Territory,

tooke state upon them neverthelesse, as in their ancient fortune. Two young Gentlemen of Acarnania entring into the Temple of Ceres, in the dayes of Initiation, (wherein were delivered the mysteries of Religion, or rather of idolatrous superstition, vainely said to be availeable unto felicitie after this life) discovered themselves by some impertinent 40 questions, to be none of those that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the Officers: and though it was apparent, that they came into the place by meere errour, not thinking to have therein done amisse; yet, as it had beene for some haynous crime, they were put to death. All their Countri-men at home took this in ill part; and fought to revenge it as a publike injurie, by warreuponthe Athenians. Procuring therefore of Philip some Macedonians to help them, they entred into Assica: who wasted it with fire and fword; and carried thence a great booty. This indignitie stirred up the high-minded Athenians; and made them thinke upon doing more, than they had ability to performe. All which at the present they could doe, was to send Embassadours to King Attalus; gratulating his happy successe against Philip, and intreating him to visit their Citie. Attalm 50 was hereto the more willing, because he understood that the Roman Embassadours, hovering about Greece for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to be there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, befides his own followers, with fome of the Rhodians. Landing in the Pirau, he found the Romans there, with whom he had much friendly conference: they rejoycing that he continued enemy to Philip; and he being no leffe glad, when he heard of their purpose to renew the war. The Athenians came out of their Ci-

tie, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Citizens, with their wives and children, in as so-

lemne a pompe as they could devise, to meet and honour the King. They entertained

the Romans that were with him, in very loving manner: but towards Analus himfelfe they omitted no point of observance, which their flattery could suggest. At his first comming into the City they called the people to Affembly: where thy defired him to honour them with his presence, and let them heare him speake. But he excused himselfes faving, That with an evill grace he should recount unto them those many benefits, by which he studied to make them know what love he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that he should deliver in writting, what he would have to be propounded. Hedid fo. The points of his Declaration were; first, what he had willingly done for their fake: then, what had lately passed betweene him and Philip: lastly, an exhortation unto them, to declare themselves against the Macedonian, whilest he with the Rhodians. o and the Romans, were willing and ready to take their part: which if they now refused to doe, he protested, that afterwards it would be vaine to crave his helpe. There needed little intreatie: for they were as willing to proclaime the warre, as he to defire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours : and obtained, That unto the ten Tribes, whereof the body of their Citizens confifted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their Founders. To the Rhodians they also decreed a Crowne of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the Rhodrans free Citizens of Athens.

Thus began a great noise of warre, wherein little was left unto the Romans for their part; Attalus and the Rhodians taking all upon them. But while these were vainely misspending the time, in seeking to draw the Etolians to their partie: that contrary to their old maner were glad to be at quiet: Philip wonne the Townes of Maronea and Amus with many other strong places about the Hellespont. Likewife passing over the Hellespont, he laid siege unto Abydus; and wonne it, though he was faine to stay there long. The towne held out, rather upon an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour from Aitalus and the Rhodians, than any great ability to defend it felfe against fo mighty an enemy. But the Rhodians fent thither only one Quadrireme Gallie: and Arralus no more than three hundred men, farre too weake an aide to make good the place. The Roman Embassadours wondred much at this great negligence of them that had taken so much

These Embassadours C. Claudius, M. Amylius, and P. Sempronius, were ferr unto Prolomy Epiphanes King of Egypt, to acquaint him with their victory against Hannibas and the Carihaginians ; as alfo to thank him for his favour unto them shewed in that wars and to defire the continuance thereof, if they should need it against Philip. This Egyptean King was now in the third or fourth yeere of his Reigne, which (as his Father Philopater had done before him) he beganne a very young boy. The courteffe for which the Romans were to thanke him, was, that out of Egipt they had lately beene supplied with Corne, in a time of Extreme Dearth; when the miseries of War had made all their own Provinces unable to relieve them. This meffage could not but bee welcome to the 40 Egyptian: fince it was well knowne, how Philip and Antiochus had combined themselves against him, conspiring to take away his Kingdome. And therefore it might in reason be hoped, that he, or his Councell for him, should offer to supply the Remans with Corne: fince this their Macedonian Expedition concerned his Estate no lesse than theirs:

But as the errand was for the most part complementall: so had the Embassadors both leifure and direction from the Senate, to looke unto the things of Greece by the way: Wherefore they agreed, that M. Amplius the yongest of them should steppe aside and visit Philip, to try if he could make him leave the siege of Abydus; which else he was like to carry. Emylins, comming to Philip, tels him, that his doings are contrary to the League that he had made with the Romans. For Arralm and the Rhodians, upon whom to he made warre, were Confederate with Rome t and the towns of Abram, which he was now befreging, had a kind of dependancie upon Arralus. Hereto Philip answered. That An alm and the Rhodians had made warre upon him and that he did onely require them With the like. Doe you alfo (faid & mylius) require thefe poore Abydent with fach tograble Warre, for any the lake Invalion by them first made upon you! The King was angry to heare himfelfe thus taken thore and therefore he roundly made answer to Emplius; It is your Jouth, Sir, and your beauty, and Cabove all.) your being a Roman, that makes you think Prefumpsuous. But I would wish yes to remember the League that we have made with me and to keepe it I If ye doe otherwise. I will make ye inderstand, that the Kingdome, and Name of Mmmmm

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Macedon is in master of warre, no less enable than the Roman. So he dismissed the Embassador; and had the Towne immediately yeelded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to have died every one of them, and set their Towne on fire; binding themselves hereto by a fearefull oath, when Philip denied to accept them upon reasonable conditions. But having in desperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, lost the greatest number of their Youth: it was thought meet by the Governours and Ancients of the City to change this resolution; and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Silver to Philip: about which whilst they were busse, the memory of their oath wrought so effectually in the yonger fort; that, by exhortation of the Priests, they sell to murdering their women, children, and themselves. Hereof the King had so little compassion, that He said, he would grant the Abydeni three daies leisure to die: and to that end forbad his men to enter the towne; or hazzard themselves in interrupting the violence of those mad sooles.

§. IX.

The Romans decree warre against Philip, and send one of their Consuls into Greece, as it were in desence of the Athenians their Confederates. How poore the Athenians were at this time both in quality and estate.

His calamity of the Abydeni, was likened by the Romans unto that of the Saguntines: which indeed it neerely resembled; though Rome was not alike interessed in the quarrell. But to helpe themselves with pretence for the warre, they had found out another Saguntum, even the Citie of Athens: which if the Macedonian should winne, then rested there no more to doe, than that hee should presently embarke himselfe for Italy, whither he would come, not as Hannibal from Saguntum in five moneths, but in the short space of five dayes sayling. Thus P. Sulpitius the Consul told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make warre upon Philip; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of Pyrrhus was by him alledged; to shew, what Philip, with the power of a greater Kingdome, might dare to undertake: as also the fortunate voyage of Scipio into Africk; to thew the difference of making warre abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their owne Country. By fuch arguments was the Commonalty of Rome induced to believe, that this war with the Macedonian was both just and necessary. So it was decreed: and immediatly the same Consull hasted away towards Macedon, having that Province allotted unto him before, and all things in a readineffe, by order from the Senate; who followed other Morives than the people must be acquainted with. Great thankes were given to the Athenian Embassadors, of their constancie (as was said) in not changing their faith at such times as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thankes were due to them, though not upon the same occasion. For the people of Rome had no cause to thinke it a benefit unto themselves; that any Greeke Towne, refusing to sue unto the Macedonian for peace, requested their helpe against him. But the Senate; intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Easterne parts, had reason to gives thankes unto those, that ministred the occasion. Since therefore it was an untrue suggestion, That Philip was making readie for Italy: and since neither Attalus, the Rhodians, nor any other State in those quarters, defired the Romans to give them protection: these busic-headed Athenians, who falling out with the Acarnanians, and confequently with Philip, a matter of May-game, (as was shewed before) fent Embassadors into all parts of the World, even to Psolomy of Egypt, and to the Romans as well as to Analm and others their neighbours; must be accepted as cause of the warre, 50 and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Neverthelesses it loves to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence: the doings of P. Sulpitius the Consul were such, as might have argued Athens to be the least part of his care. He failed not about Peloponnesses, but tooke the ready way to Macedon, and landing about the River of Assume the Dytrachium and Apollonia, there began the Waire. Soone upon his comming, the Athenian Embassadours were with him, and craved his helpe: whereof they could make no benefit whilest he was far from them. They bemoaned themselves as men besieged, and intreated him to deliver them.

them. For which cause he sent unto them C. Claudius with twenty gallies, and a competent number of men: but the maine of his forces he retained with him, for the prosecution of a greater designe. The Athenians were not indeed besieged: onely some Rovers from Chalcie, in the Ile of Ender, and some bands of adventurers out of Corinto, used to take their shippes, and spoile their fields, because they had declared themselves against King Philip, that was Lord of these two townes. The robberies done by these Pyrats & Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than war-like Athenians, in this declaring Age of their Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From such detriment the arrival of Claudius, and shortly after of three Rhodian Gallies, easily preserved them. As for the quests of Egypt, Cyprus, and Cicil; to make warre upon the great Persian King, and to hold so much of Greece in subjection, as made them redoubtable unto all the rest; had now no more than three ships, and those open ones, not much better than long boates. Yet thought they not themselves a whit the worse men, but stood as highly upon the glory and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it had beene still their owne.

The Town of Chalcis in Eab & a saken and fact by the Romans and their Associates, that lay in Garrison at Athons. Philip attempteth to take Athons by surprize: wasteth the Country about, and makes a journey into Peloponnesus. Of Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedemon, and his wife. Philip offers to make warre against Nabis for the Acheans. He returneth home through Attica, which he spoileth agains: and provides against the Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Divers Princes joyne with them. Great labouring to drawthe Etolians into the warre.

Hilip returning home from Abydus, heard newes of the Roman Conful his being about Apollonia. But ere he stirred forth to give him entertainment, or perhaps before he had well resolved, whether it were best a while to sit still, and trie what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these Invaders with all his forces: he received advertisement from Chaleis of a grievous mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the Athenians. For C. Claudius With his Romans, finding no fuch worke at Athens as they had expected, or was answerable to the fame that went abroad, purposed to doe somewhat that might quicken the warre, and make his owne imployment better. He grew soone weary of sitting as a Scarre-crow, to save the Athenians grounds from spoile; and therefore gladly tooke in hand a businesse of more importance. The towne of Chalcia was very negligently guarded by the Macedonian Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enemy at hand: and more negligently by the Townef-men, who reposed themselves upon their Garrison. Hereof Claudius having advertisement, failed thither by night, for feare of being descried: and arriving therea little before breake of day, tooke it by Scalado. He used no mercy, but flew all that came in his way : and wanting men to keepe it, (unleffe he should have left the heartlesse Athemans to their owne defence) He fet it on fire; confuming the Kings Magazines of Corne, and all provisions for Warre, which were plenteously filled. Neither were He & his Affociates contented with the great abundance of spoile which they carried aboard their ships, and with inlarging all those, whom Philip, as in a place of most security, kept there imprisoned: but, to shew their despight and hatred unto the King, they overthrew and brake in pieces the Statuaes to him there erected. This done, they hasted away towards Athens: where the newes of their exploit was like to be joyfully welcomed. The King lay then at Demetrias about sometwenty miles thence, whither when these tidings or part of them, were brought him, though hee faw that it was too late to remedie the matter; yet he made all haste to take revenge. He thought to have taken the Athemans. with their trusty friends, busie at work in ransacking the town, & loading themselves with spoile: but they were gone before his comming. Five thousand light-armed foot he had with him, and three hundred horse: whereof leaving at Chales onely a few to bury the dead, He marched from thence away speedily toward Aibens ! thinking it not unpossible to take his enemies, in the joy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken Chalcie. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-post that stood Scout for the City upon the borders, had not descried him a farre off, and swiftly carried word Mmmmm 2

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of his approach to Athens. It was mid-night when this Post came thither: who found all the Towne afleepe, as fearclesse of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing his report, caused a trumpet out of their Citadell to sound the Alarme, and with all speede made ready for defence. Within a few houres Philip was there: who feeing the many lights, and other fignes of busie preparation usuall in such a case, understood that they had newes of his comming; and therefore willed his men, to repose themselves till it were day. It is like, that the paucity of his followers did helpe well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though Claudius were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compasse about by sea, and had no cause of haste) yet having in the town some mercenarie Souldiers, which they kept, of their owne, besides the great multitude of citizens; they adventured to iffue forth at a gate, whereto they faw Philip make approach. The King was glad of this; reckoning all those his owne, that were thus hardy. He therefore only willed his men to follow his example; & prefently gave charge upon them. In that fight he gave fingular proofe of his valour: and beating downe many of the Enemies with his owne hands, drave them with great flaughter backe into the City. The heat of his courage transported him further than discretion would have allowed, even to the very gate. But he retired without harme taking; for that they which were upon the Towers over the gate, could not use their casting weapons against him, without much indangering their owne people that were thronging before him into the City. There was a Temple of Hercules, a place of exercise, with a Grove, and many goodly 20 Monuments besides, neere adjoyning unto Athens: of which he spared none; but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, even unto the sepulchres of the dead. The next day came the Romans, and some Companies of Attalus his men from Aegina; too late in regard of what was already past: but in good time to prevent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed from thence to Corinth, and hearing that the Acheans held a Parliament at Argos, He came thither to them un-

The fifth Booke of the first part

The Achaans were devising upon war: which they intended to make against Nabia the Tyrant of Lacedamon: who being started up in the room of Machanidas, did greater mischiese than any that went before him. This Tyrant relied wholly upon his mercenaries : and of his subjects had no regard. He was a cruell oppressor; a greedy extortioner upon those that lived under him; and one that in his naturall condition finelt rankly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife Apega was very fitly matched with him, fince his dexterity was no greater in spoiling the men, than hers in seccing their wives; whom the would never fuffer to be at quiet, till they had prefented her with all their jewels and apparell. Her husband was so delighted with her property, that he caused an Image to be made, lively representing her; & apparelled it with such costly garments as she used to weare. But it was indeed an Engine, serving to torment men. Hereof he made use, when he meant to trie the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling unto him some rich man, of whose money he was desirous; he would bring him into the roome where this Counterfeit Arega stood, and there use all his art of perswasion, to get what he defired, as it were by good will. If he could not fo speed, but was answered with excuses; then tooke he the refractory denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife Apega (who sate by in a Chaire) could perswade more effectually. So he ledde him to the Image, that rose up and opened the armes, as it were for imbracement. Those armes were full of sharpe yronnayles, the like whereof was also sticking in the breasts, though hidden with her clothes: and herewith she griped the poore wretch, to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruell death. Such, and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was Nabis in his Government. In his dealings abroad hee combined with the Aetolians, as Machanidas and Lycurgs had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the Romans; and was comprehended in the League which they made with Philip, at the end of their former warre. Of Philopamens vertue he ftood in feare; and therefore durst not provoke the Acheans, as long as they had fuch an able Commander. But when Cycliades, a farre worse Captaine, was their Prætor, and all, or the greatest part of their Mercenaries were discharged; Philopamen being also gone into Crete, to follow his beloved occupation of Warre: then did Nabis fall upon their Territory; and wasting all the fields, made them distrust their owne safety in the Townes.

Against this Tyrant the Acheans were preparing for warre, when Philip came among them; and had fet downe what proportion of Souldiers every City of their Corporation should furnish out. But Philip willed them not to trouble themselves with the care of this businesse; forasmuch as he alone would ease them of this warre, and take the burden upon himselfe. With exceeding joy and thankes they accepted of this kinde offer. But then he told them, That, whilest he made warre upon Lacedamon, He ought not to leave his owne Townes unguarded. In which respect he thought they would be pleased, to send a few men to Coranth, & some Companies into the He of Eubæa; that so he might fecurely purfue the warre against Nabis. Immediatly they found out his device: which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his warre against the Romans. Wherefore their Prætor Cycliadas made him answer, That their Lawes forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which it was affembled. So passing the Decree, upon which they had agreed before, for preparing warre against Nabis, hee brake up the Affembly, with every mans good liking; whereas in former

times, he had beene thought no better than one of the Kings Parafites. It grieved the King to have thus failed in his purpose with the Acheans. Neverthelefle he gathered up among them a few Voluntaries; and fo returned by Corinth backe into Attica. There he met with Philocles one of his Captaines, that with two thousand men had beene doing what harme he might unto the Countrie. With this addition of 10 strength, he attempted the Castle of Eleusine, the Haven of Pyreus, and even the City of Athens. But the Romans made fuch hafte after him by Sea, thrusting themselves into every of these places; that he could no more than wreake his anger upon those goodly Temples, with which the Land of Anica was at that time fingularly beautified. So he destroyed all the works of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; which they had in plenty, of their owne; or, having long agoe beene masters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where best choyce was found. Neither did he only pull all downe: but caused his men to breake the very stones, that they might be unserviceable to their reparation. His loffe at Chalcis being thus revenged upon Athens, He went home into Macedon: and there made provision, both against the Roman Consul that lay about Apollonia; and against the Dardanians, with other his bad neighbours, which were likely to infest him. Among his other cares he forgot not the Atolians : to whose Parliament, shortly to be held at Naupastus, he sent an Embassage, requesting them to conti-

nue in his friendship. Thus was Philip occupied.

Sulpitius the Roman Conful encamped upon the River of Apfus. Thence he fent forth Apultius his Lievtenant, with part of the Army, to waste the borders of Macedon. Apustizus tooke sundry Castles and Townes; using such extremity of sword and fire at Antipatria, the first good Towne which he wonne by force, that none durst afterwards make refistance, unlesse they knew themselves able to hold our. Returning towards the Consul with his spoile, he was charged in Rere, upon the passage of a brooke, by Athenagoras a Macedonian Captain: but the Romans had the better, & killing many of these enemies, tooke prisoners many more, to the increase of their booty, with which they arrived in fafety at their camp. The fuccesse of this Expedition, though it were not great. yet ferved to draw into the Roman friendship, those that had formerly no good inclination to the Macedonian. These were Pleuratus, the son of Scerdilaidas the Illyrian: Aminander King of the Athamanians, and Bato the sonne of Longarus, a Prince of the Dardanians. They offered their affiftance unto the Conful, who thanked them: and faid, That he would shortly make use of Pleur atus and Baso, when he entred into Macedon: but that the friendship of Aminander, whose Country lay betweene the Ætolians and Theffaly, might be perhaps availeable with the Atolians, to stirre them up against Philip. So the present care was wholly set upon the Atolian Parliament at hand. Thither came Embassadours from the Macedonian, Romans, & Athenians. Of which, the Mace-

donian spake first, and said: That as there was nothing fallen out, which should occasion the breach of peace betweene his mafter and the Arolians: so was it to be hoped, that they would not fuffer themselves, without good cause, to be carried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to confider, how the Romans hereto fore had made shew, as if their warre in Greece tended only to the defence of the Atolians, and yet notwithstanding had been angry that the Ætolians, by making peace with Philip, had no longer need of fuch their Patronage. What might it be that made them fo buffe, in obtruding

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their protection upon those that needed it not? Surely it was even the generall hatred, which these Barbarrans bore unto the Greeks. For even after the same fort had they lent their help to the Mamerines: and afterwards delivered Syracufe, when it was oppreffed by Caribaginian tyrants, but now both Syracuse and Messana, were subject unto the Rods and Axes of the Romans. To the same effect he alleaged many examples, adding, That in like fort it would happen to the Atolians: who if they drew fuch mafters into Greece. must not looke hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their owne, wherein to confult about Warre and Peace: the Romans would ease them of this care, and fend them fuch a Moderator, as went every yeere from Rome to Syracuse. Wherefore he concluded that it was best for them, whilest as yet they might, and whilest one of them as 10 yet could helpe the other, to continue in their League with Philip: with whom if at any time, upon light occasion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three yeers agoe made the peace which still continued. although that the very fame Romans were then against it, who fought to breake it now. It would have troubled the Romans, to frame a good answer to these objections. For the Macedonian had spoken the very truth, in shewing whereunto this their Patronage, which they offered with fuch importunity, did tend. Wherefore the Athenians were fet on by them to speake next: who had store of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make Philip odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the Macedonian Embassadour, to call the Romans by the name of Barbarians: knowing in what 20 barbarous manner his owne King had, in few daies past, made Warre upon the gods themselves, by destroying all their Temples in Attica. Herewithall they made a pittifull rehearfall of their owne calamities : and faid, that if Philip might have his will, Atolia, and all the rest of Greece, should feele the same that Airica had felt; yea that Aibens it

felt, if the walls and the Roman armes had not defended them. Then spake the Romans: who excusing, as well as they could, their owne oppression of all those, in whose defence they had heretofore taken Armes, went roundly to the point, in hand. They faid, that they had of late made Warre in the Ætolians behalfe, and that the Etolians had without their confent made peace: whereof fince the Etoli-20 ans must excuse themselves, by alledging that the Romans, being busied with Carthage, wanted leifure to give them aide convenient : fo this excuse being now taken a way, and the Romans wholly bent against their common Enemy, it concerned the Atolians to take part with them in their war and victory, unlesse they had rather perish with Philip.

felfe, together with Minerva, Jupiter, Ceres, and other of the gods, were like to have

It might eafily be perceived, that they which were so vehement, in offring their help ere it was defired, were themselves carried unto the warre by more earnest motives, than a fimple defire to helpe those friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may have been the eause, why Dorymachus the Atolian Prætor shifted them off a while with a dilatory answer: though he told his country-men, That by referving themselves, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with 40 those that had the better fortune. His answer was, first, in generall termes; That overmuch haste was an enemy to good counfaile: for which cause they must further deliberate, ere they concluded .But comming neerer to the matter in hand, He passed a Decree, That the Prator might at any time call an Affembly of the States, and therein conclude upon this businesse; any Law to the contrary notwithstanding : whereas otherwise it was unlawfull to treat of fuch affaires, excepting two of their great Parliaments, that were held at let times.

6. X I.

The meeting of Philip with the Romans, and skirmishing with them on his borders. The Atolians invade his Dominions, and are beaten home. Some doings of Attalus and the Roman Fleet.

Hilip was glad to heare, that the Romans had sped no better in their solicitation of the Liolians. Hee thought them hereby disappointed in the very beginning, of one great helpe; and meant himselfe to disappoint them of another. His sonne Perseus, a very boy, was sent to keep the Streights of Pelagonia against the Dardanians;

Dardamans; having with him some of the Kings Councell, to governe both him & his Army. It was judged, as may feeme, that the prefence of the Kings fon, how yong foever, would both encourage his followers, and terrefie the enemies, by making them are least believe, that hee was not weakely attended. And this may have beene the reason, why the same Persew, a few yeeres before this, was in like manner left upon the borders of Liolia by his father; whom earnest businesse called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand: it was thought, that the Macedonian Fleet under Heraclides, would ferve to keepe Attalua, with the Rhodians and Romans, from doing harme by Sea, when the Kings backe was turned: who tooke his journey Westward 10 against Sulpicius the Consul.

CHAP.4, S.II.

The Armies met in the Country of the Desfareta, a people in the utmost borders of Macedon towards Illyria, about the mountaines of Candavia; that running along from Hamus in the North untill they joyne in the South with Pindus, inclose the Westerne parts of Macedon. Two or three dayes they lay in fight the one of the other, without making offer of battaile. The Conful was the first that issued forth of his Campe into the open field. But Philip was not confident in the strength which hee had then about him; and therefore thought it better to fend forth some of his light-armed Mercenaries. and some part of his horse, to entertaine them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the Romans, and driven backe into their Campe. Now although it was for that the King was unwilling to hazzard all at first upon a Cast, and therefore sent for Perfew with his Companies, to increase his owne forces: yet being no leffe unwilling to lose too much in reputation; He made shew a day after, as if he would have fought. He had found the advantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein hee bestowed as many as he thought meet of his Targettiers: and fo gave charge to Athenagoras, one of his Captains, to provoke out the Romans to fight; instructing both him and the Targettiers, how to behave themselves respectively, as opportunity should fall out. The Romans had no mistrust of any ambush, having fought upon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might have fuftained some notable detriment, if the Kings directions had beene well followed. For when Athenagor as began to fall backe, they charged him fo hotly, that they drave him to an hasty slight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the Captaines of the Targettiers, not staying to let them runne into the danger, difcovered themselves before it was time; and thereby made frustrate the worke, to which they were appointed. The Conful hereby gathered, that the King had some desire to trie the fortune of a battaile: which he therefore presented the second time; leading forth his Army, and fetting it in order, with Elephants in the front : a kinde of help which the Romans had never used before, but had taken these of late from the Carthaginians. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was scarce above fourescore yeeres ere this that Pyrrhus carried Elephants out of Greece into Italy, to affright the Romans, who had never seene any of those beasts before. But now the same Romans (whilest possibly some were yet alive, which had known that Expedition of Pyrrhus) come into Macedon, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the Macedonians and Greeks have none. Philip had patience to let the Conful brave him at his Trenches: wherein he did wisely: for the Roman had greater need to fight, than He. Sulpicius was unwilling to lose time: neither could he without great danger, lying so neere the Enemy, that was strong in Horse, send his men to fetch in come out of the fields. Wherefore he removed eight miles off: prefuming that Philip would not adventure to meet him on even ground; and so the more boldly he suffered his Forragers to over-runne the Countrey. The King was nothing forry of this; but permitted the Romans to take their good pleasure : even till their prefumption, and his owne supposed feare, should make them carelesse. When this was so come to passe, he tooke all his horse, and light-armed foot, with which he occupied a place in the mid-way, betweene the Forragers and their Campe. There he stayed in Covert with part of his forces; to keepe the passages that none should escape. The rest he sent abroad the Countrey, to fall upon the stragglers: willing them to put all to the fword, and let none run home with newes to the Campe. The flaughter was great: and those which escaped the hands of them that were sent abroad to scowre the fields lighted all or most of them upon the King and his companies in their flight : so as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Campe had newes of this. But in the end there escaped some: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter CHAP.4. S.II.

went: yet by telling what had happened to themselves, raised a great tumult. Sulpicius hereupon fends forth all his horse, and bids them helpe their fellowes where they saw it needfull: He himselfe with the Legions followed. The companies of Horse divided themselves, accordingly as they met with advertisements upon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted upon Philips Troupes, that were canvassing the field, tooke their taske where they found it: But the maine bulke of them fell upon the King himfelfe. They had the difadvantage; as comming fewer, and unprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away : as their fellowes also might have beene, if the King had well bethought himselfe, and given over in time. But while, not contented with such an harvest, he was too greedy about a poore gleaning; the Roman Legions appeared in fight: which emboldened their horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparent, enforced the Macedonians to look to their own safetie. They ran which way they could: &(as menthat lie in waite for others, are feldome heedfull of that which may befall themselves) to escape the Enemy, they declined the fairest way; so as they were plunged in Marishes and Bogges, wherein many of them were lost. The Kings horse was slaine under him: and there had he beene cast away, if a loving subject of his had not alighted; mounted him upon his own horse; and delivered him out of perill, at the expence of his owne life, that running on foot was overtaken and killed.

In the common opinion Philip was charged with improvident rashnes; and the Con-20 ful, with as much dulnesse, for his dayes service. A little longer stay would have delivered the King from these enemies without any blow: fince when all the fields about them were wasted, they must needes have retired backe to the Sea. On the other side, it was not thought unlikely, That if the Romans following the King, had fet upon his Campe, at fuch time as he fled thither, halfe amazed with feare of being either flaine or taken, they might have won it. But that Noble Historian, Livie, (as is commonly his maner) hath judiciously observed, That neither the one, nor the other, were much too blame in this dayes worke. For the maine body of the Kings Army lay fafe in his Campe; and could not be so astonished with the losse of two or three hundred horse, that it should therefore have abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himselfe, he was advertised, that Pleuraius the Illyrian, and the Dardanians, were fallen upon his Country; when they found the passage thereinto open, after Persens was called away from custody of the Streights. This was it which made him adventure to do somwhat betimes; that he might fet the Romans going the fooner & afterwards looke unto his troublesome neighbours. In consideration of this, Philip was desirous to cleere himselfe of the Romans, as foone as hee might. And to that purpose hee sent unto the Consul; requesting a day of truce for buriall of the dead. But in stead of so doing, hee marched away by night, and left fires in his Camp to beguile the enemy, as if he had not stirred out of the place. Sulpicius, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not flow to follow him. He overtook the Macedonians in a place of strength, which they had fenced (for it was a wooddy ground) by cutting downe trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most 40 open. In making of fuch places good, the Macedonian Phalanx was of little use; being a fquare battell of pikes, not fit for every ground. The Archers of Crete were judged, and were indeed, more serviceable in that case. But they were few; and their arrows were of small force against the Roman shields. The Macedonians therefore helped them by flinging of stones. But to no purpose. For the Romans got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victory (fuch as it was) layd open unto the Confull some poore Townes thereabout; which partly were taken by strong hand, partly yeelded for seare. But the spoile of these, and of the fields adjoyning, was not sufficient to maintaine his Army; and therefore he returned backe to Apollonia.

The Dardanians, hearing that Philip was come backe, withdrew themselves apace out of the Countrey. The King sent Albenagoras to waite upon them home; whilest he himselse went against the Aiolians. For Damocritus the Prætor of the Aetolians, who had referved himselfe and his Nation unto the event of things, hearing report, that Philip was beaten once & again: as also that Pleuratus & the Dardanians were fallen upon Macedon; grew no leffe busic on the sudden, than before he had beene wife. He perswaded his Nation to take their time: and so, not staying to proclaime warre, joyned his forces with Aminander the Athamanian; and made invalion upon Thessaly. They tooke and cruelly cruelly facked a few Townes: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger. they might do what they lifted. But Philip came upon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay dispersed, was like to have taken their Camp, if Aminander more warie than the Etolians, had not helped at need, and made the Retrait through his owne mountainous Countrey.

About the same time the Roman Fleet, affisted by Attalwand the Rhodians, had taken some small Ilands in the Aegean Sea. They tooke likewise the Towne of Oreumin the Isle of Eubaa; and some other places thereabout. The Towns were given unto Attalm, after the same Compact that had formerly beene made with the Aetolians: the goods therein found were given unto the Romans; and the people, for flaves. Other attempts on that fide were hindred; either by foule weather at Sea; or by want of daring, and of meanes.

Villius the Roman Consul wastes a yeere to no effect. Warre of the Gaules in Italy. An Embassie of the Romans to Carthage, Masanissa, and Vermina. The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdome: and T. Quintius Flaminius is fent against him.

Hus the time ran away: and P. Villius a new Conful tooke charge of the War in Macedon. He was troubled with a mutiny of his oldest Souldiers: whereof two thousand, having served long in Sicil & Africk, thought themselves much wronged, in that they could not be fuffered to look unto their owne estates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had ferved at Canna: as may feeme by their complaint, of having been long absent from Italy; whither faine they would have returned when by their Colonels they were shipped for Macedon. How Villius dealt with them, it is uncertaine. For the Hiftory of his yeare is lost: whereof the misse is not great, fince he did nothing memorable . Valerius Antius, as we finde in Livie, hath adorned this Villius with Liv. lib. 32. a great exploit against Philip. Yet fince Livie himselfe, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could finde no such thing recorded in any good Author; we may rea-

o fonably beleeve that Villius his yeare was idle. In the beginning of this Macedonian War, the Romans found more trouble than could have beene expected with the Gaules. Their Colonie of Placentia, a goodly and strong Towne, which neither Hannibal, nor after him Asdrubal, had been able to force; was taken by these Barbarians, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like fort Cremona was attempted; but faved her feife, taking warning by her neighbours calamity. Amilear a Carthaginian, that stayed behinde Afarubal or Mago, in those parts; was now become Captaine of the Gaules, in these their enterprises. This when the Romans heard, they fent Embaffadors to the Carthaginians: giving them to understand. That if they were not wearie of the peace, it behooved them to call home, and deliver up, this their Citizen Amilear, who made war in Italy. Hereunto it was added (perhaps left the meffage might feeme otherwise to have savoured a little of some feare) That of the Fugitive slaves belonging to the Romans, there were some reported to walke up and downe in Carthage: which if it were forthen ought they to be reftored back to their Mafters; as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embassadours that were sent on this errand, had further charge to treat with Masanissa, as also with Vermina the sonne of Syphax. Unto Masanissa, besides matter of complement, they were to signifie what pleasure he might doe them, by lending them some of his Numidian Horse, to serve in their Warre against the Macedonian. Vermina had entreated the Senate, to vouchfafe unto him the name of King: and promised thereafter to deserve it, by his readinesse in doing them all good ofo fices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter : and said, That having beene, and being still (as they tooke it) their Enemy, He ought first of all to desire peace; for that the name of King, was an honour which they used not to conferre upon any, save onely upon fuch as had royally deserved it at their hands. The authority to make peace with him, was wholly committed unto these Embassadours, upon such termes as they should thinke fit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then busied with greater cares. The Carthaginians made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed Amilear: banishing him, and confiscating his goods. As for the Fugitives: they had restored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as farre as was

requifite,

requifite, give fatisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they fent a great proportion of Corn to Rome; and the like unto the Army that was in Macedon. King Majaniffa would have lent unto the Romans two thousand of his Numidian horse: but they were contented with halfe the number; and would accept no more. Vermina met with the Embassadours, to give them entertainement, on the borders of his Kingdome; and without any disputation, agreed with them upon termes of peace.

Thus were the Romans busted in taking order for their Macedonian Warre, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for Amilear and his Gaules: they laide fiege unto Cremona; where L. Furius a Roman Prætor came upon them, fought a battaile with them, and overcame them. Amilcarthe Carthaginian died in this battaile: 10 and the fruit of the victory was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the worke easie to those, that afterwards should have the managing of warre among those Gaules. So was there good leifure to thinke upon the businesse of Macedon: where Philip was carefully providing to give contentment unto his Subjects, by punishing a bad Counfailour whom they hated; as alfoto affure unto himself the Acheans, by rendring unto them some Townes that he held of theirs ; and finally to strengthen his Kingdome. not onely by exercifing and training his people, but by fortifying the paffages that led thereinto out of Epiria. This was indoing, when Villiu, having unprofitably laboured to finde way into Macedon, taking a journey (as Sulpicius had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But 29 then came advertisement, that T. Quintius Flaminius was chosen Consull, and had Macedonallotted him for his Province; whose comming was expected; and he very shortly arrived at the Army.

6. XIII.

The Romans begin to make war by negotiation. T. Quintius winnes a passage against Philip. Theffaly wasted by Philip, the Romans , and Evolians. The Achaens for saking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treaty of peace , that was vaine. Philip delivers Argos to Nabis the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.

He Romans had not beene wont in former times, to make Warre after fuch a trifling manner. It was their use, to give battaile to the Enemie, as soone as they met with him. If he refused it, they belieged his Townes: and so forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his disadvantage in reputation, when he had long forborne it (as it would be interpreted) upon knowledge of his owneweaknesse. But in this their Warre with Philip, they began to learne of the fubtle Greekes, the art of Negotiation: wherein hitherto they were not growne fo fine, as within a little while they proved. Their Treasury was poore, & stood indebted,* many yeers after this, unto private men, for part of those monies that had beene borrowed in the second Punicke Warre. This had made the Commonalty averse from the Macedonian warre; and had thereby dri- 40 ven the Senators, greedy of the enterprize, to make use of their cunning. Yet being weary of the flow pace wherewith their businesse went forward, they determined to increase their Army, that they might have the leffe need to relie upon their Confederates. So they levied eight thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse (the greater part of them of the Latines) which they fent with T. Quintius Flaminius, the new Conful, into Macedon. Their Navie, and other meanes could well have ferved, for the fetting forth and transportation of a greater Armie: but by straining themselves to the most of their ability, they should (besides other difficulties incident unto the sustenance of those that are too many and too farre from home) have bred fome jealousie in their friends of Greece, and thereby have lost some friends, yea, perhaps have increased the number of their 50 enemies, more than of their owne Souldiers. This present augmentation of the forces was very requisite; for that Attalus, about the same time, excused himselfe unto them, by his Embaffadours; requesting that either they would undertake the defence of his Kingdome against Antiochus, who invaded it; or else that they would not take it uncourteously, that hee quirted the Warre with Philip, and returned home, to looke unto that which more concerned him. Their answer was remarkeable. They faid, That it was not their manner to use the aide of their friends, longer than their friends had good opportunitie, and could also bee well contented to affoord it;

That they could not honeftly take part with Artalus, their good friend though he were; against Aniochus, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deale with Antiochus by Embassadours, and (as common friends unto both of the Kings) doe their best to perswade an attonement betweene them. In such loving fashion did they now carry themselves, towards their good friend the King Antiochin; who reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Army from the Kingdome of Attalus. But how little they regarded these termes of friendship, after that once they had made an end with Phelip, it will very foone appeare.

T. Quintim hasting away from Rome, came betimes into his Province, with the sup-10 ply decreed unto him; which confifted, for the most part, of old Souldiers, that had served in Spaine and Africk. He found Villing the old Conful, (whom at his comming he presently discharged and King Philip of Macedon, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of Epirus; by the river of Apfus or Aous. It was manifest, that either the Romans must setch a compasse about, and seek their way into Macedon, through the poore Countrey of the Dassaretians; or else winne, by force, that passage which the King defended. In taking the former way; they had already two yeers together mif-spent their time, and beene forced to returne backe without profit, for want of victualls: whereof they could neither carry with them store sufficient, nor finde it on the way. But if they could once get over these Mountains, which divided the South of Epirus from Thessaly, then should they enter into a plentifull Country; and, which by long dependance on the Macedonian, was become (in a maner) part of his Kingdome, whereof it made the South border. Neverthelesse, the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelihood. For the River of Apfus, running along through that valley which alone was open betweene the Mountaines, made it all a deep, Marilo and unpaffable Bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine rocke by mans hand. Wherefore Quintius affailed to climbe in the Mountaines: but finding himfelfe disappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his enemie, who neglected not the guard of them that was very easie; he was compelled to sit still, without doing any thing for the space of forty daves.

This long time of rest gave hope unto Philip, that the war might bee ended by composition, upon some reasonable termes. He therefore so dealt with some of the Epirois, (among whom he had many friends) that Hee and the Confull had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Confull would have him to fet all Townes of Greece at liberty; and to make amends for the injuries, which he had done to many people in his late Warres. Philip was contented to give liberty to those whom he had subdued of late: but unto fuch, as had beene long fubject unto him and his Ancestors, He thought it against all reason, that he should relinquish his claime and dominion over them. He also faid, That as farre forth as it should appeare that he had done wrong unto any Towne or people whatfoever, He could well be pleased to make such amends, as might seeme convenient in the judgement of some free State, that had not beene interessed in those quarrells. But herewithall Quintius was not satisfied. There needed (he said) no judgement or compromise; for a smuch as it was apparent, that Philip had alwayes beene the Invader; and had not made warre, as one provoked, in his owne defence. After this altercation, when they should come to particulars: and when the Conful was required to name those Towns, that hee would have to be set at liberty; the first that hee named were the Thessalians: These had beene subjects (though conditional) unto the Macedonian Kings, ever fince the dayes of Alexander the Great, and of Philip his Father. Wherefore, as foone as Flaminius had named the Theffalians; the King in a rage demanded what sharper condition Hee would have laid upon him, had he beene but vanquished. And herewithall abruptly he flang away; refusing to heare any more of such dis-

After this the Confull strove in vaine two or three dayes together, to have prevailed against the difficulties of that passage which Philip kept. When he had well wearied himlesterand could not resolve what course to take: there came to him an Heards-man sent from Charopus a Prince of the Egirois that favoured the Romans, who having long kept beafts in those Mountaines, was throughly acquainted with all by paths, and thereforeundertooke to guide the Romans, without any danger, to a place where they should have advantage of the Enemy. This guide, for feare of treacherous dealing, was falt

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bound: and being promifed a great reward, in case he made good his word, had such Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They travailed by night (it being then about the full of the Moone) and rested in the day-time, for seare of being discovered. When they had recovered the hill-tops, and were above the Macedonians, (though undiscovered by them, because at their backs) they raised a great smoke, whereby they gave notice of their successe unto the Consul. Some skirmishes, whilest these were on they journy, T. Quinting had held with the Macedonian; thereby to avert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he faw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained unto the place whither they were fent, he pressed as neere as he could unto the Enemies 10 Campe, and affailed them in their strength. He prevailed as little as informer times, untill the shoutings of those that ran downe the hill, and charged Philip on the backe, aftonished so the Macedonians, that they betooke themselves to flight. The King, upon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to save himselse. Yet anon considering, that the difficulty of the paffage must needes hinder the Romans from pursuing him: he made a stand at the end of five miles, and gathered there together his broken troups, of whom he found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest losse was of his Campe and provisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the Macedonians began to stand in feare, lest being driven from a place of such advantage, they should hardly make good their party against the Enemy, upon equall ground. 20 Neither was Philip himselfe much better perswaded. Wherefore he caused the Thessalians, as many of them as in his hastie retrait he could visit, to for fake their Townes and Countrie, carrying away with them as much as they were able, and spoiling all the rest. But all of them could not be perswaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their King) their ancient habitations, and all the fubstance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly refifted him; which they might the better doe, for that he could not stay to use any great compulsion. He also himselse tooke it very grievously, that he was driven to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitfull Countrey, which had ever been well affected unto him: so that a little hinderance did serve, to make him breake off his purpose, and withdraw himselfe home into his Kingdome of Macedon.

The Atolians and Athamanians, when this fell out, were even in a readinesse to invade Theffalie; whereinto the wayes lay more open, out of their severall Countries. When therefore they heard for certainty, that Philip was beaten by the Romans: they foreslowed nor the occasion, but made all speed, each of them to lay hold upon what they might. T. Quintius followed them within a little while: but they had gotten fo much before his comming, that he, in gleaning after their harvest, could not finde enough to maintaine his Army. Thus were the poore Thessalians, of whose liberty the Romans a few dayes fince had made shew to be very desirous, wasted by the same Romans and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turne themselves, or whom to avoide. T. Quinius wonne Phaleria by affault: Metropolis and Piera yeelded unto him. Rhage 40 he besteged : and having made a faire breach, yet was unable to force it; so stoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a Macedonian garrison therein. Philip also at the same time, having somewhat recollected his spirits, hovered about Tempe with his Army, thrusting men into all places, that were like to be distressed. So the Consult, having well-neere spent his victuals, and feeing no hope to prevaile at Rhage; brake up his fiege, and departed out of Theffaly. He had appointed his ships of burden to meete him at Anticyra, an Haven Towne of Phocis, on the Gulph of Corinth : which Countrey being friend to the Macedonian, he presently invaded; nor so much for harred unto the people, as because it lay conveniently seated betweene Thessay and other regions, wherein he had businesse, or was shortly like to have. Many Townes in Phocis he wonne by affault: many were yeelded up unto him for feare; and within short space he had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the meane time L. Quintius the Confuls brother, being then Admirall for the Romans in this warre, joyned with King Attalus and the Rhodian Fleet. They wonne two Cities in Eubaa; and afterward laid fiege unto Cenchree, an Haven and Arcenall of the Corinihians on their Easterne Sea. This enterprise did somewhat helpe forward the Acheans, in their defire to leave the part of Philip: fince it might come to passe, that Co with it selfe, ere long time were spent; and that Centhree, with other places appertaining to Corinth, now very shortly should be rendred unto their Nation; by favour of the Romans.

But there were other motives, inducing the Acheans to preferre the friendship of the Romans, before the patronage of Philip; whereto they had been long accustomed. For this King had fo many waies offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best courfe to rid their hands of him; whileft being intangled in a dangerous War, he wanted meanes to hinder the execution of fuch counfell as they should hold the safest. His tyrannous practifes to make himselfe their absolute Lord: his poysoning of Aratus their old Governour: His false dealing with the Messenians, Epirots, and other people their Confederates, and his owne dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed; had caused them long since to hold him as a necessary evill, even whilest they were unable to be without his affiftance. But fince by the vertue of Philopamen, they were grown somewhat confident in their own strength, so as without the Macedonians helpe they could as well fubfift, as having him to friend: then did they onely think how evill he was; and thereupon rejoyce the more in that he was become no longer necessary. It angred him to perceive how they stood affected: and therefore he fent murderers to take away the life of * Philopamen. But failing in this enterprife; and being detected, he did Plut in the Philopamen. thereby onely fet fire to the Wood, which was throughly dry before, and prepared to logan burn. Philopamen wrought so with the Achaens, that no discourse was more familiar with Juffelia. to them, than what great cause they had to withdraw themselves from the Macedonian.Cycliadas, a principall man among them, and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for shewing himselfe passionate in the cause of Philip; and Aristanus chosen Prætor, who

laboured to joyne them in fociety with the Romans. These newes were very welcome to T. Quintius. Embassadors were sent from the Romans, and their Confederates, King Attalus, the Rhodians and Athenians, to treat with the Acheans, making promise, that they should have Corinth restored unto them, if they would for fake the Macedonian. A Parliament of the Acheans was held at Sycion, to deliberate and resolve in this weighty case. Therein the Romans and their adherents defired the Achaans to joyne with them in making Warre upon Philip. Contrariwife, 30 the Embaffadors of Philip, whom he had also fent for this businesse, admonishing the Acheans of their Alliance with the King, and of their faith due unto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remaine as Neuters. This moderate request of Philips Embassadors did no way advance their Masters cause. Rather it gave the Acheans to underftand. That he, who could be fatisfied with fo little at their hands, knew himfelfe unable to gratifie them in any reciprocall demand. Yet were there many in that great Councell; who remembring the benefits of Philip and Antigonus, laboured earnestly for the preservation of the ancient League. But in fine, the sense of late injuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the suture; prevailed against the memory of those old good turnes, which he (and Antigonus beforehim) had partly fold unto them, and partly had u-40 fed as baites, whereby to allure them into absolute subjection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance; That the Romans were strong, and likely to prevaile in the end. So after much altercation, the Decree paffed, That they should thenceforward renounce the Macedonian, and take part with his enemies in this War. With Attalus and the Rhodians, they forthwith entred into fociety: with the Romans (because no League would be of force, untill the Senare and people had approved it) they forbore to decree any fociety at the present, untill the returne of those Embassadors from Rome, which they determined to fend thither of purpose. The Megalopolitans, Dymeans, and Argives, having done their best for the Macedonian, as by many respects they were bound; rose up out of the Councell, and departed before the passing of the Decree; which they could not refift, nor yet with honefty thereto give affent. For this their good will, and greater, which they shortly manifested, the Argives had so little thanke; that all the rest of the Acheans may be the better held excused for escaping how they might, out of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soone after this, upon a folemine day at Argos, the affection of the Citizens discovered it selfe so plainely, in the behalfe of Philip, that they which were his Partisans within the Towne, made no doubt of putting the Cirie into his hands, if they might have any fmall affiftance. Philocles a Lievtenant of the Kings, lay then in Covinth, which he had manfully defended against the Romans and Attalus. Him the Conspirators drew to Nonne Argos :

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Argos; whither comming on a fudden, and finding the multitude ready to joine with him, He casily compelled the Achean Garrison to quit the place.

This getting of Argos, together with the good defence of Corinth, and some other Townes, as it helped Philip a little in his reputation, fo they gave him hope to obtaine fome good end by Treaty, whilest as yet with his honour he might seeke it: and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Conful would shortly be chosen; who should take the worke out of Titus his hands, if it were not concluded the sooner. Titus had the like respect unto himselse; and therefore thought it best, since more could not bee done, to pre-dispose things unto a Conclusion, for his owne reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-shore, in the Bay then called the Malian or Laman Bay, now (as is supposed) the Gulfe of Ziton, in the Egean Sea, or Archipelago. Thither 10 came Titus with Aminander the Athamanian; an Embaffador of Attalus; the Admiral of Rhodes; and some Agents for the Atolians and Acheans. Philip had with him some few of his owne Captaines, and Cycliadas, lately banished for his sake out of Achaia. He refufed to come on shore: though fearing (as he said) none but the immortall Gods: yet misdoubting some treacherie in the Asolians. The demands of Titus in behalfe of the Romans, were, That he should set all Cities of Greece at liberty; deliver up to the Romans and their Confederates, all prisoners which he had of theirs, and Renegadoes; likewise whatfoever he held of theirs in Illyria: and whatfoever about Greece or Afia he had gotten from Ptolomy then King of Egypt, after his fathers death. Attalus demanded restitution to be made, entire of Ships, Townes, and Temples by him taken and spoyled in 20 the late War between them. The Rhodians would have againe the Country of Peraa. lying over against their Iland; as also that he should withdraw his Garrisons out of divers Townes about the Hellespont, and other Havens of their friends. The Acheans defired restitution of Argos and Corinth: about the one of which they might, not unjustly, quarrell with him; the other had beene long his owne by their confent. The Atolians took upon them angerly, as Patrons of Greece: willing him to depart out of it, even out of the whole Countrey, leaving it free; and withall to deliver up unto them, what soever he held that had at any time been theirs. Neither were they herewithall content: but infolently declaymed against him, for that which he had lately done in Thessaly; corrup-30 ting(asthey faid) the rewards of the Victors, by destroying, when hee was vanquished, those Townes, which else they might have gotten. To answer these malapart Atolians, Philip commanded his Gallie to be rowed nearer the shore. But they began to plie him afresh: telling him that he must obey his betters, unlesse he were able to defend himfelfe by force of Armes. He answered them (as he was much given to gybing) with sundry scoffes; and especially with one, which made the Roman Conful understand, what manner of companions these Ætolians were. For he faid, That he had often dealt with them; as likewise the best of the Greeks; desiring them to abrogate a wicked Law, which permitted them to take foyle from spoyle: yet could he get no better an answer, than that they would sooner take Etolia out of Etolia. Titus wondred what might be the meaning 40 of this strange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable custome, as often as Warre happened betweene their friends, to hold up the quarrell by fending Voluntaries to serve on both sides, that should spoyle both the one and the other. As for the liberty of Greece, Hee faid it was strange that the Atolians should bee so carefull thereof, fince divers. Tribes of their owne, which he there named, were indeed no Grecians: wherefore hee would faine know, whether the Romans would give him leave to make flaves of those Atolians, which were no Greekes. Titus hereat smiled, and was no whit offended, to heare the Ætolians well ratled up; touching whom he began to understand, how odious they were in all the Country. As for that generall demand of fetting all Greece at liberty, Philip acknowledged, that it might well befeeme 50 the greatnesse of the Romans; though he would also consider, what might bekeeme his owne dignity. But that the Ætolians, Rhodians, and other petric Estates, should thus presume, under countenance of the Romans, to take upon them, as if by their great might hee should beethereunto compelled: it was, hee said, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The Achaens hee charged with much ingratitude; reciting against them fome Decrees of their owne; wherein they had loaden both Amigonus and him, with more than humane honours. Nevertheleffe he faid, that he would render Argos unto them: but as touching Corinth, that he would further deliberate with Titus himselfe.

Thus he addressed himselfe wholly to the Roman Generall; unto whom if he could give fatisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With Attalus and the Rhodians, his late War (he faid) was onely defensive; they having beene the offerers: or if he gave them any occasion, it was onely in helping Prusias, his sonne-in-law; neither did he see why they should rather seeke amends at his hands, that he at theirs. For whereas they complayned, that, spoyling a Temple of Venus, he had cut downe the Grove, and pleasant walkes thereabouts: what could be doe more, than fend Gardners thither with young plants; if one King of another would stand to aske such recompence ? Thus he jested the matter out: but offered nevertheleffe, in honour of the Romans, to give backe the Region of Pe-10 reato the Rhodians; as likewise to Attalus, the Ships and Prisoners of his, whereof hee had then possession. Thus ended that dayes conference, because it was late: Philip requiring a nights leifure to thinke upon the Articles, which were many, and he ill provided of Counsell, wherewith to advise about them. For your being so ill provided of Counsell (faid Titus) you may even thanke your selfe; as having murdered all your friends. that were wont to advise you faithfully. The next day Philip came not, untill it was late at night; excufing his long flay by the weightinesse of the things propounded, whereon he could not fuddenly tell how to refolve. But it was believed, that he thereby fought to abridge the Ætolians of leifure to raile at him. And this was the more likely, for that he defired conference in private with the Roman Generall. The fumme of his discourse. 20 as Titms afterward related it, was, That he would give the Acheans both Argos and Corinth; as also that he would render unto Attalus and the Rhodians, what he had promised the day before; likewise to the Atolians, that he would grant some part of their demands; and to the Romans, what foever they did challenge. This when Titus his affociates heard, they exclaymed against it, saving. That if the King were suffered to retain any thing in Greece, he would shortly get possession of all which he now rendred up. The noyse that they made came to Philips eare: who thereupon defired a third day of meeting; and protested, that if he could not perswade them, he would suffer himselfe to bee perswaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning: at what time the King intreated them all, that they would with fincere affection hearken untogood 30 offers of peace; and immediately conclude it; if they could like well of those Conditions which he had already tendred, or otherwise that they would make truce with him for the prefent, and let him fend Embaffadors to Rome, where he would referre himselfe to the courtefie of the Senate.

This was even as Quintius would have it: who flood in doubt, left a new Conful might happen to defraud him of the honour which he expected by ending of the Warre. So he easily prevailed with the rest, to assent hereunto: for as it was Winter, a time unfit for fervice in the War; and fince, without authority of the Senate, he should be unable to proceed refolvedly either in Warre or Peace. Further he willed them to fend their feverall Embassadors to Rome, which intimating unto the Senate what each of them required, should easily hinder Philip from obtaining any thing to their prejudice. Among the rest, he perswaded King Aninander to make a journey to Rome in person. knowing well, that the name of a King together with the confluence of formany Embassadors, would ferve to make his owne actions more glorious in the City. All this tended to procure that his own Command of the Army in Greece might be prorogued. And to the fame end had he dealt with fome of the Tribunes of the people at Rome: who had already(though as yet he knew not fo much) obtained it for him, partly by their authority,

partly by good reasons which they alledged unto the Senate.

The Embaffadours of the Greekes, when they had audience at Rome, spake bitterly against the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more desirous of victory, 50 than of fatisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpose of the Romans, in undertaking to set Greece at liberty. But this (they said) could never be effected; unlesse especiall care were taken, that the King should be dispossessed of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias. In this point they were so vehement, producing a Map of the Country, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in servility; that the Senate agreed to have it even so as they defired. When therfore the Embassadors of Philip were brought in, and began to have made a long Oration; they were briefly cut off in the middest of their Preface, with this one demand: Whether their Master would yeeld up Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias. Hereto they made answer, That concerning those places, the Nonno 2

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King had given them no direction or commission what to say or doe. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to Philips defire of peace; wherein they faid he did no better than triflle. Yet might his Embassadors have truly said, That neither the Attolians, Achaans, nor any of their fellowes, had in the late Treaty required by name, that Chalcis and Demetrias should be yeelded up. For which of them indeed could make any claime to either of these Towns ? As for Corinth, whereto the Achaans had some right; (though their right were no better, than that, having stolne it from One Macedonian king in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargaine unto an Other) Philip had already condescended to give it back unto them. And this perhaps would have been alledged, even against the Greeks, in excuse of the King, by some of T. Quintius his 10 friends; that so he might have had the honor to conclude the war, if a successor had been decreed unto him. But fince he was appointed to continue Generall : neither his friends at Rome, nor he himselfe, after the returne of the Embassadors into Greece, cared to give

eare unto any talke of peace. Philip, seeing that his Achdans had forfaken him, and joyned with their common enemies; thought even to deale with them in the like manner, by reconciling him felfe unto Nabis, whom they hated most. There were not many yeares past, since the Laced eme. wians under Cleomenes, with little other helpe than their owne ftrength, had been almost firong enough both for the Macedonians and Achaens together. But now the condition of things was altered. Nabis his force confifted, in a manner, wholly in his Mercenaries : for 16 he was a Tyrant, though stiling himselse King. Yet he sorely vexed the Achaans: and therefore seemed to Philip one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be won. To this purpose it was thought meet, that the Town of Argos, which could not otherwise be eafily defended, should bee configued over into his hands; in hope, that such a benefit would serve to tie him fast unto the Macedonian. Philocles the Kings Lievtenant, who was appointed to deale with Nabis, added further, That it was his Mafters purpose to make a streight alliance with the Laced amonian, by giving some daughters of his owne in marriage unto Nabis his fons. This could not but be well taken. Yet Nabis made fome foruple in accepting the Towne of Argos; unlesse by decree of the Citizens themselves hee might be called into it. Hereabout Philocles dealt with the Argives: but found them fo 30 averse, that, in open assembly of the people, they detested the very name of the Tyrant, with many railing words. Nabis hearing of this, thought he had thereby a good occasion to rob and fliece them. So he willed Philocles, without more adoe, to make over the Town which he was ready to receive. Philocles accordingly did let him with his Army into it by night; and gave him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt Philip with the Argives, who for very love had forsakenthe Acheans, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himself Master of all the Gates. A few of the principall men, understanding how things went, fled out of the City at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chiefe Citizens that stayed behinde, were commanded to bring forth, out of hand, all their Gold and Silver- Alfo 240 great imposition of money was laid upon all those that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more adoe. But if any stood long upon the matter: or played the theeves in purloyning their owne goods; they were put to the whip, and besides losse of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Lawes: namely, such as might ferve to make him gracious with the rascall multitude: abrogating all debts, and dividing the Lands of the rich among the poore. By such art of oppressing the great ones, it hath been an old custome of Tyrants, to affure themselves of the Vulgar for a time.

As foon as Nabis had gotten Argos, He fent the newes to T. Quintins; and offered to joyne with him against Philip. Titus was glad of it: so as he tooke the pains to crosse over 10 thing aptly for his Phalanx. Neverthelesse hee found convenient roome, wherein to the Streights into Peloponnesus, there to meet with Nabis. They had soon agreed (though King Attalas, who was prefent with the Conful, made some cavill touching Argos) and the Tyrantlent unto the Roman, fixe hundred of his Mercenaries of Crete: as also heagre ed with the Acheans, upon a Truce for foure moneths, referving the finall conclusion of peace between them untill the War of Philip should be ended; which after this continued not long. 6. XIIII.

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The battellat Cynoscephalæ, wherein Philip was vanquished by T. Quintius-

*Itus Quintius, as soone as he understood that he was appointed to have Command of the Army, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleafure of the Senate; made all things ready for diligent pursuit of the Warre. The like did *Philip*: who having failed in his negotiation of peace, and no leffe failed in 10 his hopes of getting Nabis to friend in that War; meant afterwards wholly to relic upon himfelfe.

Titus had in his Army about fixe and twenty thousand: and Philip a proportionable Platin vitit. 2. number. But neither of them knew the others strength, or what his Enemy intended Flora, to doe. Onely Titus heard that Philip was in Theffaly, and thereupon addressed himselfe to feeke him out. They had like to have met unawares, neare unto the City of Phera: where the vant-currers on both fides discovered each other; and sent word thereof unto their feverall Captains. But neither of them were over hafty to commit all to hazzard upon fo short warning. The day following each of them sent out three hundred Horse, with as many light armed Foot, to make a better discovery. These met, and sought a long 20 while: returning finally' kinto their feverall Camps, with little advantage unto either fide. The Country au t Phera was thick fet with Trees : and otherwise full of Gardens and mud-walles; which made it unproper for service of the Macedonian Phalanx. Wherefore the King dislodged, intending to remove back into Scotufa, in the Frontier of Macedon; where he might be plentifully ferved with all necessaries. Titus conceived aright his meaning: and therefore purposed also to march thitherwards; were it only to waste the Country. There lay betweene them a great ledge of hils, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other took. Neverthelesse they encamped not farre a funder, both the first and the second night; though neither of them understood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempestuous; and forced each 30 of them to take up his lodging where hee found it by chance. Then fent they forth discoverers againe, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the Macedonians had the worse. But Phylip anon sent in such strong fupply; that if the refistance of the Etolians had not been desperate, the Romans their fellowes had been driven back into their Camp. Yet all refiftance notwithstanding, the Macedonians prevailed: fo that Titus himselfe was faine to bring forth his Legions, that were not a little discouraged, by the defeat of all their Horse, to animate those which were in flight.

It was altogether besides the Kings purpose to put the fortune of a battell in trust that day, with so much of his Estate as might thereon depend. But the newes came to him thick and tumultuoufly, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his owne, if hee could use an occasion, the like whereof he should not often finde. This cansed him to alter his purpose: insomuch as he embattelled his men; and climbed up those hils, which, for that the knops thereon had some resemblance unto Dogs heads, were called, by a word fignifying as much, Cynoscephala. As soone as he was on the hill-top; it did him good to fee that they of his owne light armature were buffe in fight, almost at the very Campe of the Enemies; whom they had repelled so farre. Hee had also liberty to choose his ground, as might serve best his advantage: for a smuch as the Romans were quite driven from all parts of the Hill. But of this commodity he could make no great ule: the roughnesse of the place among those Dogs heads, as they were called, serving nomarshall the one part of his Army: and gave order unto his Captaines, to follow with the rest; embattelling them as they might. Whilest hee was doing this: He perceived that his Horsemen and light armature began to shrinke; as being fallen upon the Roman Legions, by force whereof they were driven to recoyle. He fees forward to helpe them: and they no leffe hastily draw unto him for frecour; having the Romans not far behinde

As the Legions began to climbe the Hill; Philip commanded those of his Phalanx to charge their pikes, and entertaine them. Here Titus found an extreme difficult piece Nanan 3

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of worke. For this Phalanx being a great square battell of armed pikes, like in all points to those which are now used in our moderne Warres: and being in like manner used, as are ours; was not to be refifted by the Roman Targettiers, as long as the Phalanx it selfe heldtogether undissolved. The Macedonians were embattelled in very close order: for that two of them stood opposite to one of the Romans; as also the pikes of the first ranke had their points advanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no marvell if the Romans gave back: every one of them being troubled (as it were) with tenne enemies at once; and not able to come nearer to the next of them, than the length of a doozen foot or thereabout. Titus finding this, and not knowing how to remedic it; was greatly troubled: for that still the Phalanx bare downe all which came in the way. But in the meane while he observed, That they which were appointed by Philip to make his left wing, were not able through the much unevennesse of the ground, to put themselves in order: so as either they kept their places on the Hil-tops; or else (which was worse) upon defire either of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to be partakers in the work, ran foolishly along by the side of their fellowes, which were occupied

Of this their disorder Hee made great and present use. He caused the right wingof his Battell to march up the Hill against these ill-ordered troupes: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terrour. The Macedonians were readier to dispute what should be done in such a case, than well advised what to doe; as having no one man appointed, 20 to command that part inchiefe. Indeed if they should have done their best, it could not have served; fince the ground whereon they stood, made their weapons unusefull. For let it be supposed, that Philip having fixe and twenty thousand in his Armie (as he is faid to have been equall to the Enemy in number) had foure thousand Horse, foure thousand Targettiers, and foure thousand light-armed: so shall there remaine fourteene thousand Pikes; whereof he himselfe had embattelled the one halfe in a Phalanx; theother halfe in the left wing, are they whom Quintius is ready now to charge. The Phalanx having usually fixteene in File, must, when it consisted of seven thousand, have welneare foure hundred and forty in ranke : but foure hundred would ferve, to make a Front long enough; the other forty or feven and thirty Files might bee cut off, and 30 reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as Except. & Polyb. Polybins doth, to every man of them three foote of ground: this Front must have occupied twelve hundred foote, or two hundred and forty paces; that is, very neare a quarter of a mile in length. Such a space of open Champaine, free from incumberance of Trees, Ditches, Hillockes, or the like impediments, that must of necessity dis-joyne this close battell of the Phalanx; was not every where to bee found. Here at Cynoscephala Philip had so much roome, as would onely suffice for the one halfe of his men; the rest were faine to stand still and looke about them, being hindered from putting themselves in order, by the roughnesse of the Dogges heads. But the Romans, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindred from comming 40 up unto them; nor found any difficulty in mastering those enemies, whose feet were in a manner bound by the discommodity of the place. The very first impression of the Elephants, caused them to give backe; and the comming on of the Legions, to betake themselves to flight. A Roman Tribune or Colonel, seeing the victory on that part affured, left the profecution of it unto others: and being followed by twenty Enfignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by some two thousand men, tooke in hand a notable piece of worke; and mainely helpefull to making of the victory compleate. Hee confidered that Philip, in pursuing the right wing of the Romans, was run on fo farre: as that himselfe with his sellowes, in mounting the hill to charge the left wing of the Macedonians, was already gotten above the Kings head. Wherefore hee turned to the 50 left hand, and making downe the hill after the Kings Phalanx, fell upon it in the Rere-The hindermost rankes of the Phalanx, all of them indeede save the first five, were accustomed, when the battels came to joyning, to carry their pikes upright; and with the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their fore-men: and so were they doing at the present. This was another great inconvenience in the Macedonian Phalanx. That it served neither for offence nor defence, except onely in front. For though it were so, that Alexander, when hee was to fight with Dariss in Mesopotamia, arranged his Phalanx in fuch order, that all the foure fides of it were as so many frontslooking fundry

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waves because he expected that he should be encompassed round: yet is it to be understood, that herein he altered theusuall forme; as also at the same time he embattailed his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turne their weapons which way need should require. Likewise it is to be considered. That Alexanders men being thus dispofed, were fit onely to keep their owne ground; not being able to follow upon the enemy, unleffe their hindmost rankes could have marched backwards. But in this present case of Philip, there was no fuch provision for refistance. Therefore his men, being other wife unable to help them felves, threw down their weapons & fled. The king him felf had thought untill now, that the fortune of the battell was every where alike, and the day his own. But to hearing the noise behind him, and turning a little aside with a troup of horse, to see how all went; when he beheld his men casting downe their weapons, and the Romans at his back on the higher ground; he prefently betook himselfeto flight. Neither staid heafterwards in any place (except only a fmall while about Tempe, there to collect fuch as were dispersed in this overthrow) untill he was gotten into his own kingdome of Macedon.

There died of the Roman Armie in this battell, about feven hundred: of the Macedonians about eight thousand were slaine; and five thousand taken prisoners.

6. XV.

T. Quintius falleth out with the Ætolians, and grants truce unto Philip, with conditions upon which the peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed unto the Greekes. The Romans quarrell with Antiochus.

THe Ætolians wonderfully vaunted themselves; and desired to have it noysed through all Greece, that the victory at Cynoscephalæ was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the bootie by facking the Macedonian Camp, whileft the Romans were busied in the chase. Titus therefore being offended both at their vain-glory, & at their ravenous condition; purposed to teach them better maners, by regarding them as flightly, as they thought highly of themselves. 30 He also well perceived, That by using them with any extraordinary favour, he should greatly offend the rest of his confederates in Greece; who detested the Eiolians much more vehemently, than ever they had done the Macedonians. But this displeasure brake

not forth vet a while. After the battell Titus made hafte unto Lariffa,a Citie in Theffalie, which he presently tooke. Before his comming, Philip had fent thither one of his Courtiers to burne all his letters, and passages what soever in writing, betwixt him and others: of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of fo much adverfitie, he forgot not to provide for the fafetie of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of Lariffa might well perceive, that he gave them as already lost. Wherefore we finde 40 not that they, or any of their Neighbors, did make delay of opening their gates to Titus. At the fame time, the town of Leucas, bordering upon Acarnania, was taken by the Roman Fleet, and very soone after, all the Acarnanians, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the Atolians ever true to Philip; gave up themselves unto the Romans, hearing of the victory at Cynoscephala. The Rhodians also were then in hand with the conquest of Parea, a Region of the Continent over against the Iland; whereof they had demanded resti-

Greeks: forafmuch as they awaited not the good leafure of the Romans; but with an Army of their own and some helpe which they borrowed of the Achaens and other their friends, gave battell to Dinocrates the kings Lievtenant, wherein they had the victory, and 50 consequently recovered the whole Province .It angred Philip worse than all this, that the Dardanians gathered courage out of his affliction, to invade his kingdome; wasting and spoyling, as if all had bin abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Armie inall hafte of fix thousand foot and five hundred horse: wherewith comming upon them, he drave them, with little or no losse of his owne, and great slaughter of theirs, haftily out of the kingdome. Which done he returned to Theffalonica.

tution, in the late Treaty of Peace. They did herein more manly, than any other of the

In this one enterprise He had successe answerable to his desire: but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affaires, in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wisedometo yeeld unto necessity; and therefore sent in all haste Limnau and Demosthenes CHAP.4. S.15.

with Cycliadas the banished Achaan, in whom he reposed much confidence, Embassadors unto Titu. These had conference a long while in private, with Titus and some of his Roman Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wife dismissed. It seemes that they had Commission, to referre all unto Titus his owne discretion; as Philip himselfe in few dayes afterdid. There was granted unto him a Truce for fifteenedayes: in which time, the King himselfe might come and speake with the Roman Generall. In the mean feafon many fuspicious rumours went of Tirm, as if he had beene corrupted with great rewards from the King, to betray the Greeks his Confederates. Of these bruits the Ætolians were chiefe authors: who being wont to regard neither friendship nor honestie, where profit led them a wrong way, judged alike of all men 10 elfe. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and Philip, Titus had fent letters unto his Affociates; willing them to have their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of Tempe, where the Treaty should be held. There when they were all affembled, they entred into confultation before the Kings arrivall, what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them ali, and for every estate in particular. The poor king Aminander befought them all, & especially the Romans, that they would thinke upon him; and, confidering his weakenesse which he confessed, make such provifion, that after the Romans had turned their backs, and were gone home, Philip might not wreake his anger upon him who was not able to refift. Then spake Alexander, one of the Ætolians: who commending Titus for somuch as he had thus affembled the Confe-20 derates to advise upon their own good, and had willed them to deliver their minds freely: added, That in the maine of the purpose which he had in hand, he was utterly deceived: for that by making peace with Philip, he could neither affure the Romans of their quiet, nor the Greeks of their liberty. There was, he faid, none other end to be made of the war, which could agree either with the purpose of the Senate and people of Rome, or with the faire promises made by Tans himselfe unto the Greeks, than the chasing of Philip quite out of his kingdome. And to this effect he made a long discourse . But Trus answered, That this Etolian was ill acquainted, either with the good pleasure of the Senate and people of Rome, or with the laudable customes which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the Romans, to seeke the utter destruction of any King or 20 Nation, at such time as they first made warre with them; untill by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessity, to take such a rigorous course. And hereof he alledged the Carthaginians as a notable example: adding, That victory, to generous minds, was onely an inducement to moderation. As concerning the publike benefit of Greece, it was (he faid) expedient, that the kingdome of Macedon should be greatly weakened and brought low; not that it should be utterly destroyed: for a smuch as it served as a barre to the Thracians, Gaules, and a multitude of other falvage Nations, which would foone over-flow the whole continent of Greece, if this kingdome were not interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that if Philip would yeeld unto those demands, wherewith he had pressed him in the former Treaty; then was there no reason to deny him peace. As for 40 the Ætolians: if they thought otherwise, it should be at their owne pleasure, to take counsell apart for themselves as they thought good. Then began Fhaneas, another of the Atolians, to fay, that all was come to nothing; for that ere long, Philip would trouble all the Greekes, no lesse than he had done in time before. But Time interrupted him, and bad him leave his babbling; faying, That himselfe would take such order, as that Philip, were he never so desirous, should thenceforth not have it in his power to molest the Greekes.

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The next day King Philip came thither: whom Time used friendly: and suffering him to repose himselfe that night, held a Councell the day following; wherein the King yeelded unto all that had beene required at his hands; offring yet further to stand to the 50 good pleasure of the Senate, if they would have more added to the Conditions. Phaneasthe Atolian, infulting over him, faid it was to be hoped, that he would then at length give up to the £10hans a many of Townes, (which he there named) bidding him speake whether he would or no. His answer was, that they might take them all . But Titus interpoling himselfe, said it should be otherwise. These were These alian Townes, and should be all free: one of them onely excepted, which not long agoe had refused to commit it felf to the faith of the Romans, and therefore should now be given to the Liolians. Hereat Phaneas cried out, that it was too great an injury, thus to be defrauded of the Townes

Townes that had fometime belonged unto their Common-weale. Rather he willed Tito confider that by an ancient Covenant between him and the Romans, all the towns taken ought to be their own, and the Romans to have nothing fave the pillage & captives. It is true, that there had bin fuch a condition in the former war: but it ceased to be of any validations foon as the Etolians made peace with Philip. And thus much Titus gave them to understand; asking them whether they thought it reasonable, that all the towns in Greece, which had let in the Romans by composition, should be delivered into subjection of the Atolians. The rest of the Consederates were very much delighted with these angry paffages between the Roman and the Atolians: neither had they great reason to 10 feare any hard measure; fince Titus was so earnest in behalfe of those Theffalians, to give them liberty, though they had stood out against him, even till very fear made them open their gates. Wherefore they opposed not themselves; but gave their consent willingly unto a Truce for foure Moneths.

The chiefe cause that moved True to grant peace so readily to the Macedonian, befides that landable custome by him before alledged, was, the fame of Antiochus his comming with an army from Syria, and drawing neere toward Europe. Hee had also perhaps yet a greater motive; even the confideration that his fucceffor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the war should happen to be protracted. And he was in the right. For when his letters, together with Embaffadors from the Macedonian, and fun-20 dry States of Greece, came unto Rome, new Confuls were chosen: who (especially the one of them) stood very earnestly against the peace; alledging frivolous matter of their owne suspition, in hope to get the honour of concluding the war. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, between the Embassadours of Philip, offring to stand to whatsoever was demanded; and the letters of Titue, preffing them to accept this offer, on the one fide; and the importunitie of the Conful on the other; who faid, that all these goodly shewes were fraudulent, and that the King would rebell, as foone as the Army was called out of Greece. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Affembly of the People; by whose soveraigne authority it was concluded, that Peace should be granted to the King. So ten Embassadors were sent from Rome o over into Greece: in which number were they that had bin Confuls before Time: and it was ordained by their advice, that Tim should goe through with the businesse of Peace. These would very faine have retained those three important Cities of Corinth, Chalcie, and Demetrias, untill the estate of Greece were somewhat better settled. But finally, Titwo prevailed so, that Corinth was (though not immediately) rendred unto the Acheans; and all the other Greek towns which Philip held, as well in Afia as in Greece, restored unto

The Conditions of the Peace granted unto Philip, were, That before the celebration of the next * Isthmean Games, He should withdraw his Garrisons out of all the Greeke * Exemple Fol. townes which he held, and configne them over to the Romans: That he should deliver Legal. 3. up unto them all Captives that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's: Likewise all his ships of warre, reserving to himselfe onely five of the lesser fort, and one of extraordinary greatnesse, wherein sixteene men laboured at every oare: Further, that he should pay a thousand talents, the one halfe in hand, the other in ten yeeres following, by even portions. Hereto * Livie addes, That he was forbidden to make warre out of Macedon, * Livib 33. without permission of the Senate. But I finde not that he observed this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Four hundred talents he had already delivered to Tum, together with his younger fon Demerrim, to remaine as hostage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at fuch time as he lately fent his Embaffadors to Rome: when it was promifed, that the money, and his fonne, should be restored backe unto him, if the Senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as part of the thousand talents, I cannot finde: and it feemeth otherwise, for a finuch as young Demetrius, who, together with those foure hundred talents, was given for hostage, remained still in custody of the Romans, as a part of the bargaine which Time formerly had made. Letters also were then fent by Titus unto Prusias King of Bithynia: giving him to understand, what agreement was made with Philip in behalfe of the Greeks, and how the Senate held it reasonable, that the Ciani, most miserably spoyled and oppressed by Philip, to gratifie this Bubyman his fon-in-law, should be restored to liberty, and permitted to enjoy the fame benefit of the Romans, which other of their nation did. What

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effect these letters wrought, it was not greatly materiall; fince the Romans were shortly busied with Anischus, in such wise, that they had not leasure to examine the conformity

of Prusias to their will. All Greece rejoyced at the good bargain which Tinu had made with Philip. Only the Ætolians found themselves agreeved that they were utterly neglected: which was to the rest no small part of their contentment. The Bicotians continued to favour the Macedonian; and thereby occasioned much trouble unto themselves. There were someamong them well affected to the Romans: who, feeing how things were like to goe, made their complaint unto Titas; faying, that they were no better than loft, for the good will which they had borne unto him; unleffe at this time, when he lay close by them with 10 his Armie, their Prætor, which was head of the opposite Faction, might be made away. Tirm refused to have a hand in the execution, yet neverthelesse did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to have kept themselves undiscovered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those which were put to torture the hatred of the people brake out violently against the Romans; in such wise, that how soever they durst not take Armes against them, yet such of them as they found flraggling from their Campe, they murdered in all parts of the Countrey. This was detected within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon Titus requires of the Barrians, to have the murderers delivered into his hands; and for five hundred fouldiers, which he had loft by them, to have paid unto him five hundred Talents. In flead 20 of making any fuch amends, they paid him with excuses; which he would not take as good fatisfaction. He fends Embaffactours to the Achaans and Athenians, informing them what had happed: and requested them not to take it amisse, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserved. Herewithall he falls to wasting their country; and befregeth two fuch towns of theirs, as did feeme to be most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadors of the Acheans and Athenians (especially of the Achaans, who offered, if he needed them, to help him in this war; yet befought him rather to grant peace unto the Bootsans) prevailed fo far with him, that he was pacified with thirty Talents, and the punishment of such as were known offenders.

In like fort, though not so violently, were many States of Greece distracted: some a-30 mong them rejoicing that they were free from the Macedonian; others greatly doubting that the Romane would prove a worse neighbour. The Etolian would have bin glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumours abroad, That it was the purpose of the Romans, to keepe in their own hands all those places, wherein Philip lately had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the Greekes, conceive, that this Macedonian war ferved as an introduction to the War to be made in Afia against King Aniochus; where grew the fruit, that was to be reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to stay the progresse of bad rumors, when the Ishmian games were held, which in time of peace were never without great folemnity and concourse; Truss in that great assembly of all Greece, caused proclamation to be made by sound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Se- 40 nate and people of Rome, and Tim Quintim Flaminim the General, having vanquished King Philip and the Macedonians, did will to be at libertie, free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, and living at their own Lawes, the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, Euboeans, Achaans of Phthioris, Magnefians, Theffalians, and Perrhabians. The fuddenneffe of this Proclamation aftonished men: so as though they applauded it with a great shout, yet presently they cried out to heare it again, as if they durst scarce credit their own ears. The Greeks were Crafts-masters in the Art of giving thankes, which they rendred now to T. Quinim with so great affection, as that they had well-neere smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

This good will of the Greeks, was like to be much more availeable unto the Romans 50 in their warre againft Antiochus, than could have beene the possession of a few Townes, yea or of all those Provinces which were named in the Proclamation. Upon considence hereof, no sooner were the Isthmiangames at an end, than Titus, with the Romans that were of his Councell, gave audience to Hagestanax and Lysius, king Antiochus his Embassadours: whom they willed to signific unto their Lord, That he should doe well to abstain from the free cities in Asia, and not vexe them with warras also to restore whatsoever he hadoccupied, belonging to the Kings, Ptolomy or Philip. Moreover they willed him by these his Embassadors, that he should not passe over his Army into Europe;

adding, That fome of them would visit him in person ere it were long, to talke with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises unto the Greeks; to the rest they gave what they had promised. But the Phocians and Locrians they gave unto the Atolians; whom they thought it no wisedome to offend overmuch, being shortly to take a greater work in hand. The Achaens of Philiotic they annexed unto the Thessalians; all save the town of Thebes in Phihioris, the same which had bin abandoned by T. Quinting to the Etolians in the last Treaty with Philip. The Etolians contended very earnestly about Pharsalus and Leucas. But they were put off with a dilatory answer, and rejected unto the Senate: for howsoever somewhat the Councell might to favor them, yet was it not meet that they should have their will, as it were indespight of Tim. So the Acheans were reftored Cornib, Triphylia & Herea, So the Corinibians were made free indeed, (though the Romans yet; a while kept the Acrocorinthus) for that all which were partakers of the Achaan common-wealth, enjoyed their liberty in as absolute maner as they could defire. To Pleurains the Illyrian were given one or two places, taken by the Romans from Philip: and upon Aminander were bestowed those Castles, which he had gotten from Philip during this war; to reign in them & the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his Athamanians. The Rhodians had bin their owne Carvers. Attalus was dead a little before the Victory; and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with Titus in Councell, would have given the towns of Oreum and Ereto tria, in the Ile of Eubæa, to his fon and fucceffor King Eumenes. But finally it was concluded that these as well as the rest of the Eubaans, should be suffered to enjoy their liberty. Oreftis, alittle Province of the kingdome of Macedon, bordering on Epirus, and lying towards the Ionian Sea, had yeelded unto the Romans long ere this, and fince continued true to them: for which cause it was also set at liberty, and made a free estate by it self.

These businesses being dispatcht, it remained, that all care should boused, not how to avoid the war with King Antiochus, but how to accomplish it with most case and prosperity. Wherefore Embassadours were sent, both to Antiochus himselfe, to pick matter of quarrell; and about unto others, to pre-dispose them unto the assisting of the Romans therein. What ground and matter of Warre against this King the Romans now had, or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadors and Agents dealt and sped abroad; I referre unto another place.

CHAP. V

The Warres of the Romans with Antiochus the Great, and his Adherents.

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What Kings of the races of Selencus and Ptolomic reigned in Asia and Egypt before Antiochus the Great.



Eleucus Nicator, the first of his race, King of Asia and Syria, dyed in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth Olympiad. He was trecherously staine by Prolomie Ceraunus, at an Altar called Argos; having (as is faid) been warned before by an Oracle, to beware of Argos, as the fatall place of his death. But I never have read that any mans life hath beene preserved, or any mischance avoyded by the predictions

offuch Divellish Oracles. Rather I believe, that many such predictions of the Heathen Gods, have been ante-dated by their Priests; or by others which devided them after the event.

Antiochus Soier, the sonne and heire of this Seleucus, was dearely beloved of his Father: who surrendred unto him his owne wife Stratonica, when he understood how much the young Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore Ptolomie Ceraunus had great cause to seare, that the death of Seleucus would not be unrevenged by this his Successor.

CHAP.5. S.I.

But Aniochus was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with faire words, containing himselfe within Asia; and letting Ceraums enjoy that quietly, which he had purchased in Europe with the bloud of Seleucm. It is said of this Antiochim, than although he married with the Queene Stratonica in his Fathers life, yet out of modestv he forbore to imbrace her, till his Father was dead. So that perhaps his inceftuous love was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his not prosecuting that revenge; whereunto Nature should have urged him. Afterwards he had wars with Antigonus Gonatas, and with Nicomedes King of Bulynia. Also Lusarius and Leonorius, Kings or Captaines of the Gaules, were fet upon him by the same Nicomedes. With these he fought a great battel: wherein, though otherwise the enemies had all advantage against him, yet by the terrour 10 of his Elephants, which affrighted both their horses and them, he won the Victory .He tooke in hand an enterprise against Prolomie Philadelphin: but finding ill successe in the beginning, he foon gave it over . To this king Antiochin Soter it was, that Berofus the Chaldean dedicated his History of Affria; the same which hath since bin excellently falsified by the Frier Annius. He left behind him one sonne; called Aniochus Theos; and one daughter, called Aname, that was married unto the King of Cyrene. So he died about the end of the hundred twentie & ninth Olympiad, or the beginning of the Olympiad following in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth yeer of the kingdom of the Greeks, when he had reig-

Antiochus, surnamed Theos, or the god, had this vaine and impious title given to him, by flattery of the Milesians; whom he delivered from Timarchus, a Tyrant that oppressed them. He held long and difficult, but fruitlesse, warre with Ptolomie Philadelphia King of Egypt; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife Berenice the daughter of

Prolomie. Of these two Kings, and of this Lady Berenice, S. Hierome and other Interpreters have underflood that Prophecie of Daniel: The Kings daughter of the South Shall come to the

King of the North to make an agreement; and that which followeth. Prolomie Philadelphus was a great lover of Peace and Learning; and (fetting apart his incestious marriage with his owne fifter Arfinee) avery excellent Prince: howsoever, the worthiest of all that race? It was He, that built, and furnished with Bookes, that fa- 30 mous Librarie in Alexandria: which to adorne, and to honour the more, He sent unto * Aug. de Civ. Dei Eleazar, then high Priest of the Jewes, for the Bookes of Mofes and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King unto the Jewes had formerly beene very great: for he had fet h Josandara at libertie as many of them, as his Father held in flavery throughout all Egypt; and he had sent unto the * Temple of God in Jerusalem very rich Presents. Wherefore Eleazar, yeelding to the Kings defire, presented him with an Hebrencoppie: which Ptolome caused to be translated into Greek, by seventy two of the most grave and learned persons name of Aifle. that could be found among all the Tribes. In this number of the 72. Interpreters, or (as us; many lear-they are commonly called) the Seventie, Jesisthe some of Syrach, is thought by Genemong the reft brard to have beene one: who that he lived in this Age, it feemes to me very fufficient-40 Lodovicus vives, ly proved by Jansenius, in his Preface unto Ecclesiasticus. The whole passage of this buhold impicion finesse between Philadelphus and the High Priest, was written (as 1 Josephus affirms) by terfeit, and the Arift aus that was employed therein. Fortie yeers Ptolomie Philadelphus was King; reckoning the time wherein he joyntly reigned with his Father. He was exceedingly belothor. Surelyifit ved of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his ehd he grew more voluptuous, than he had beene in his former yeers: in which time he time of Vivesji boaffed, that he alone had found out the way how to live for ever. If this had bin referredunto his honourable deeds, it might have stood with reason: otherwise, the Gowt, nucnmore july suppered with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his owne errour. He was fince a new E- the first of the Kings, derived from Alexanders Successors, that entred into League with 50

Antiochus Theos had another wife, called Laodice, at fuch time as he married with Berebooks, wherein nice the daughter of this Ptolomie. After his second marriage, he used his first wife with theyhavechan-no better regard, than if thee had beene his Concubine. Landice hated him for this: yet ged what they adventured not to feeke revenge, untill her owne four Seleucus Callinions was of ability comby Mid- to be king. This was two or three yeers after the death of Prolomie Philadelphias at what time the poyfored her hisband Theos; and, by permission of Seleucus her fon, murdered

the Romans: as also his Off-spring was the last among those Royall Families, which

Berenice, together with a fonne that flee had borne to Antiochus. Justine reports, that Be- Justine 27. renice faved her felfe, together with the yong Prince her childe, a while in the Sanctuary at Daphne: and that not only some Cities of Asa prepared to succour her, but her brother Ptolomy Euergetes, King of Egypt, came to refcue her with an Army; though too late, for

the was flaine before. With fuch cruelties Selencus Callinions, fucceeding unto his Father, that had fifteene veares beene King, began his reigne. His subjects were highly offended at his wicked nature; which they discovered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Eflate would have beene much endangered, if Ptolomy Evergetes, who came against him. had not been drawne backe into his owne Countrey, by fome Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would beare armes against Ptolomie, in defence of their owne King: but rather they fided with the Egyptian; who tooke Landice the Kings mother, and rewarded her with death as the had well deferved. Wherefore Seleucus, being freed from this invafion, by occasion of those domesticall troubles which recalled Euergetes home into Egypt; went about a dangerous piece of worke, even to make Warre upon his owne subjects, because of their bad affection towards him; when as it had bin much better, by well deferving, to have changed their hatred into love. A great Fleet he prepared: in furnishing and manning whereof he was at such charges, that he scarce left himselfe any other hope, if that should miscarry. Herein he embarqued himselfe; and putting to Sea, did meet with fuch a tempest, as devoured all save himselfe, and a very few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamity, having left him nothing else in a manner than his naked body, turned nevertheleffe to his great good; as anon after it feemed. For when his subjects understood in what fort the gods (as they conceived it) had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his Estate: and. prefuming that he would thenceforth become a new man, offered unto him their fervice with great alacritie. This revived him, and filled him with fuch foirit; as thinking himselfe well enough able to deale with the Egyptian, he made ready a mighty Army for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had beene at Sea. Hee was vanquished by Ptolomy in a great battel: whence he escaped hardly: no better at-30 tended, than after his late shipwracke. Hasting therefore backe to Antioch, and fearing that the enemy would foone be at his heeles; He wrote unto his brother Antiochus Hierax, who lay then in Asia, praying him to bring succour with all speed; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of Asia. Antio. chus was then but fourteene yeares old, but extremely ambitious; and therefore glad of fuch an occasion to make himselfe great. Hee levied a mighty Army of the Gaules; wherewith he fet forward to help his brother, or rather to get what he could for himfelfe. Hereof Ptolomie being advertifed: and having no defire to put himfelfe in danger more than he needed; tooke Truce with Seleucus for tenne yeares. No fooner was Seleucus freed from this care of the Egyptian War, but his brother Antiochus came upon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himselfe to have the better Army. So Seleucus vvas vanquished againe; and saved himselfe vvith so few about himsthathe vvas verily supposed to have perished in the battell. Thus dids Gods Justice take revenge of those murders by which the Crowne vvas purchased; and settled (as might have beene thought) on the head of this bloudy King. Antiochus vvas very glad to heare of his brothers death, as if thereby hee had purchased his hearts desire. But the Gaules, his Mercenaries, were gladder than hee. For when he led them against Eumenes King of Pergamus, being in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reigne: these perfidious Barbarians tooke counsell against him, and devised how to ftrippe him of all that he had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the Royall house to make head against them; it would be in their power, to doe what should be best pleasing to themselves, in the lower Asia. Wherefore they laid hands on Amiochus; and enforced him to ransome himselse vvith money, as if he had beene their lawfull Prisoner. Neither were they so contented; but made him enter into such Composition with them, as tended but little to his honour. In the meane while Seleucus had gathered a new Armie; and prepared once more to try his fortune against his brother. Exmenes hearing of this, thought the feason sit for himselfe, to make his profit of their discord. Antiochus fought with him, and was beaten: which is no great marvell, fince he had great reason to stand inno lesse feare of the Gamer, his own souldiers,

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Genebrard 1.2.

Fuft.Mart.in

Dan Ir.6.

1.18.6 42.

Concerning that Booke which now

> dition of it is gedfrom faults, by them was rooted up. Casthe Papilts Colen, An. Dom.

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than of the enemy with whom he had to deale. After this, Eumenes won much in Asia; whilest Aniochus went against his brother. In the second battell, sought betweene the brethren, Seleucus had the upper hand : and Anisochus Hierax Or the Hawke, (which surname was given him, because he sought his prey upon every one, without care whether he were provoked or not) foared away as farre as he could, both from his brother, and from his owne Gaules. Having fetcht a great compaffe through Mesopotamia and Armenia, He fell at length in Cappadocia; where his father-in-law King Ariamenes tooke himup. He was entertained very lovingly in outward shew; but with a meaning to betray him. This he foone perceived: and therefore betooke him to his wings againe; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length he resolved to bestow to himselfe upon Prolomy; his owne conscience telling him, what evill he had meant unto Seleucus his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelity can finde no fure harbour. Prolomy well understood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this Hierax. Wherefore he laid him up in close prison: whence though by meanes of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from his keepers, he fell into the hands of theeves, by whom he was murthered. Neere about the same time died Seleucus. The Parthians and Bastrians had rebelled against him, during his wars with his brother. He therefore made a journy against Arfaces founder of the Parthian Kingdome: wherein his evill fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered fo closely to him, that he was ta-

had two fons; Selencus the third, furnamed Ceraumus, and Antiochus the third, called afterwardsthe Great. Seleucus Ceraunus reigned only three years; in which time he made War upon Attalue the first, that was king of Pergamus. Being weak of body through sicknesse, and in want of mony, He could not keep his men of War in good order: and finally he was flaineby 30 treason of Nicanor and Apaturius a Gaule. His death was revenged by Achaus, who slew the Traitors, and tooke charge of the Army: which he ruled very wifely, and faithfully a while; Antiochus the brother of Selencus being then a Child.

ken prisoner. Arfaces dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, having every way gi- 20 ven him royallentertainment: but in returning home, he brake his neck by a fall from his

horse, and so ended his unhappy reigne of twenty years. He had to wife Landice, the fifter

of Andromachus, one of his most trusty Captains: which was father unto that Achaus,

who making his advantage of this affinity, became fhortly after (as he stilled himselfe) a

King; thoughrather indeed, a great troubler of the World in those parts. By Landice he

9. II.

The beginning of the Great Antiochus his reigne. Of Prolomy Euergetes, and Philopater, Kings of Egypt. War between Antiochus and Philopater. The rebellion of Molo : anexpedition of Antiochus against him. The recontinuance of Antiochus his Egyptian war: with the passages between the two Kings: the victory of Ptolomy, and peace concluded. Of Achan Achaus, and his rebellion : his greatnesse, and his fall. Antiochus his expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians. Somewhat of the Kings reigning in India, after the death of the Great Alexander.

Ntiochus was scarcely fifteene years old, when he began his reigne, which lasted fixe and thirty years. In his Minority, He was wholly governed by one Hermias, an ambigious man, and one which maligned all vertue, that he found in any of the Kings faithfull servants. This vile quality in a Counsellor of such great place, how harmfull it was unto his Lord, and finally unto himselfe; the successe of things will shortly

Soon after the beginning of Antiochus his reigne, Ptolomy Euergetes King of Egypt died; and left his heire Ptolomy Philopater, a yong Boy likewife, as hath elsewhere been remembred. This was that Euergetes, who releeved Aratus & the Acheans: who afterwards took part with Chamenes; and lovingly entertained him, when he was chased out of Greece by Antigonus Gonatas. He annexed unto his Dominion the Kingdome of Cyrene; by taking to wife Berenice, the daughter of King Magas. He was the third of the Ptolomies; and the last good king of that race. The name of Euergetes, or the doer of good, was given to him by the Egyptians; not so much for the great spoyles which he brought home, after his vi-

ctories in Syria; as for that he recovered some of those Images or Idols, which Cambys, when he conquered Egypt, had carried into Persia. He was ready to have made War upon the Jewes, for that Onias their high Priest, out of meer covetousnesse of mony, refufed to pay unto him his yearly tribute of 20 talents: but he was pacified by the wisdome of Josephus a Jew, to whom afterwards he let in farme the Tributes and Customes that belonged unto him in those parts of Syria which he held. For Calofiria, with Palastina, and all those parts of the Country that lay nearest unto Egypt, were held by the Egyptian; either as having fallen to the share of Prolomy the first, at such time as the great Antigonus was vanquished and flaine in the battell at Ipfus; or as being won by this Euergetes. to in the troublesome and unhappy reigne of Seleucus Callinions. The victories of this Euergetes in Syria, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages between the Prolomies and the Seleucida; were all foretold by Daniel in the Prophecie before cited; which is expounded by S. Hierome. This Ptolomy Euergetes reigned fix and twenty years: and dyed towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth Olympiad. It may feeme by that which we finde in the Prologue unto Jesus the fon of Syrach his book, that he should have reigned a much longer time. For Siracides there faith that he came into Egypt in the eight and thirtieth yeare, when Euergetes was King. It may therefore be, That either this King reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirty years were the yeares of Jesus his owne age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the Jewes did other whiles rec-20 kon) from fome notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of Euergetes, Hermias the Counsellor, and in a manner the Protector of King Antiochus, incited his Lord unto War against the Egyptian; for the recovery of Calofyria and the Countries adjoyning. This counfell was very unfeafonably given, when Molo, the Kings Lievtenant in Media, was broken out into rebellion, and fought to make himselfeabsolute Lord of that rich Country. Neverthelesse Hermias, being more froward than wife maintained stiffely, that it was most expedient, and agreeable with the Kings honour, to fend forth against a rebellious Captaine, other Captaines that were faithfull; whilest He in person made Warreupon one, that was like himfelfe, a King. No man durst gaine-fay the resolution of Hermias; who therefore sent Xe-30 næras an Achean, with fuch forces ashe thought expedient, against the Rebell; whilest in the meane feafon an Army was preparing for the Kings expedition into Calofyria. The King having marched from Apamea to Laodisea, and fo over the Defarts into the Vally of Massas, between the Mountaines of Libanus and Anti-libanus; found his way there stopped by Theodotus an Atolian, that served under Ptolomy. So he consumed the time there a while to none effect: and then came newes, that Xenætas, his Captain, was deftroyed with his whole Army; and Molothereby become Lord of all the Country, as far as unto Babylon.

Xenætas, whilest he was yet on his journy, and drew neare to the River of Tygris; received many advertisements, by such as fled over unto him from the Enemy, That the followers of Mole were, for the most part, against their wils, drawne by their Commander to beare armes against their King. This report was not altogether false; but Molo himselse stood in some doubt lest his followers would leave him in time of necessity. Xenetas therefore making shew, as if he had prepared to passe the River by Boats in face of his Enemie; left in the night time fuch as he thought meet to defend his Campe; and with all the floure of his Army went over Tygris, in a place tenne miles lower than Molo his Campe. Molo heard of this, and fent forth his horfe to give impediment : but hearing that Xenæras could not fo bee ftopped, Hee himselfe dislodged, and tooke his Journey towards Media; leaving all his baggage behinde him in his Campe. Whether he did this, as diffrusting the faith of his owne souldiers: or whether thereby to deceive so his Enemy; the great folly of Xenatus made his stratagem prosperous. For Xenatus, having borne himselfe proudly before upon the countenance of Hermias, by whom he was advanced unto this charge; did now prefume that all should give way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of using the sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast with the provisions which they found ready in the forfaken Campe: or rather he commanded them to to doe, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish up themselves against the journy, which he intended to take the next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himselfe, in transporting the remainder of his Army, which he had left on the other fide of Tygris. But Mole went

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no further that day, than he could eafily returne the fame night. Wherefore understanding what good rule the Kings men kept: he made such haste backe unto them, that he came upon them early in the morning; whilest they were yet heavie with the Wine and other good cheare that they had spent at supper. So **Xenæts** and a very few with him, died fighting in desence of the Campe: the rest were slaughtered without making resided fighting in desence of the Campe: the rest were slaughtered without making resided fighting in desence of the Campe: the rest were slaughtered without making resided fighting in desence of the Campe: the rest were slaughtered without making resided fighting in desence of the other shades and many of them ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Campon the other side of Tygris, was easily taken by **Molo: the Captains fly ing thence, to save their own there sleep in this victory, the Rebell marched unto **Seleucia**, which he presently took: and, mastering within a little while the Province of **Babylonia**, and all the Country downe to the red-Sca, or Bay of **Persia**, He hasted unto **Susa**; where at his first comming, to he won the Citie: but failing to take the Castle that was exceeding strong, returned back to **Seleucia**, there to give order concerning this businesses.

The report of these things comming to Antiochus, whilest he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of Marsyas; filled him with great forrow, and his Campe with trouble. He tooke counsell what to doe in this needfull case; and was well advised by Epigenes, the best man of Warre he had about him, to let alone this enterprise of calosyria; and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This counfell was put in execution with all convenient hafte. Yet was Epigenes dismissed by the way, and soon after slaine, by the practice of Hermias; who could not endure to heare good counsell given, contrary to his owne good liking and allowance. In the journey against Molo, the name and 20 presence of the King was more availeable, than any oddes which he had of the Rebell in ftrength. Molo diftrufted his owne followers: and thought, that neither his late good furceffe, nor any other confideration, would serve to hold them from returning to the Kings obedience; if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safeit for him to affaile the Kings Campe in the night time. But going in hand with this, He was discovered by some that fled over from him to the King. This caused him to returne backe to his Campe: which by some errour, tooke alarme at his returne; and was hardly quieted, when Antiochus appeared in fight. The King was thus forward in giving battell to Mo-6, upon confidence which he had that many would revolt unto him. Neither was he deceived in this his beliefe. For not a few men, or Enfignes: but all the left wing of the ene-30 my, which was opposite unto the King, changed side forthwith as soon as ever they had fight of the Kings person; and were ready to doe him service against Molo. This was enough to have won the victory : but Mole shortned the work, by killing himselfe; as did also divers of his friends, who for feare of torments, prevented the Hang-man with their

After this Victory came joyfull newes, that the Queene Laodice, daughter of Mithridates King of Pontus, which was married unto Antiochus a while before, had brought forth a sonne. Fortune seemed bountifull unto the King: and therefore he purposed to make what use hee could of her friendly disposition while it latted. Being now in the Easterne parts of his Kingdome, He judged it convenient to visit his frontiers, were it 46 only to terrefie the Barbarians, that bordered upon him. Hereunto his Counfellor Hermias gave affent: not formuch respecting the Kings honour, as considering what good might thereby happen to himselfe. For if it should come to passe, that the Kingwere taken out of the world by any casualty: then made he no doubt of becomming Prote-Aor to the yong Prince; and thereby of lengthening his owne Government. Antiochus therefore went against Artaba anes, who reigned among the Atropations; having the greatest part of his kingdome situate betweene the Caspian and Euxine Sea. This barbarous King was very old and fearefull; and therefore yeelded unto what foever conditions it pleased Antiochus to lay upon him. So in this journey Antiochus got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Upon the way, a Physician of 50 his brake with him as concerning Hermias; informing him truely how odious he was to the people; and how dangerous he would be shortly unto the Kings owne life. Antiechus beleeved this as having long suspected the same Hermias; but not daring for fear of him toutter his suspicions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the fudden: which was done, he being trained forth by a fleight, a good way out of the Campe, and there killed without warning or disputation. The King needed not to have used so much art in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For how soever he seemed gracious whilest he was alive: yet they that for feare had beene most obsequious to

him, whileft he was in case to doe them hurt, vvas as ready as the foremost, to speake of him as he had deserved, when once they were secure of him: Yea, his wife and children, lying then at Apamea, were stoned to death by the vvives and children of the Citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outrageously, the longer that it had beene concealed.

About these times, Acham (of whom we spake before) thinking that Antiochus might happen to perish in some of these expeditions which hee tooke in hand; was bold to see a Diademe upon his owne head, and take upon him as a King. His purpose was to have invaded Syria: but the fame of Antiochus his returning thitherwards, made him quie to the enterprise; and studie to set some handsome colour on his sormer presumption. It is very strange, that Antiochus neither went against Achaus; nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken of these his traiterous purposes: but wrote unto him, signifying that he knewall, and upbraiding him with fuch infidelity, as any offender might know to be unpardonable. By these meanes he emboldned the Traytor : who being already detected, might better hope to maintaine his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them or get pardon by submission. Antiochus had at that time a vehement defire to recover Calofyria, or what elfe hee could, of the Dominions of Piolomie Philopater in those parts. He began with Seleucia, a very strong Citie neare to the mouth of the River Orontes; which ere long he wonne, partly by force, partly by corrupting 20 with bribes the Captaines that lay therein. This was that Seleucia, whereto Antigonus the Great, who founded it, gave the name of Antigonia: but Selencus getting it shortly after, called it Selencia; and Ptolomy Energetes having lately wonne it, might if it had fo pleased him, have changed the name into Ptolemais. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchase an endlesse memoriall unto their names, by workes proceeding rather from their greatnesse, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their owne. than the fame greatnesse hath continuance. Theodotus the Ætolian, he that before had opposed himselfe to Antiochus, and defended Calosyria in the behalfe of Piolomy; was now growen forry, that he had used so much faith & diligence, in service of an unthankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore as a Mercenary, he began to have regard to his owne 30 profit: which thinking to finde greater, by applying himfelfe unto him that was (queftionleffe) the more worthy of these two Kings; He offered to deliver up unto Antiochus, the Cities of Tyrus and Ptolemais. Whilest he was devising about this treason, and had already fent messengers to king Antiochus: his practice was detected, and he besieged in Ptolemais by one of Ptolomies Captaines, that was more faithfull than himselfe. But Antiochus hasting to his rescue, vanquished this Captaine who met him on the way : and afterwards got possession, not onely of Tyrus and Ptolemais, with a good Fleet of the Egyptian Kings that was in those Havens: but of so many other Townes in that Countrie, as emboldned him to thinke upon making a journey into Egypt it selfe. Agai thocles and Sofibius bore all the fway in Egypt at that time: Ptolomie himselfe being loth to have his pleasures interrupted, with businesse of so small importance, as the safety of his Kingdome. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make provision as hastily, and yet as fecretly as might be, for the Warre: and nevertheleffe, at the same time, to presse Antiochus with daily Embassadors to some good agreement. There came in the heate of this businesse. Embassadors from Rhodes, By antium, and Cy Zicus, as likewise from the Ætolians; according to the usuall courtesie of the Greeks, desiring to take up the quarrell.

These were all entertained in Memphis, by Agathocks and Sosibini: who intreated them to deale effectually with Antiochus. But whilest this treaty lasted, great preparations were made at Alexandria for the Warre: wherein these two Counselfors perswaded to themselves reasonably, that the victory would be their own; if they could get, for mony, a sufficient number of the Greeks to take their parts. Antiochus heard only what was done at Memphis, and how desirous the Governours of Egypt were to be at quiet: whereuntohe gave the readier besiefe, not onely for that he knew the disposition of Piolomie, but because the Rhodians, and other Embassadors, comming from Memphis, discoursed unto him all after one maner; as being all deceived by the cunning of Agathocks and his sellow: Antiochus therefore having wearied himselfe, at the long siege of a Town called Dura, which he could not win: and being desirous to refresh himselfe and his Army in Seleccia, during the winter which then came on, granted to the Egyptian a Truce for some

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moneths, with promife that he would be ready to hearken unto equal Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as he would faine have feemed, but onely to lull his enemies afleepe, whilest he took time to refresh himselse; and to bring Achaus to some good order, whose treason daily grew more open and violent. The fame negligence which he thought the Egyptian would have used, He used himselse; as presuming, that when time of the year better served, little force would be needfull; for that the Townes would voluntarily yeeld unto him, fince Ptolomie provided not for their defence. Neverthelesse, he gave audience to the Embassadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of Egypt: pleasing himselse well, to dispute about the justice of his quarrell; which he purposed shortly to make good by 10 the fword, whether it were just or no. He faid, that it was agreed between Seleucus his Ancestor, and Ptolomie the sonne of Lagi, That all Syria, if they could winne it from Antigonus, should be given in possession to Seleucus: and that this bargaine was afterwards ratified, by generall consent of all the Confederates, after the battell at Ipsus. But Ptolomies men would acknowledge no fuch bargaine. They faid that Ptolomie the fonne of Lagi, had wonne Caloffria, and the Provinces adjoyning, for himfelfe: as also that he had sufficiently gratified Seleueus, by lending him forces to recover his Province of Babylon, and the Countries about the River of Euphrases. Thus whilest neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were in the end of their disputation, as farre from concluding, as at the beginning. Ptolomie demanded restitution; Antiochus thought, that 20 he had not as yet gotten all that was his owne: Also Ptolomy would needs have Achaus comprehended in the League betweene them, as one of their Confederates; But Antiochus would not endure to heare of this, exclaiming against it as a shamefull thing, that one King should offer to deale so with another, as totake his Rebell into protection, and feek to joyn him in Confederacy with his owne Soveraigne Lord. When the Truce was expired, and Antiochus prepared to take the field againe: contrary to his expectation, he was informed, That Prolomy, with a very puissant Army, was comming up against him out of Egipt. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemy, he was encountred on the way by those Captaines of Ptolomy, that had resisted him the yeare before. They held against him the passages of Libanus, whence neverthelesse he drave them: and 30 proceeding onward in his journey, wonne fo many places, that he greatly encreafed his reputation; and thereby drew the Arabians, with divers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew neare together: many Captaines of Prolomy forfook his pay, and fled over to Antiochus. This notwithstanding, the Egyptian had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battell was fought at Raphia: where it was not to be decided, whether the Egyptians or Assatiques were the better Souldiers (for that the strength of both Armies consisted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the Greekes, Thracians, and Gaules) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. Prolomy, with Arsinoe his Sister and Wife, rode up and downe encouraging his men; the like did Antiochus on the other fide: each of them rehearling the brave deeds of his Ancestors; 40 as not having of their owne, whereby to value themselves. Antiochus had the more Elephants, as also his, being of Asia, had they been fewer, would have beaten those of Africke. Wherefore by the advantage of those beasts, He drave the Enemies before him, in that part of the battell wherein he fought himselfe. But Prolomy had the better men: by whose valour he brake the Grosse of his Enemies battell, and won the victory; whilest Antiochus was heedlessly following upon those, whom he had compelled to retire. Antiochus had brought into the field above seventy thousand foot, and fixe thousand horse; whereof though he lost scarce ten thousand foot, and not foure hundred horse; yet the fame of his overthrow took from him all those places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to Antioch . He began to stand in seare, lest Pto- 50 lomie and Ashaus, ferting upon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole Estate. This caused him to send Embassadors to the Egyptian, to treate of peace; which was readily granted; it being much against the nature of Ptolomy to vexe himselfe thus with the tedious businesse of Warre. So Ptolomy having staied three moneths in Syria, returned home into Egypt, clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his subjects, and of all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and sloth-

Acham was not comprised in the league betweene these two Kings: or if hee had

beene included therein; yet would not the Egyptian have taken the paines, of making a fecond expedition for his fake. The best was, that he thought himselfe strong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deale with Antiochus. Neither was he confident without great reason: for befides his many victories, whereby he had gotten all that belonged unto Antioches on this fide of Taures, he had also good successe against Attalus King of Pergamus; that was an able man of warre, and commanded a strong Armie. Neither was he, as Molo the Rebell had beene, one of meane regard otherwise, and carried beyond himselfe by apprehending the vantage of some opportunitie: but Confin-german to the King, as hath beene shewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the same Mubridates King of 10 Pontus, which was also called Landice, as was her fifter the Queene, Antiochus his wife. These things had added majestie unto him, and had made his followers greatly to respect him, even as one to whom a Kingdome was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, That King Ptolomie of Egypt held him in the nature of a friend: and that King Antiochus was now lately vanquished in the battellat Raphia; and had thereby lost all his gettings in Syria. But all these hopes and likelihoods came to nothing: for the King of Pontus, if he would meddle in that quarrell betweene fonnes-in-law, had no reason to take part against the more honourable. As for the Egyptian, he was not onely flothfull, but hindred by a rebellion of his owne subjects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of Egypt, of whom Ptolomie, contrary to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to serve in the late expedition; beganne to entertaine a good opinion of their owne valour, thinking it not inferiour to the Macedonian. Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had done: fince they less efteemed, than they had done, the force of the Kings mercenarie Greekes; which had hitherto kept them in streight subjection. Thus brake out a warre betweene the King and his fubjects: wherein though the ill-guided force of the multitude was finally broken; yet King Ptolomie thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might have beene spent, as he thought, much better in revelling; or, as others thought, in succouring Achem. As for Antiochm, He had no fooner made his peace with the Egypti-10 an, than he turned all his care to the preparation of war against Acheus. To this purpose he entred into League with Attalus; that so he might distract the forces of his Rebell, and finde him worke on all fides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were fuch, that within a while he had pent up Acheus into the Citie of Sardes; where he held him about two veeres befieged. The Citie was very ftrong, and wellvictualled: fo as there appeared not, when the second yeere came, any greater likelihood of taking it, than in the first yeeres siege. In the end, one Lagoras a Cretan found meanes how to enter the Towne. The Castle it selfe was upon a very high Rocke, and in a manner impregnable: as also the Towne-wall adjoyning to the Castle, in that part which was called the Same. was in like manner fituate upon fleepe Rockes, and almost inaccessible; that hung over a deepe bottome, whereinto the dead carkafes of Horfes, and other beafts, yea, and sometimes of men, used to be thrown. Now it was observed by Lagoras, that the Ravens and other birds of prey, which haunted that place by reason of their food which was there never wanting, used to flie up unto the top of the Rocks, and to pitch upon the walls. where they rested without any disturbance. Observing this often he reasoned with himfelfe, and concluded, that those parts of the Wall were left unguarded, as being thought unapprochable. Hereof he informed the king: who approved his judgment, and gave unto him the leading of fuch men, as he defired for the accomplishing of the enterprise. The fuccesse was agreeable to that which Lagoras had afore conceived and though with much labour, yet without refiftance, he scaled those rocks, and (whilest a generall affault was made) entred the towne in that part, which was at other times unguarded, then unthought upon. In the fame place had the Persians, under Cyrus, gotten into Sardes: when Crafus thought himselfe secure on that side. But the Citizens tooke not warning by the example of a losse many ages past: and therefore our of memorie. Achaus held Itill the Caftle: which not onely feemed by nature impregnable, but was very well ftored with all necessaries, and manned with a sufficient number, of such as were to him well affured. Anisochus therefore was constrayned to waste much time about it : having none other hope to prevaile, than by famishing the inclosed. Besides the usual tediousnesses of expectation, his businesse called him thence away into the higher Asia, where the Ba-

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Eudæmon. Fohn Andrew 2 Cretan, who in one of his late thamelefic Libels,wherein hetraduceth gion, and Counworthy men names, hath, by tan, and one dangerous unili fooken of b fo diligent a fupporter of Treasons, and Architect of whereof I may tion of Creticifme no leffe in elder times that were al-

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Erians, and Parthians with the Hyrcanians, had erected kingdomes taken out of his Dominions, upon which they still incroached. But he thought it not fafe, to let Achaem breake loofe againe. On the other fide there were fome Agents of Prolomie the Egyptaan, and good friends unto Acheus; that made it their whole studie, how to deliver this besieged Prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more: but presumed that when he should appeare in the Countreyes under Taurm, he would soone have an Armie at command, and be firong enough to hold Antiochus as hardly to worke as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one Bolis a Cretan, that was acquainted well with all the wayes in the Countrey, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult paffages among those Rockes, whereon the Castle of Sardes stood. Him 10 they tempted with great rewards, which he should receive at the hands of Piolomie, as well as of Acheus; to doe his best for performance of their desire. He undertook the bufinesse: and gave such likely reasons of bringing all to good effect, that they wrote unto Acheus, by one Arianus, a trustie messenger, whom Bolu found meanes to conveigh into the Caftle. The faith of these Negotiators Achem held most affured. They also wrote unto him in privie Characters, or Ciphers, wherewith none fave he and they were acquainted: whereby he knew, that it was no fained device of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As forthe messenger, he was a trustie fellow, and one whom Achaus found, by examination, heartily affected unto their fide. But the Contents of the Epiftle, which were, That he should be consident in the faith of Bolis, and of one Cambylus 20 whom Bolis had wonne unto the businesse, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him unknowne : and Cambylus was a follower of Antiochus; under whom he had the Among these command of those Cretans, which held one of the Fortsthat blocked up the Castle of Sardes. Neverthelesse other way to escape he saw none, than by putting himself to some ealling himself adventure. When the messenger had therefore passed often to and fro, it was at length concluded, That Bolis himselfe should come speak with Achem, and conduct him forth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, fave onely by Bolis and Cambylus; which were Cretans, and (as all their Countrimen, * some sew excepted, have beene, and still are) false knaves. These two held a consultation together, that was, as * Polybins observes it, rightly Cretical: neither concerning the safety of him whose de-30 liverance they undertooke, nor touching the discharge of their own faith; but only how toget most with least adoe and danger to themselves. Briefly they concluded, That first of all they would equally share betweenethem ten Talents, which they had already received in hand: and then, That they would reveale the matter to Aniochus; offering to could dean the deliver Acheus unto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present money, and with promise of consideration answerable to the greatnesse of such a service, when it nanetwice be. should be dispatched. Anisochus hearing this promise of Cambylus, was no lesse glad, lied me; in cal. than were the friends of Achem well pleased with the comfortable promises of Bolis. At length when all things were in readinesse on both sides, and that Bolis with Arianus that have been was to get up into the Castle, and conveigh Acham thence: He first went with Camby-40 lus to speake with the King, who gave him very private audience; and confirmed unto raigne. It is an him by word of mouth the affurance of his liberall promifes. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithfull unto Ptolomie, whom he had long served, he accompanied Arianus up into the Castle. At his comming this ther, hee was lovingly entertained; yet questioned at large by Acheus, touching all the weight of the businesse in hand. But he discoursed so well, and with such gravity; that there appeared no reason of distrusting either his faith or judgement. Hee was an old Souldier, had long beene a Captaine under Ptolomie, and did not thrust the commendate himselfe into this businesse; but was invited by honourable and faithfull men. Hee had also taken a safe course, in winning (as it seemed) that other Countriman of his, 50 who kept a Fort that flood in their way; and thereby had already fundry times githan he in mul- ven fafe paffage and repaffage unto Arianus. But against all these comfortable hopes, riplicity or rame is beyond the importance of so great an adventure stirred up some distidence. Acham thereanythe Cretians fore dealt wisely, and sayd, That he would yet stay in the Castle a little longer : but that hee meant to fend away with Bolis three or foure of his friends; from whom when hee received better advertisement, concerning the likelihood of the enterprise, then would he iffue forth himselfe. Hereby he took order, not to commit himself wholnow belies. a ered bifus. Iy unto the faith of a man unknowne. But as Polybins well notes, he did not confider that

he playd the Crevan with a man of Creve: which is to fay, That he had to doe with one, whose knavery could not be avoided by circumspection. Bolis and Cambilus had layd their plots thus, That if Achem came forthalone, then should he easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accompanied with many of his friends, then should Arianus be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft; and Bolis following behinde, should have an eye upon Achaem to prevent him, not onely from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his owne necke, or otherwise killing himselfe: to the end that being taken alive, he might be to Antiochus the more welcome Present. And in such order came they now forth: Arianus going before as Guide; the rest fol-10 lowing, as the way ferved, and Bolis in the Rere. Achers made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure. Then fignified he the matter to his Wife Laodice; and comforting her with hopeas well as he could, appointed foure of his fpecial friends to beare him companie. They were all disguised: and one of them alone tooke upon him to have knowledge of the Greek tongue; speaking and answering as need should require for all, as if the rest had beene Barbarians. Bolis followed them, crastily devising upon his businesse, and much perplexed. For (faith Polybius) Though he were of Crete, and prone to surmife any thing to the mischiefe of another; yet could be not see in the darke, nor know which of them was Acham, or whether Acham himselfe were there. The way was very uneafie, and in fome places dangerous; especially to those that knew 20 it not. Wherefore they were faine to stay in divers places, and helpe one another up or downe. But upon every occasion they were all of them very officious towards Achaeus; lending him their hands, and taking fuch care of him, as eafily gave Bolis to understand, that he was the man: and so by their unseasonable duty, they undid their Lord. When they came to the place where Cambylus lay in wait, Bolis whifteled, and prefently clasped Ach aus about the middle, holding him fast that he could not stirre. So they were all taken by the Ambush, and carried forthwith to Antiochus; who sate up watching in his Pavilion, expecting the event. The fight of Acham, brought in bound unto him, did for aftonish the king, that he was unable to speake a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might have kept him from admiration: as 30 also the next morning betimes, affembling his friends together, he condemned Achaeu to a cruell death: which argues, that he was not moved with pity towards this unhappy man. Wherefore it was the generall regard of calamities, incident unto great fortunes, that wrung from him thefeteares: as also the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it be so, that such a course as this of his in employing two mischievous knaves against one Traitor, doth not rarely succeed well; according to that Spanish Proverb, A un traydor dos allevosos. The death of Achaus brought such astonishment upon those which held the castle, that after a while they gave up the place & themfelves unto the King; whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the leffer Alia.

Some yeeres passed after this, ere Antiochus was ready for his expedition against the Parthians and Hyrcanians. The Parthians were a little Nation of obscure beginnings, and commonly fubject unto those that ruled in Media. In the great shuffling for Provinces, after the death of Alexander, the Government over them was committed by Antipater to one Philip, a man of small regard: shortly they fell to Eumenes; then to Anigonm: and from him, together with the Medes, to Selenem; under whose posterity they continued untill the Reigne of Seleucus Callinicus, being ruled by Lievtenants of the Syrian Kings. The luftfull infolencie of one of these Lievtenants, together with the misfortune of Callinicus; that was vanquished and thought to be slain by the Gaules; did stirre up Arfaces, a Noble man of the Countrey, to seeke revenge of injuries done, and o animate them to rebell. So he flue the Kings Lievtenant; made himfelfe King of the Parihians, and Lord of Hyrcania; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings; and tooke Seleucus Callinious prisoner in battell, whom hee royally entertained and difmiffed. Hereby he wonne reputation as a lawfull King : and by good government of his Country, procured unto himselfe such love of his Subjects, that his name was continued unto his fucceffours; like as that of the Ptolomies in Egypt, and that of the Cafars afterwards in Rome. Much about the same time the Badrians rebelled: though these at length, and all belonging unto the Seleucida beyond Euphrates, increafed the Parthians dominion. Now Antiochus went against them with so strong an army,

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that they durst not meet him in plaine field; but kept themselves in woods, or places of ftrength, and defended the Streights and paffages of mountaines. The refiftances they made availed them not. For Anisochus had with him fo great a multitude, and fo well forted, as he needed not to turne out of the way, from those that lay fortified against him, in Woods and Streights between their mountains; it being easie to spare out of so great a number, as many as fetching a compasse about, might either get above the enemies heads; or come behinde, and charge them on the backe. Thus did hee often imploy against them his light armature: wherewith he caused them to dislodge, and give way unto his Phalanx 5 upon which they durst not adventure themselves in open ground Arfaces, the second of the name, (for his father was dead before this) was then King of 10 Parthia: who though he was confident in the fidelity of his owne subjects; yet seared to encounter with fo mighty an Invader. His hope was, that the bad wayes and Defarts would have caused Antiochus, when he was at Echatane in Media, to give over the journey, without proceeding much further. This not so falling out : Hee caused the Wells and Springs in the Wildernesse, through which his Enemy must passe, to bee dammed up and spoyled. By which meanes, and the resistance before spoken of, when he could not prevaile, He withdrew himselfe out of the way; suffering the Enemy to take his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Countrey: wherein without some victory obtained, hee could make no long abode. Antiochus hereby found, That Arfaces was nothing strongly provided for the War. Wherefore he marched through the heart of 20 Parthia : and then forward into Hyrcania where he wanne Tambrace, the chiefe City of that Province. This indignity, and many other losses, caused Arfaces at length, when he had gathered an Army that seemed strong enough, to adventure a battell. The issue thereof was such as gave to neither of the Kings hope of accomplishing his defires, without exceeding difficulty . Wherefore Arfaces craved peace, and at length obtain ned it: Antiochus thinking it not amisse, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a

The next expedition of Antiochus, was against Euthydemus King of the Battrians; one that indeed had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors: but having gottenthe Kingdome from those that had rebelled, kept it himselfe. With Euthydemus hee fought a 30 battell by the River Arius, where he had the victory. But the victory was not fo greatly to his honour, as was the testimony which he gave of his owne private valour, in obtaining it. He was thought that day to have demeaned him more courageoufly, thandid any one man in all his Army. His horse was slaine under him; and he himselse received a wound in his mouth, whereby he lost some of his teeth. As for Euthydemus, He withdrew himselfe back unto the furthermost parts of his Kingdome, and afterwards protracted the War, seeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadors passed betweene the Kings: Antiochus complaining, That a Countrey of his was unjuftly usurped from him: Euthydemus answering, That he had won it from the children of the Usurpers : and further, That the Bactrians, a wilde Nation, could hardly be retained in order, fave by a 40 King of their owne; for that they bordered upon the Scythians, with whom if they should joyne, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Provinces that lay behinde them. These allegations, together with his owne wearinesse, pacified Antiochus, and made him willing to grant Peace, upon reasonable Conditions. Demetrias, the son of Enthydemus, being a goodly gentleman, and employed by his father, as Embassador in this Treaty of Peace, was not a little availeable unto a good conclusion: for Antiochus liked him so well, that he promised to give him in marriage, one of his owne daughters; and therewithall permitted Euthydemus to retaine the Kingdome, causing him neverthelesse to deliver up all his Elephants; as also to bind himselfe by oath, to such Covenants as he thought requisite.

So Antiochus leaving the Baitrian in quiet, made a journey over Caucasus, and came to the borders of India, where he renewed with Sophagasenus, King of the Indians, the society that had been between their Ancestors. The Indians had remained subject unto the Macedonians for a little while, after Alexanders death. Eumenes in his Warreagainst Antigonus, raised part of his forces out of their Countrey. But when Antigonus (after his victory) turned Westward, and was over-busied in a great civill Warrethen did one Sandrocottus, an Indian, stirre up his Country-men to rebellion; making himselse their Captaine, and taking upon him, as protector of their liberty. This Of-

fice and Title he foonechanged, though not without fome contention, into the Name and Majestie of a King. Finally he got unto himselfe (having an Army of fixe hundred thousand men) if not all India, yet as much of it as had bin Alexanders. In this estate he had well confirmed himself ereseleucus Nicator could find leifure to call him to account Neither did he faint, or humble himself at the comming of Seleucus: but met him in the field, as ready to defend his owne, fo strongly and well appointed, that the Macedonian was contented to make both peace and affinity with him, taking only a reward of fifty Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the Indian and Syrian kingdomes, was continued by fome Offices of love between their children, and now renewed by Antioto chus: whose number of Elephants were increased thereupon, by the Indian king to an hundred and fiftie: as also he was promised, to have some treasure sent after him; which he left one to receive. Thus parted these two great kings. Neither had the Indians, from this time forwards in many generatios, any business worthy of remembrance with the western Countries. The posteritie of Sandrocours is thought to have retained that kingdome unto the dayes of Augustus Casar: to whom Porus, then reigning in India, fent Embassadors with prefents, and an Epiftle written in Greek, wherein, among other things, He faid, That he had command over fixe hundred kings. There is also found, scattered in fundrie Authors, the mention of fome which held that kingdome, in divers Ages, even unto the time of Constantine the Great: being all peradventure of the same race. But Antiochus: 20 who in this Treatie with Sophagasenus carried himselfe as the worthier person, receiving Presents; and after marching home through Drangiana and Carmania, with such reputation, that all the Potentates, not only in the higher Afra, but on the hither fide of Taurus, humbled themselves unto him, & called him The Greats aw an end of his own greatneste within few yeeres ensuing, by presuming to stand upon points with the Romans; whose Greatnesse was the same indeed, that his was only in feeming.

6. III.

The lewdreign of Ptolomic Philopater in Egypt: with the tragical end of his favorites, when he was dead. Antiochus prepares to war on the young childe Ptolomic Epiphanes, the son of Philopater. His irresolution in preparing for divers wars at once. His voyage towards the Hellespont. He seeks to hold amitte with the Romans, who make friendly shew to him; intending neverthelesse to have war with him. His doings against the Hellespont; which the Romans made the strict ground of their quarrell to him.

His expedition being finished , Antiochus had leifure to repose himselfe a while; and studie which way to convert the terrour of his puissance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three years Ptolomie Philopater died: leaving his fon Prolomie Epiphanes, a young Boy, his successor in the kingdome; unlikely by him to be well defended against a neighbour so mighty and ambitious. This Prolemic surnamed Philopater, that is to fay, a lover of his Father, is thought to have had that furname given him in meere derifion; as having made away both his Father and Mother. His young yeeres being newly past, his childhood when he began to reigne, may seeme to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Fathers death : yet the beastlinesse of all his following life, makes him nor unlike to have done any mischiese, whereof hee could be accused. Having won the battell at Raphiah, He gave himselfe over to sensuality; and was wholly governed by a Strumper called Againoclea. At her infligation Hee murdered his owne wife and fifter; which had adventured her felfe with him, in that onely dangerous Action by him undertaken and performed with honour. The Lievtenantso ships of his Provinces, with all Commands in his Armie, and Offices what foever, were wholly referred unto the disposition of this Againoclea, and her brother Againocles, and Oenanthe a filthy Bawd that was mother unto them both. So these three governed the Realme at their pleasure, to the great griefe of all the Countrey, till Philapater died who having reigned seventeene yeeres, lest none other sonne than Prolomie Epiphanes a childe of five yeers old begotten on Arlinoe that was his fifter and wife. After the Kings death, Agihancles began to take upon him, as Protector of young Epiphanes, and Governor of the Land. He affembled the Macedons (which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay, not all borne in Macedonia, but the race of those that abode in Egypt with Ptolomie the first

and would not be accounted Egyptians; as neither would the Kings themselves) and bringing forthuntothem his fifter Agathoclea, with the young King in her armes; began a solemne oration. He told them, That the deceased father of this their King, had committed the childe into the armes of his fifter, but unto the faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole state of the kingdome did now relye. He befought them therefore that they would be faithfull, and, as great need was, defend their King against the treason of one Tlepolemu, an ambitious man; who traiterously went about to set the Diademe upon his owne head, being a meere stranger to the Royall bloud. Herewithall he produced before them a witnesse, that should justifie his accusation against Tlepolemus. Now though it were so, that he delivered all this with a fained passion of sorrow, 10 and counterfeiting teares: yet the Macedons that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shamelesse di ssembler he was, to take so much upon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And so brake up the Assembly: he that had called it, being scarce aware how. Agathocles therefore, whom the old Kings favour had made mighty, but neither wife nor well qualified, thought to goe to worke, as had formerly been his manner, by using his authority, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. He haled out of a Temple the mother-in-law of Tlepolemus; and cast her into prison. This filled Alexandria with rumors, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilest they were committed in the old kings name) to meet in knots together, and utter one to another their mindes; where-20 in they had conceived extreme hate, against these three pernicious Mis-governours of the old King. Besides their consideration of the present injurie done to Tlepolemus, they were somewhat also moved with seare of harme; which, in way of requitall, Tlepolemus was likely to doe unto the Citie. For he was, though a man most unapt for Government, as afterwards he proved, yet no bad Souldier, and well beloved of the Armie. It was also then in his power, to stop the provision of victuals which was to come into Alexandria. As these motives wrought with the people, so by the remedy which Agathocles used, were the Macedons more hastily, and more violently stirred unto uproare. He secretly apprehended one of their number, whom he suspected of conspiracie against him; & delivered him unto a follower of his own, to be examined by torture. This 30 poore Souldier was carried into an inner roome of the Palace, and there stripped out of all his apparell to be tormented. But whilest the whippes were brought forth, and all thnigs even in a readinesse for that purpose, there was brought unto the minister of Agathocles, a fad report of Tlepolemus his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the roome; leaving Moeragenes the Souldier alone by himselfe, and the doors open. He perceiving this, naked as he was, conveighed himselfe out of the Palace, and got unto the Macedonians; of whom he found some in a Temple there by at dinner. The Macedonians were as fierce in maintenance of their Priviledges, as are the Turkes Janizars. Being affured therefore that one of their fellowes had thus beene used, they fell to Armes in a great rage, and began to force the Palace: 40 crying out, That they would see the King, and not leave him in possession of such a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the Citie, with lowd clamours, made no lesse adoe than the Souldiers, though to leffe effect. So the old Bawd Oenanthe fled into a Temple: her Sonne and Daughter stayed in the Court, untill the King was taken from them; and they, by his permission which he easily gave, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, delivered up to the furie of the people. Agathocles himfelse was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His fifter was dragged naked up and downe the streets; as was also his mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed upon them a barbarous execution of justice; biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in 50

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These troubles in Egypt, served well to stir up King Antiochus; who had very good leafure, though he vvanted all pretence, to make vvarre upon young Ptolomie. Philip of Macedon had the same defire to get what part he could of the childes estate. But it happened vvell, that Prolomie Philopater in the Punicke Warre, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices unto the Romans. Unto them therefore the Egyptians addressed themselves, and craved helpe against these two kings: who though they secretly maligned one the other, yet had entred into covenant to divide betweene them

all that belonged unto this Orphan; whose Father had beene Confederate with them both. So * M. Lepidus was fent from Rome, to protect from all violence the King of * Jul. 116.30. Egypt; especially against Antiochus. As for the Macedonian; He was very soone found buffed, with war at his owne doores. Also Scopus the Liolian, being a Penfioner to the Egyptian, was fent into Greece to raife an Armie of Mercenaries. What Lepidus did in Egypt, I doe not finde: and therefore thinke it not improbable, that he was fent thither only one of the three Embassadors, o in the beginning of the Warre with Philip, as hath otiv. His 31. beene shewed before. As for Scopas; He shortly after went up into Syria with his Army: where winning many places among the rest of his Acts, he subdued the Tenes; who feeme to have yeelded themselves a little before unto Antiochus, at such time as they saw him prepare for his War, & despaired of receiving helpe from Egypt. But it was not long, Vide Togeth. Antiere all these victories of Scopus came to nothing. For the very next yeere following. which was (according to Eulebius) the fame yeer that Philip was beaten at Cynoscephalæ; Antiochus vanquished Scopas in battaile, and recovered all that had bin lost. Among the rest, the Temes with great willingnesse returned under his obedience; and were there-

fore by him very gently entreated. The Land of Egypt this great King did forbeare to invade; and gave it out, that he meant to bestow a daughter of his owne in marriage unto Piolomy; either hoping, as may feem, that the Country would willingly fubmit it felfe unto him, if this yong child should happen to miscarry; or else that greater purchase might bemade in the Westerne parts of Afia, whilest Philip was held over-laboured by the Romans. It appeares that he was very much distracted; hunting (as we fay) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels betweene Attalus, Philip, and the Greeks, promifed to affoord him great advantage, if he should bring his Army to the Hellespont. On the other side, the state of Egypt being fuch as hath beene declared, feemed eafily to bee swallowed up at once. One while therefore he tooke what he could get in Syria: where all were willing (and the Tewes among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the Egyptian) to yeeld him obedience. Another while, letting Egypt alone, He was about to make invafion upon Attalus his Kingdome; yet suffered himselfe easily to bee perswaded by the Roman 30 Embaffadours, and defifted from that enterprise. Having thus farre gratified the Romans; He fends Embaffadours to the Senate, to conclude a perfect amity betweene him and them. It is not lightly to be overpassed, That these his Embassadours were lovingly entertained at Rome; and difmiffed, with a Decree and answer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of King Antiochus. But this answer of the Komans was not fincere; being rather framed according to regard of the Kings good liking, than of their owne intent. They had not yet made an end with Philip: neither would they gladly bee troubled with two great wars at once. Wherfore, not standing much upon the nice examination of what belonged unto their honour, they were content to give good words for the present. In the meane time Antiochus fights with Scopas in Syria, and shortly prepares to winne fome Towns elfewhere, belonging unto Ptolomy; yet withall he fends an Army Westward intending to make what profit he can of the distractions in Greece. Likewise it is confiderable, as an argument of his much irrefolution, How notwithstanding his attempts upon both of their Kingdomes, he offered one of his daughters to Piolomy, and another to Eumenes the fon of Attalus, newly King of Pergamus: feeking each of their friendships, at one and the same time, when he sought to make each of them a spoile. Thus was he acting and deliberating at once; being carried with an inexplicable defire of repugnancies, which is a difease of great, and over-swelling fortunes. Howsoever it was, He fent an Army to Sardes by Land, under two of his fonnes: willing them there to ftay for him; whilest he himselfe with a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other o veffels, intended to passe along by the Coasts of Cilicia and Caria, taking in such places as held for the Egyptian. It was a notable Act of the Khodians, that, whilft the warre of Philip lay yet upon their hands, they adventured upon this great Antiochus. They fent unto him a proud Embassage: whereby they gave him to understand, That if he passed forward beyond a certaine Promontorie in Cilicia, they would meet him and fight with him; not for any quarrell of theirs unto him; but because he should not joyne with Philip their enemy, and helpe him against the Romans. It was infolently done of them, neither feemed it otherwise, to prescribe such limits unto the King: yet he tempered himselfe, and without any shew of indignation gave a gentle answer; partly himselfe to their Embas-Ppppp fadours;

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fadours; partly unto their whole city, by Embaffadors which he thither fent. He shewed his desire to renew the ancient Confederacies between his Ancestors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, lest his comming should tend unto any hurt, either of them, or of their confederates. As touching the Romans whom they thought that he would molest: they were (he said) his very good friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better proofe, than the entertainement and answer by them newly given to his Embassadors.

The Rhodians appeare to have been a cunning people, and fuch as could foresee what weather was like to happen. This answer of the King, and the relation of what had pasfed between his Embaffadours and the Senate, moved them not a whit; when they were informed shortly after, that the Macedonian warre was ended at the battaile of Cynoscephala. They knew that Antiochus his turne would be next; and prepared to be forward on the stronger side. Wherefore they would not be contented to sit still; unlesse the Townes on the South Coast of Asia, belonging to Ptolomy their friend and Confederate, were suffered to be at quiet. Herein also they did well; for that they had ever beene greatly beholding to all the race of the Prolomies. They therefore, in this time of necesfity, gave what aide they could unto all the subjects of the Egyptian in those parts. In like manner did King Eumenes, the sonne of Attalus, prognosticate as concerning the war that followed, betweene Aniochus and the Romans. For when King Antiochus made a friendly offer, to beltow one of his daughters upon him in marriage: He excused himself. and would not have her. Attalus and Philetarus, his brethren, wondred at this. But he 20 told them , that the Romans would furely make war upon Antiochus; and therein finally prevaile. Wherefore he faid, That by abstaining from this affinitie, it should be in his power to joyne with the Romans, and strengthen himselfe greatly with their friendship. Contrariwise, if he leaned to Antiochus: as he must be partaker in his overthrow; so was he fure to be oppressed by him, as by an over-mighty neighbour, if he happened to win the victory.

Antiochus himselfe wintered about Ephesus: where he took such order as he thought convenient, for the reducing of Smyrna and Lampfacus to obedience; that had usurped their liberty, and obstinately strove to maintaine it, in hope that the Romans would proteet them. In the beginning of the Spring he failed unto the Hellespont: where having 30 won some Townes that Philip had gotten not long before this, he passed over into Europe fide; and in fhort space mastered the Chersonesw. Thence went he to Lysimachia: which the Thracians had gotten & destroied, when Philip withdrew his garrison thence, to imploy it in the Roman war. The Ætolians objected as a crime unto Philip, in the conference before T. Quintius, that he had oppressed Lysimachia, by thrusting thereinto a garrison. Hereupon Phalap made answer, that his garrison did not oppresse the town but fave it from the Barbarians . who tooke and fackt it, as soone as the Macedonians were gone. That this answer was good & substantiall, though it were not acceptable as such; might appeare by the miserable case, in which Antiochus found Lysimachia at his comming thither. For the town was utterly razed by the Barbarians; and the people carried away into flavery. Wherefore the Kingtooke order to have it re-edified: as also to redeeme those that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were disperfed in the Country thereabout. Likewise he was carefull to allure thither, by hopefull promifes, new inhabitants, and to replenish the Citie with the wonted frequencie. Now to the end that men should not be terrefied from comming thither to dwell, by any feare of the neighbour Thracians: he tooke a journey in hand against those barbarous people, with the one halfe of his Army; leaving the other halfe to repair the City. These paines he tooke; partly in regard of the convenient fituation, & former glory of Lysimachia; partly for that he thought it highly redounding unto his owne honour, to recover and establish the dominion in those parts which his fore-father Seleucus Nicator had won 50 from Lyfimachus, and thereby made his Kingdome of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he shall dearely pay : and as after that victory against Lysimachus, the death of King Seleucus followed shortly; so shall a deadly wound of the Kingdome founded by Seleucus ensue very speedily, after the reconquest of the fame Countrie, which was the last of Seleucus his purchases.

§. IIII.

The Romans hold friendly correspondence with Antiochus, during their warre with Philip:
after which they quarrell with him. The doings of Hannibal at Carthage: whence he is
chassed by his enemies, and by the Romans: His slight unto the King Antiochus. The
Etolians murmure against the Romans in Greece. The warre of the Romans and Acheans, with Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedamon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece.
T. Quintius his Triumph. Peace denied to Antiochus by the Romans.

Or the Romans, though they were unable to fmother their defire of warre with Antiochus, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much against their will to keepe the rumour on foot, which they meant shortly to make good, of this intended warre, so long as they wanted matter of quarrell; whereof they were furnished, by this enterprise of the Kings about Lyfimathia. It was not long, fince King Attalus, a friend and helper of the Romans in their warre with Philip, could obtaine of them none other helpe against Antiochus, than Embaffadors to speake for him; because the one of these Kings was held no lesse a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards passe between them any other offices, than very friendly . Antiochus at the request of their Embassadours, withdrew his Invasion from the 20 Kingdom of Pergamus: also very shortly after he sent Embassadors to them, to make a perfect League of amitie between them. This was whileft as yet they were bufied with Philip, and therefore had reason to answer his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward shew. But when the Macedonian war was at an end, and all, or most of all the States in Greece, were become little better than Clients unto the Romans: then was all this good correspondence changed into termes of worse, but more plaine meaning. For T. Quintius, with his ten Counfailors sent from Rome, required (as hath bin * shewed chap. 4. S. ult. before) with a commination of war, this Kings gratulation of their victory; as also his long-professed amitie, and defire to continue in the same.

These ten Counsailors were able to informe T. Quintius, and acquaint him with the 30 purpose of the Senate: whereof yet it seemes that he was not ignorant before, since, in regard of Antiochus, he was the more inclinable unto peace with Philip. It was therefore agreed, when they divided themselves to make progresse through divers quarters of Greece for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them should visit King Antiochus; and the rest, where occasion served, use diligence to make a partie strong against him. Neither was the Senate at Rome unmindfull of the businesse: wherein lest T. Quintius, with his ten Affiftants, should happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging ; L. Cornelius was fent from Rome, of purpose to deale with the King about those controversies, that were betweene him and Ptolomy. What other private instructions Cornelius had; we may conjecture by the mannaging of this his Embassage. For com-40 ming to Selymbria: and there understanding that P. Villius and L. Terentius, having bin fent by Titus, were at Lysimachia, He hastened thither; whither also came P. Lemulus (another of the ten Counfailors) from Bargilla, to be present at the Conference. Hegelianax and Lysias were also there; the same, who had lately brought from Titus those peremptorie Conditions, which the Embassadours present shall expound unto their Master. After a few daies Antiochus returned from his Thracian Expedition. The mecting and entertainement betweene him and these Romans, was in appearance full of love. But when they came to treat of the businesse in hand; this good mood was quite altered. L. Cornelius, in two or three words, briefly delivered his errand from Rome: which was, That Antiochus had reasonto deliver backe unto Piolomy those Townes of his, whereof he had lately gotten possession. Hereunto hee added, and that very earnestly, That he must also give up the Townes of late belonging unto Philip; and by him news ly occupied. For what could be more absurd, than such folly in the Romans, as to let Anziochus enjoy the profit of that warre, wherein they had laboured fo much, and he done nothing? Further he warned the King, that he should not molest those Cities that were free: and finally he demanded of him, upon what reason he was come over with so great an Armie into Europe; for that other cause of his journey there was none probable, than a purpose to make warre upon the Romans? To this the King made answer, That hee wondred why the Romans should so trouble themselves, with thinking Ppppp 2

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upon the matters of Asia: wherewith hee prayed them to let him alone; even as hee. without such curiosity, suffered them to doe in Italy what they thought good. As for his comming over into Europe: they saw well enough what businesse had drawne him thither; namely, the warre against the barbarous Thracians: the rebuilding of Lysimachia, and the recovery of Townes to him belonging, in Thrace, & Cherlone fus. Now concerning his title unto that countrie, He derived it from Seleucus: who made conquest thereof, by his victory against Lysimachus. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controversie betweene him and the other Kings, had beene still of old belonging to the Macedonians or Egyptians; but had beene feized on by them, or by others from whom they received them, at fuch time as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countries, were hindred by multiplicitie of businesse, from looking unto all that was their owne. Finally he willed them neither to stand in fear of him, as if he intended ought against them from Lysimachia; since it was his purpose to bestow this citie upon one of his sons, that should reigne therein: nor yet to be grieved with his proceedings in Asia; either against the free cities, or against the King of Egypt; fince it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding unto himselfe, and to joyne ere long with Ptolomy, not onely in friendship, but in a bond of neere affinitie. Cornelius having heard this, and being perhaps unableto refute it; would needs heare further, what the Embassadours of Smyrna and of Lampfacm, whom he had there with him, could fay for themselves. The Embassadours of Lampfacus being called in, began a tale; wherein they feemed to accuse the King be-20 fore the Romans, as it were before competent Judges. Antiochus therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace, forasmuch as hee had not chosen the Romans, but would rather take the Citizens of Rhodes, to be Arbitrators betweene him

and them. Thus the Treatie held some few daies, without any likelihood of effect. The Romans, having not laid their complaints in such fort, as they might be a convenient foundation of the warre by them intended : nor yet having purpose to depart well satisfied, & thereby to corroborate the prefent peace, were doubtfull how to order the matter, in fuch wife as they might neither too rudely, like boiftrous Gallo-Greeks, pretend onely the goodnesse of their fwords; nor yet over-modestly, to retain among the Greeks an opinion of their justice, forbeare the occasion of making themselves great. The King on the other fide was wearie of these tedious guests; that would take none answer, and yet scarce knew what to fay. At length came news, without any certaine author, That Prolomy was dead. Hereof neither the King, nor the Romans, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into Egypt: Antiochus, to take possession of the Kingdome, and L. Cornelius, to prevent him thereof, and set the Countrie in good order. Cornelius was fent from Rome Embassadour, both to Anisochus and to Ptolomy: which gave him occasion to take leave, and prepare for his Egyptian voyage. Both he, and his fellow Embassadours, had good leave to depart all together: and the King foorthwith made ready, to be in Egypt with the first. To his sonne Seleucus he committed his Army, and lest him to oversee the building of Lysimachia: but all his Sea-forces he tooke along with him, and failed unto Ephefus. Thence he fent Embassadours to T. Quintius: whom he requested to deale with him in this matter of peace, after such fort as might stand with honestie and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage, he was perfectly informed that Ptolomy was alive. This made him beare another way from Egypt: and afterwards a tempest, with a grievous shipwracke, made him without any further attempt on the way, glad to have safely recovered his Port of Seleucia. Thence went hero Antiochia, where he wintred : fecure, as might appeare, of the Roman

But the Romans had not so done with him. During the Treaty at Lysimachia, (at least-50 wise not long before or after it) one of their Embassadours that had beene sent unto the Macedonian, gave him counsaile, as in a point highly tending to his good; not to rest contented with the Peace which was granted unto him by the Romans, but to desire so ciety with them, whereby they should be bound to have the same friends and enemics. And this he advised him to doe quickly before the Warre brake out with Antiochus; lest otherwise he might seeme, to have awaited some sit occasion of taking Armes againe. They who dealt thus plainly, did not meane to be satisfied with weake excuses. In like manner some of the Greekes were solicited; and particularly the Aevolians,

That constantly and faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the people of Rome. It was needlesse to say plainly whereto this entreatie tended: the froward answer made by the Aevolians, declares them to have well understood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the Romans after the victory, as they had beene during the Waire. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cried out that they had beene wronged, and destrauded of what was promised unto them: upbraiding withall the Romans, as men to them beholding; not onely for their victory over Philip, but even for helping them to set foot in Greece, which else they never could have done. Hereto the Roman gave gentle answers: telling them that there was no more to doe, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and utter their griefes; and then should all be well.

Such care tooke the Romans in Greece, for their Warre intended against Antiochus. The fame hereof arriving at Carrhage, gave matter unto the enemies of Hannibal, wherewith both to picke a thanke of the Roman Senate, and to chase out of their citie this honourable man, whom they fo greatly hated. He had of late exercised his vertue against them in the Civill administration; and given them an overthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Judges at that time bore all the fway in Carthage: holding their places during life; and having subject unto them, the lives, goods, and same of all the rest. Ncither did they use this their power with moderation but conspired in such wise together, that who so offended any one of them, should have them all to be his enemies; which being once knowne. He was fure to be foone accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the citie, Hannibal was chosen Prætor. By vertue of which Office, though he was fuperiour unto them during that yeere: yet had it not beene their manner to beare much regard unto fuch an annuall Magistrate, as at the yeeres end must bee accountable to them, if ought were laid unto his charge. Hannibal therefore fending for one of the Quæftors, or Officers of the Treasurie, to come and speake with him: the proud Quæftor fet lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was of the adverse Faction to Hannibal; and men of his place were to be chosen into the Order of Judges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the spirit of future Greatnesse. But hee had not to doe with fuch a tame Prætor, as were they that had occupied the place before. Hannibal fent for him by a Pursivant; and having thus apprehended him, brought him into judgement before a publique affembly of the people. There he not onely shewed, what the undutiful stubbornenesse of this Quastor had beene; but how unfufferable the infolencie of all the Judges at the prefent was: whose unbridled power made them to regard neither Laws nor Magistrates. To this Oration when hee perceived that all the Citizens were attentive and favourable; Hee forthwith propounded a Law, which passed with the general good liking; That the Judges should be chofen from yeere to yeere, and no one man be continued in that Office two yeeres together. If this Law had beene passed, before he passed over Iberus: it would not perhaps have beene in the power of Hanno, to have brought him unto necessity of reforming another grievance, concerning the Koman Tribute. This Tribute the Carthaginians were faine to levie by Taxation laid upon the whole Commonaltie, as wanting money in their publique Treasurie, wherewith to defray either that, or divers other needfull charges. Hannibal confidering this beganne to examine the publique Revenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treasurie, by wayes and meanes whatfoever; and in what fort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinary charges of the Common-wealth did not exhauft the Treasurie: but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the monies to their owne use, were thereby faine to loade the people with needlesse burdens. Hereof he made fuch plaine demonstration, that these Robbers of the common Treasure were compelled to restore, with shame, what they had gotten by knaverie : and so the Carthaginians were freed from the necessitie of making such poore shifts, as formerly they had used, when they knew not the value of their owne Estate. But as the vertue of Hannibal was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: fo they of the Roman Faction, which had, fince the making of the peace untill now, little regarded him, beganne to rage extremely; as being by him stript of their ill-gotten goods, and illemployed authority, both at once, even when they thought themselves to have been in full possession of the vanquished Carthage. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends

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at Rome: wherein they complained, as if the Barchine Faction grew strong againe, and Hannibal would shortly be in armes. Questionlesse, if oppressing the City by injustice. and robbing the Treasurie, were the only way to hold Carthage in peace with Rome: these Enemies to the Barchines might well crie out, That having done their best already to keepe all in quiet, they faw none other likelihood than of Warre. But having none other matter to alledge, than their owne inventions: they faid, That Hannibal was like unto a wilde beast, which would never be tamed: That secret messages past betweene him, and King Antiochus: and that he was wont to complaine of idlenesse, as if it were harmefull to Caribage; with what elfe to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not unto the Senate: but addressing their letters crastily, every one to the best of his owne friends at Rome, and such as were Senators; they wrought so well, that neither publike notice of their Conspiracie was taken at Carthage; nor the authoritie of the Roman Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Onelv P. Scipio is faid to have admonished the Fashers, that they should not this dishonourably subscribe, and become Seconds to the accusers of Hannibal: as if they would oppresse. by fuborning or countenancing false witnesses against him; the man, against whom in warre they had not of long time prevailed, nor used their Victory in such base manner. when they obtained it. But the Romans were not all fo great-minded as Scipio : they wished for some such advantage against Hannibal; and were glad to have found it. Three Embassadours they sent over to Carthage, C. Servilius, 2. Terentius, and M. Claudius 20 Marcellus: whose very names import sufficient cause of bad affection to Hannibal. These having past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their comming; and being by them instructed how to carry themselves, gave out, That they were sent to end some controversies, between the Caribaginians and Masanissa. But Hannibal had kept fuch good espiall upon the Romans, that he knew their meaning well enough : against which he was never unprepared. It were enough to fay, That he escaped them by flight: but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particularities. Having openly shewed himselfe, as was his manner, in the place of Assembly, He went forth of the Towne when it began to waxe darke, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though fuch as he might well trust. He had appointed Horses to be in a readinesse at a certaine place; whence riding all night, Hee came to a Tower of his owne by the Sea-side. There had he a Ship furnished with all things needfull; as having long expected the necessitie of some such journey. So hee bade Africk farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Countrey, more than his owne. Passing over to the Ile of Cercina; hee found there in the Haven some Merchants shippes of Carthage. They faluted him respectively: and the chiefe among them began to enquire, whither he was bound. Hee faid, Hee went Embassadour to Tyre: and that he entended there in the Iland to make a facrifice; whereto he invited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Ships. It was hot weather: and therefore he would needes hold his Feast upon the shore; where , because there wanted covert, He made them bring thither all their failes and yards to be used in stead of Tents. They did so; 40 and featted with him till it was late at night: at which time he left them there afleepe: and putting to Sea, held on his course to Tyre. All that night, and the day following, He was fure not to be purfued. For the Merchants did neither make hafte to fend any newes of him to Carthage, as thinking him to be gone Embaffadour : neither could they, without some losse of time, such of them as made most speed homeward, get away from Cercina; being busied awhile in fitting their tackle. At Carthage, the misse of so great 2 person was diversly construed. Some ghessed aright, That he was sled. But the more common opinion was, That the Romans had made him away. At length came newes where he had beene seene: and then the Roman Embassadours, having none other errand thi- 50 ther, accused him (with an evill grace) as a troubler of the Peace; whereby they onely discovered the mischiese by them intented against him, and the malice of their Senate; missing the while their purpose, and causing men to understand, that hee sled not thus without great reason. Hannibal comming to Tyre, the Mother-City of Carthage, was there entertained

Hannibal comming to Tyre, the Mother-City of Carthage, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whose great worth and honour the Tyrians, by reason of affinitie betweene their Cities, thought themselves to have interest. Thence went he to Antioch; and, finding the King departed, visited his son in Daphne; who friendly welcom-

med him, and fent him unto his Father at Ephefus, that exceedingly rejoyced at his comming.

As Antiochus had cause to be glad in that he had gotten Hannibal: so had the Romans no great cause to be therefore sorrie; otherwise than as they had much disgraced themfelves by discoverie of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Countrie. For it would not prove alike easieunto this great Commander, to make stout Souldiers of base Assaurages; as it had bin by his training and discipline, to make very serviceable and skilfull men of Warre of the Spaniards, Africans, Gaules, and other Nations, that were hardie, though unexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especito ally being fo extraordinary could alter the nature of a cowardly people: yet was it therewithall confiderable, that the vanities of Antiochus, the pride of his Court, the basenesse of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would bee farre more powerfull in making unprofitable the vertue of Hannibal, now a desolate and banished man, than had bin the villanie of Hanno and his Complices, hindering him in those actions wherein he had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great Carthaginian, would onely help to ennoble the Roman Victory: or if it further ferved to hearten Antiochus, and make him leffe carefull to avoid the wars then should it further serve, to justific the Romans in their quarrell. And it seemes indeed that it was no little part of their care to get a faire pretence of making warre. For Antio-20 chm, as is faid before, having newly fent Embassadors to T. Quintius, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that he had any meaning to take Armes ; unlesse by meere violence he were thereto enforced. Onely the Liolians were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, desirous of innovation, and therefore practifing with his Great King; whom they wished to see among them in Greece. In this regard. and to appeale them; they had of late beene answered with gentle words by one of the ten Counsailours, That the Senate would grant them whatsoever with reason they should aske. But this promise was too large, and unadvised. For when their Embassadors came to Rome, the Senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to T. Quintius, who favoured them leaft. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themselves: otherwise than by speaking such words, as might hasten the Romans out of

Greece for very shame; who had no desire to be thence gone. The daily talke at Rome was of war with Aniochus; but in Greece, when the Romans would leave the Countrie. For the Liolians were wont to upbraid therest of the Greeks with the vain libertie which the Romans had proclaimed, faying, That these their Deliverers had laid heavier fetters upon them, than formerly they did weare; but yet brighter & fairer, than those of the Macedonian: likewise, that it was a gracious act of Tisus, to take from the legs of the Greeks their chaine, & tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying longer in Greece, if the Romans had no other meaning than what they pretended. For Philip had made no delay, in accomplishment of that which was laid upon him: all the Townes of Greece were at liberty, and the whole Countrie at peace, both with the Romans, and within it selfe. As for Antiochus; He made it his daily fuit, That the Peace between him and Rome, such as it was, might be confirmed, and strengthened by a League of more assurance. Neverthelesse, T. Quintius would needs feare that Antiochus meant forthwith to feize upon Greece, as foone as he and his Armie were thence departed. And in this regard, He retained ftill in his owne hands Chalcis, Demetrias, and the Aerocorinthus: by benefit of which Townes, he might the better withstand the dangerous Invasion like to be made by Antiochus. Suteable unto the doings of Quintius were the reports of the ten Embaffadours, that had beene fent over to affift him; when they returned backe into the Citie. Antiochus, they faid, would questionlesse fall upon Greece: wherein he should finde not only the Etolians, but Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedamon, ready to give him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to do somewhat against these their suspected enemies: especially against Nabis, who could worst make resistance; whilest Antiochus was farre away in Syria, and not intentive to his businesse. These reports went not onely current through the City, among the Vulgar; but found fuch credit with the chiefe of the Senate, that in the following yeere against which time it was expected that Antiochsu should be ready to take his great enterprise in hand; P. Cornelius Scipio the African, defired, and obtained a fecond Confulfip, with intention to be Generall in the Warre; against the King and his

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Hannibal. For the present, the businesse with Nabis was referred unto Titus; to deale with him as he thought good. This would be a faire colour of his longer tarriance in Greece. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof also he knew that many of the Greekes would not be forry sthough for his owne part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For Nabis had entred into friendship with him, two or three veeres before this, as is already shewed, whilest he had warre with Philip: and had further beene contented for the Romans fake to be at peace with the Achaens; neither fince that time had he done any thing, whereby he should draw upon himselfe this Warre. He was indeed a deteltable Tyrant, and hated of the Achains; as one, that be fides his owne wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great mischiefe. Titus therefore 10 had a plaufible Theme, whereon to discourse before the Embassages of all the Confederate Cities; Which he caused to meet for that purpose at Corinch. He told them, That in the war with Philip, nor only the Greeks, but the Romans themselves, had each their motives apart (which he there briefly rehearfed) that should stirre them up, and cause them to be earnest. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning Nabis. the Romans had none other interest, than onely the making perfect of their honour, in fetting all Greece at liberty: which noble Action was in some fort maimed, or incompleat, whilest the noble City of Arges was left in subjection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged unto them, the Greekes, duely to confider, whether they thought the deliverance of Argus a matter worthy to be undertaken; or whether 20 otherwise to avoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leave it as it was. This concerned them, and not the Romans: who in taking this worke in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the Greeks themselves. The Athenian Embassadour made answer hereunto wery eloquently, and as pleasing as he could devise. He gave thankes to the Romans for what was past sextolled their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their Proposition : wherein unrequested they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which at the vehement request of their poore Associates. they had already of late extended unto the Greeks. To this he added, That great pittie it was to heare, such notable vertue & high deferts ill spoken of by some : which took upon them, out of their owne imagination, to forestell what harme these their Benefa- 10 ctors meant to doe hereafter: when as Thankefulnesse rather would have required an acknowledgement of the benefits and pleafures already received. Every one found the meaning of this last clause, which was directly against the Atolians. Wherefore Alexander the Asolian to leup, and told the Athenians their owne: purting them in minde of their ancient glory, in those times when their City had beene the Leader of all Greece, for defence and recovery of the liberty generall: from which honour they were now fo farre falne; that they became Parafites, unto those whom they thought most mighty; and by their base affentation, would leade all the rest into servitude. Then spake hee against the Achaens, Clients that had beene along time unto the Macedonian; and Souldiers of Philip untill they ranne away from his advertity. Thefe, he faid, had gotten Corinth, 40 and must now have warre be made for their fakes, to the end that they might also bee Lords of Argos: whereas the Liolians, that had first made warre with Philip, and alwayes beene friends unto the Romans, were now defrauded of some places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did he thus containe himselfe, but objected unto the Romans, fraudulent dealing: forafmuch as they kept their Garrisons in Demerrias, Chalcis, and the Acrosorinih; having beene alwayes wont to professe, That Greece could never be at liberty, whileft those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they seeke by this discourse of warre with Nakis, than businesses wherewith to finde themselves occupied, that fo they might have some seeming cause of abiding longer in the Country? But they should doe well, if they meant as they spake, to carry their Legions home out of 50 Greece : which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for Nabis ; the Atolians themselves did promise, & would undertake, That they would either cause him to yeeld to reason, and relinquish Argesfreely, withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compell him by force of Armes, to Submit himselfe to the good pleasure of all Greece, that was now at unity. These words had beene reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparent, that no regard of the common liberty wrought fo much with thefe Attelians; as did their ownersvenous defire of oppreffing others, and getting unso themselves, that worse would use it, the whole Dominion in Greece, which Philip

had loft. Neither could they well diffemble this; making it no fmall part of their grievance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had beene covenanted. That the Romans should enjoy the spoile of all, but leave the Townes and Lands in possession of the Etolians. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefes by them done in former times, made the whole affembly, especially the Acheans, crie out upon them: entreating the Romans to take fuch order before they went, that not onely Nabis might be compelled to doe right; but the Liolian theeves be enforced to keepe home, and leave their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of Titus: who faw, that by discountenancing the Ætolians, He was become the more gracious with all the to reft. But whether it pleased him so well that Aniochus his Embassadors did presently after lie hard upon him, to draw the peace to some good conclusion, it may bee greatly doubted. He cast them off with a sleight answer: telling them, That the ten Embassadors or Counfailours which had beene fent unto him from Rome, to be his affiftants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not

in his power to conclude upon any thing.

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Now concerning the Laced amonian warre; it was very foone ended. For Titus used the helpe of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation against Nabis, both by Land and Sea, as if he should have had to doe with Philip. Besides the Roman forces. King Eumenes with a Navie, and the Rhodian Fleet, were invited to the service: as also 20 Philip of Macedon fent aid by Land; doing therein poorely, whether it were to get favor of the Romans, or whether to make one among the number, in feeking revenge upon Nabis that had done him injurie. But the most forward in this Expedition were the Achaans, who fet out ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. As for the Ætolians: rather to hold good fashion, and found their dispositions, than in hope to speed, their helpe was required; whereof they excused themselves as well as they thought best. Thus are the Acheans now become the prime friends of the Romans in Greece; having removed the Etolians from that degree of favour: like as they themselves hereafter (though not in all hafte) shall be supplanted of the same Lacedamonians, against whom they are now marching.

Some of the Argives, more bold than wife, began a conspiracie against the Lacedamonians that held their Town; meaning to open their gates unto the Roman. But ere Titus drew neere, they were all detected and flaine: excepting a very few, that escaped out of the Towne. The fame of this Commotion, caused the Army to march apace toward Arros; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no stir within the Walls: the execution done upon the first movers, having terrefied all the rest of the Citizens. Titus then thought it better, to affaile Nabis in the head of his strength at Lacedemon, than to confume time about other places; especially at Argos: for the freedome whereof fince the Warre was made, pitie it were, that the calamities of the warre

should thereon fall most heavily.

Nabis had in readinesse an Army of sisteene thousand, wherewith to defend himselfe against these Invaders. Five thousand of them were Mercenaries: the rest, of his owne Countrie; but fuch as were of all others the worst, as manumised slaves, malefactors and base peasants, unto whom his Tyranny was beneficiall. Of the good and worthy Citizens he flood in doubt, and fince he could not hope to win their love, his meaning was to hold them quiet by feare. He called them all to an affembly: and compaffing them round in with his Army, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselves; they might, he said, hope the better to withstand the common Enemie. But forafmuch as turbulent heads were invited by light occafions, to raise tumults, and worke dangerous treason: it seemed unto him the safest, and (withall) the mildest course, to arrest before-hand, and put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keepethem innocent personce; and thereby preserve not onely the City and his own person from danger, but them also from the punishment, which else they might have incurred. Hereupon he cytes and apprehends about fourescore of them; whom he leades away to prison, and the next night putteth them all to death. Thus was he fure that they neither should offend, nor yet breake loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noised abroad : what could itelse doe than terrefie the people; who must thereby understand, that it was a mortall crime to be suspected? And to the same purpose his cruelty extended it selfe unto fome poore wretches: whom he accused of a meaning to flie to the Enemy. These were openly whipt through all the streets, and flaine. Having thus affrighted the Citizens: He turned the more freely, all his thoughts roward the Enemie, that came on apace. He welcommed them with a fallie: wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiers of the Towne had the better at first; but were at length repelled with losse. Titus abode nor many dayes before Sparia: but over-ranne the Countrey's hoping belike to provoke the Tyrant forth to bartaile. The Roman Fleet at the same time, with King Eumenes and the Rhodians, laid fiege unro Gyuheum, the onely or principall Town that Nabis had. Likely they were to have taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treafon. There were two Governours within the Towne equal in authority: whereof the to one, either for feare, or desire of reward, had a purpose to let in the Romans. But the other finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithfull, slue the Traitor; after whose death, he himselfe alone made the better desence. Yet when T. Quinitus with part of his Armie came thither to Gyuheum: this Captaine of the Towne had not the heart to abide the uttermost, and await what either Time or his Master might doe for him, but was contented to give up the place; yet upon Condition, to depart in fafety to Sparta with his Garrison. Pythagoras, the sonne-in-law of Nabis, and brother unto his wife, was come from Argos, whereof he had the Government, with a thousand Souldiers Mercenaries, and two thousand Argives: it being (as may seeme) the Tyrants purpose, to relieve Gyttheum: which he thought would have held longer out. But when 20 they heard that it was loft, then began they to thinke upon finishing the warre, by some reasonable Composition. Pythagoras therefore was sent his Embassadour to Titus : requesting onely that he would appoint a time and place for Nabis to meet and speak with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant spake very reasonably for himselfe: proving, that he suffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments; whereof the fumme was, That what foever they now did, or could object unto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon he inferred, That neither for his keeping the Towne of Argos, nor for any other cause by them alledged, they ought to make warre upon him; fince Arges, and all other their allegations what foever, had not hindered them, in time of their more need of him, from 20 entring into that League with him; which was never broken on his part, nor ought to be on theirs. But Quinius was not herewith fatisfied. He charged him with Tyranny; & gave instance, as easily he might, of divers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points for a fmuch as they knew this Nabis to be guiltie, before they made Peace and Confederacie with him; it was expedient, that some other cause of this Invasion should by alledged. Wherefore he said further, That this Tyrant had occupied Messene, a Towne Confederate with the Romans: That he had bargained to joyne with Philip; when he was their enemy, not onely in League, but also in affinity; and that his Fleet had robbed many of their ships, about the Cape of Malea. Now touching this Pyracie, fince in the Articles by Titus propounded unto Nabit, there was no restitution mentioned, other than of ships, by him taken from the Greeks his neighbours, with whom he had long held warre: it may feeme to have beene objected, onely by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise very frivolous. As for Mellene, and the bargaine of Alliance made with Philap: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made betweene the Romans and this Tyrant; and thereforg not to have beene mentioned. All this it feems that Ariftanus, the Prætor of the Ashaans, very well perceived: who therefore doubting lest the Romans, (that were wont to talke so much of their owne justice, honour, and faithfull dealing) should now relent, and forbeare to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had never done them wrong; framed his discourse to another end. Heentreated Nabis 50 to consider well of his owne estate; & to settle his fortunes, whilest he might do it without hazzard: alledging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbourcities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to furrender their Estates, and lived in great security, honour, and happinesse, as private men. Thus they discoursed untill night. The next day Nabis was contented to relinquish Argos; and requested them, to deliver unto him in writing their other demands, that he might take counfaile with his friends. The iffue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates must be, for maintenance of an Army to lie in Leaguer all

that Winter (as there was no hope of making short worke) before the City of Sparta: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, upon fuch Conditions as Titus should thinke meet. Besides the restitution of Argos, and all the places thereon depending: Titus propounded many other Conditions to Nabis, and some of them very grievous. He would not suffer the Lacedamonian to have ought to doe in the Ile of Crete; no, nor to make any Confederacies, nor warre, either in that Iland or else-where; not to build any Towne or Castle upon his owne Lands; not to keepe any other shipping, than two small Barkes; besides many other troublesome injunctions; with imposition of an hundred talents in filver to be paid out of hand, and fifty talents yearly, for eight to veeres next enfuing. For observance of these Covenants he demanded five hostages, fuch as he himselfe should name; and one of them to be the Tyrants owne sonne. If it had been the meaning of Taus, to withdraw the warre from Nabis, because it was not grounded upon justice: then had it beene enough, if not more than enough, to take Argos from him; which he himselfedid offer, though it were for feare, to deliver up. But if it were thought reasonable, to dispense a little with the Roman faith, in regard of the great benefit which thereby might redound unto the state of their best friends in Greece. by the extirpation of this Tyranny: then should this enterprise, when once it was taken in hand, have bin profecuted unto the very utmost. As for this middle course which the Romans held: as it was not honourable unto them, to enrich themselves by the spoile of one that had not offended them: nor pleasing to the Acheans, who judged it ever after a great blemish to the noble acts of Times: To did it minister unto the Atolians, and to fuch as curioufly pried into the faults of those which tooke upon them to be Patrons of Greece, no barren Subject of malicious discourse. For fince Philip, a King, and descended of many famous Kings, might not be suffered by these Masterly Romans, to hold any one of those Countries or Townes in Greece, that had belonged unto his Ancestors: it was thought very strange, that Lacedamon, once the most famous Citie among all the Greeks, was by the fame Romans left in possession of a Tyrant, that had usurped it but vesterday; and he thereinrooted by their authority, as their friend and Confederate. Nabis on the other fide thought himfelfe unmercifully dealt withall, by the felfe-fame Romans, whose amity he had preferred in time of a doubtfull warre, before the love and affinity of the Macedonian King, that had committed the City of Argos into his hands. But failly had he dealt with the Macedonian and failly was he dealt with by those to whom he did betake himselfe. Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleafed him; fave onely that for the banished Lacedamonians; (of whom a great number were in the Roman Campe; having among them Agefipelis the naturall King of Sparta, that being a young childe was driven out by Lyoungus the first of the Tyrants) there was made no provision, to have them restored unto their Citie and Estates; but onely leave required for as many of their wives, as would be so contented, to live abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore he forbore to give consent unto these demands: and fustained an affault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would soone bee wearie. But his fearefull nature shortly overcame the resolution, which the sense of these injuries had put into him. So yeelding unto all that had been propounded, He delivered the hostages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at Rome by the Senate and People. From this time forward. He thought the Romans farre more wicked than himselfe; and was ready upon the first advantage, to doe them all the mischiefe that he could.

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The Argives had heard newes that Lacedamon was even at point of being taken. This erected them, and gave them heart to thinke upon their owne good. So they adventured to fet upon the Garrison; which was much weakened, by the remove of the three thousand carried thence by Pythagoras to helpe the Tyrant at Sparta. There needed unto their liberty no more, than that all of them joyntly should set their hands to the getting of it; which no sooner they did than they obtained it. Presently after this carrie T. Quintus to Argos, where he was joyfully welcommed! He was deservedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had layed hold without staying for him: and that he might the better entitle himselfe thereto; he caused the liberty of the Argives to be proclaimed at the Nemanan games; as ratifying it by his authority. The Citie was annexed againe to the Councell of Achaia; whereby the Achains were not more strengthened, than the Argives themselves were secured from danger of relapse,

into the fame extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this, Titus found little businesse or none wherewith to set on worke his Army in Greece. Antiochus was about to fend another Embassage to Rome, desiring peace and friendship of the Senate. Things being therefore in appearance wholly disposed unto quiet, Scipio the African, that was chosen Consul at Rome, could not have his desire, of being fent Commander into Greece. The un-fyncere meaning of Aniochus, and the tumultuous disposition of the Aerolians, were held as considerations worthy of regard: yet not fufficient causes of making War. Neither appeared there any more honest way, of confuting the Aetolians, & of throughly perswading all the Greekes (which was not to be neglected, by those that meant to affure unto themselves the patronage of Greece) that 10 the good of the Countrie was their fole intent: than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leaving the Nation unto it selfe, till occasion should be ripe, and call them over againe. Wherefore after Titus had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any neere diffance appearing; he called an Affembly of Delegates, from all parts of Greece to Corinb: where he meant to bid them farewell. There he recounted unto them all that had paffed fince his comming into those parts: and willed them to value the Roman friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the Romans found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsell; touching the moderate use of their liberty, & the care which they ought to have of living peaceably, and without faction. Lastly he gave up Acrocorinthus to the Achaans; with- 20 drawing thence the Roman Garrison, and promising to do the like (which very soone he did) at Chalcis and Demerrias ; that fo it might be knowne , what lyers the Aetolians were, who had accused the Romans, of a purpose to retaine those places. With joyfull acclamations did the Greekes testifie their good liking of that which Titus had faid and done: as also (at his request) they agreed, to ransome and enlarge all Romans, that had been fold into their Countrey by Hannibal.

Thus Titus crowned his actions in Greece with an happy end : and by leaving the Countrie before his departure was urged, left therein behinde him the memory of his vertue and benefits, untainted by jealousie and suspition of any evill meaning. At his comming to the City, He had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodlieft of all that 30 Rome had untill that day beheld. Three dayes together the shew of his pomp continued: as being fet out with the spoiles of a Countrie, more aboundant in things worthy of fuch a spectacle, than any wherein the Romans had before made Warre. All forts of Armes, with Statues and curious pieces of Braffe or Marble, taken from the Enemie, were carried in the first dayes Pageant. The second day, was brought in, all the treasure of Gold and Silver: some in the rude Masse unwrought, some in divers forts of Coine; and some in Veffels of fundry kindes, that were the more highly prized by the workemanship. Among these were tenne shields, all of Silver; and one of pure Gold. The third day Trius himselfe entred the City in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and foureteen Crownes of Gold, bestowed upon him by divers Ci- 40 ties. There were also led the beafts for Sacrifice; the Prisoners, and the hostages: among which, Demetrius the some of King Philip, and Armenes the son of Nabis, were principall. After him followed his Army; and (which added much grace, and good liking to the shew) the Roman Captives, by his procurement redeemed from slaverie in

Not long after this Triumph, He procured audience of the Senate for many Embaffages, that were come out of Greece and Afra. They had all very favourable answers, excepting those of King Antiochus: whom the Senate would not heare, but referred over to T. Quintius, and the ten that had bin his Counfailors; because their businesse was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embassadors wondred. They faid unto Titus 50 and his Affociates, That they could not discern wherein confisted any perplexity of their message. For all Treaties of peace and friendship, were either betweene the Victor and the vanquished; between those, that having warred together, were upon equal termes of advantage; or betweene those that had lived alwayes in good agreement, without any quarrell. Unto the Victor, they faid, that the vanquished must yeeld; and patiently endure the imposition of some Covenants, that else might seeme unreasonable. Where Warre had beene made, and no advantage gotten: there was it usuall to demand and make restitution of things and places claimed, gotten, or lost; accordingly as both parts

could agree. But betweene those which had never fallen out, there ought no Condirions of establishing friendship to be proposed: since it was reasonable, that each pair should hold their owne; and neither carry it felfe as superiour to the other, in preseribing ought that might be trouble some. Now of this last kind, was the league and friendthin that had beene fo long in conclusion, betwixt Antiochus and the Romans. Which being fo : they held it strange, that the Romans should thus infift on points no way concerning them, and take upon them to prescribe unto the King, what Cities of Asia he should fet at liberty; from what cities they would give him leave to exact his wonted Tributes; either putting or not putting his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should thinke firno Hereto Quintin answered, that fince they went so distinctly toworke, He would also doe the like. Wherefore he propounded unto them two Conditions, and gave them their choyce whether to accept: Either that it should be lawfull for the Romans to take part in Alia with any that would feek their friendship; Or if King Antiochus misliked this, and would have them for beare to meddle in Afia, that then he flould abandon what foever he had gotten in Europe. This was plaine dealing, but no reasonable nor pertinent answer, to that which the Kings Embassadors had propounded. For if the Romans might be hired to abstaine from Asia, by the gift of all that Antiochus had lately won in Europe. then did not the affaires of Smyrna, Lampfacus, or any other Affairiques, whom they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, binde them in honour to make Warre with a 20 King that fought their love, and had never done them injury. But they knew very well. that Antiochus could not without great shame be so base, as to deliver up unro them the Citie of Lysimachia, whereon of late he had beene at so much cost; in building it up even from the foundation, and repeopling it with Inhabitants, that had all been differfed. or captive to the Barbarians. And so much the Embassadors with great indignation alledged : faying, That Antiochus defired friendship of the Romans ; but fo, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the Romans tooke upon themas if their cause were far the superiour. For it was they faid, their purpose to set at liberty those Towns. which the King would oppreffe and hold in Subjection: especially fince those Townes were of Greekilb bloud and language and fell, in that regard, under the patronage which 30 Rome had affoorded unto all Greece befides. By this colour they might foon have left Anweekus King of not many subjects on the hither side of Euphrates. Neither did they forbeare to fay, That unleffe he would quit what he held in Europe, it was their meaning nor onely to protect those which relyed upon them in Asa, but therein to make new Allian. ces: namely (as might be understood) with fuch as were his subjects. Where for they urged his Embaffadors to come to a point, and tell them plainly which of these two Conditions their King would accept. For lacke of a pleafing answer, which the Embaffadors could not hereto make; little wanted of giving presently defiance to the King. But they fuffered themselves to be entreated, & were contented once again to send over P. Villius, &'others that had bin already with the king at Lysimachia; by whom they might receive a finallanswer, whether these demands made by Quintim and his Associates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitlesse Treaties ensuing, Amiochus got the leifure of two yeares, or thereabouts, to prepare for War; finding in the Roman's all that while no disposition to let him live in peace.

Of the long Wars which the Romans had with the Gaules Liquians, and Spaniards. Of Mi Porcius Caro. Injuries done by Mafaniffa to the Carthaginians, that fue to the Romans for justice in vaine.

He Infubrians, Bojians, and other of the Cifalpine Gaules, together with the Ligui rians; made often and (in a manner) continuall Warre upon the Remans in Italy, even from such time as Hannibal and his brother Mago departed thence, untill fuch time as they themselves were utterly subdued: which was not, before the Romans were almost at the very height of their Empire. These Nations, having served under Mago for vvages, and afterwards having gotten Amiliar a Carthaginian, to be Leader unto them all, as hath beene already shewed; by this their fellowship in

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Armes, grew to be fuch willing partakers each of others fortune, that feldome afterwards either the Gaules or Ligurians did stir alone; but that their Companions, hearing ch258. of this it, were ready to second them. How the Romans first prevailed, and got large possessions in Gallia Cifalpina, now called Lumbardie; it hath been long fince rehearfed between the first and second Panick Wars. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Country, by meanes of Hannibal his passage there-through. Neither is it likely that the re-conquest would have been more difficult or tedious unto the Romans, than was the first purchase: if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed unto this War, had not been diffracled by the Ligurians; that alwayes made them to proceed warily, having an eye to the 10 danger at their backes. The Ligurians were a front Nation, light and swift of body; well practifed in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any overthrow, but forthwith ready to fight againe. Their Country was mountainous, rough, wooddie, and full of straight and dangerous passages. Few good Townes they had; but many Cassles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: fo as without much labour, they could neither bee taken nor befieged. They were also very poor; and had little or nothing that might give contentment unto a victorious Army that should spoyle their Land. In these respects. they served excellently well to traine up the Roman Souldiers to hardnesse and military patience: teaching them(befides other exercises of Warre)to endure much, and live contented with a little. Their quarrell to Rome, grew partly from their love unto the Gaules, 20 their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing and spoiling the Territory of their borderers, that were subject unto Rome. But their obstinate continuance in the Warre which they had begun, feemes to have been grounded upon the Condition of all Salvages; To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Judgement : and to acknowledge no fuch vertue in Leagues, or formall conclusions of Peace, as oughtto hinder them from using their advantage, or taking revenge of injuries when they returne to minde. This quality is found in all, or most of the West-Indians: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Warres betweene them and any of their neighbours, docuse commonly this answer, It bath still beene the sustome for us and them, to fight one against the other.

Divers overthrowes, though none that vveregreat, these Ligurians gave unto the Romans: but many more, and greater, they received. Often they fought peace, when they found themselves in distresse; and brake it agains as often, when they thought it profitable fo to do. The best vvas that as their Country was a good place of exercise unto the Romans, so out of their own Country they did little harme: not sending any great Armies far from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make Warre, save on their owne

ground. The Countrey of Spaine, as it was the first part of the Continent out of Italy that became subject unto the Romans: so was it the last of all their Provinces, which was wholly and throughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers unto an 40 Oxe-hide and the Romans found in it the property of that Oxe-hide which Calanus the Indian shewed unto the Great Alexander, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For treading upon any fide of it, the further parts vould rife from the ground. And thus vvas it with Spain. Seldome did it happen that those parts from which the Roman Armies lay furthest, vvere not up in rebellion. The Spaniards vvere a very hardy Nation, and easily stirred up to armes; but had not much knowledge in the art of War, nor any good Captaines. They vvanted also (vvhich vvas their principall hinderance) good intelligence among themselves: and being divided into many small Signiories, that had little other communion than of language, they seldome or never provided in generall for the common good of their Country; but made it their chiefe care, each of them to look unto their 50 owne Territory Such private respects made them often to fall asunder, when many had united themselves together, for chasing out of the Romans. And these vvere the causes of their often overthrowes: as defire of liberty, rather than complaint of any vvrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking armes.

The Carthaginians had beene accustomed, to make evacuation of this Cholericke Spanish humour; by employing, as Mercenaries in their Warres abroad, those that vvere most likely to be unquiet at home. They had also taken Souldiers from one part of the Countrey, and used them in another: finding meanes to pay them all, out of the profits yvhich which they raifed upon the whole Countrey; as being far better husbands, and of more dexterity than were the Romans, in that kinde. But contrariwife, the Romans, using the fervice of their owne Legions, and of their fure friends the Latines, had little businesse for the Spaniards; and therefore were fain to have much businesse with them. Spaine was too far diffant, and with all too great for them to fend over Colonies thicker, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they took in Italy. Wherefore it remained, that they should alwaies maintain such Armies in the Country, as might serve to hold it in obedience perforce; and such heedfull Captains, as might be still ready to oppose the Barbarians in their first Commotion. This they did; and thereby held the Countrey: though feldome in peace.

Very foone after the departure of Seipio, there was raifed Warre in Spaine against the Romans, even upon the same generall ground, that was the foundation of all the Spanish Warres following. It was thought unreasonable, that the Spaniards should one while helpe the Carthaginians against the Romans, and another while the Romans against the Carthaginians, basely forgetting to help themselves against those that were strangers, yet usurped the Dominion over them. But the forces which Scipio had left behinde him in that Countrey, being well acquainted with the manner of Warre in those parts, suppreffed this Rebellion by many victories: and together with fubjection, brought peace upon the Countrey; which lafted five yeares. This Victory of the Romans, though it happily ended the Warre: yet left it still remaining the cause of the Warre; which after five yeares brake out againe. The Spaniards fought a battell with the Roman Proconfull, whom they flew; and had a great Victory, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy successe of their Warres in Greece, made the Romans thinke it enough to fend thither two Prætors, and with each of them some two Legions. These did fomewhat: yet not fo much, but that M. Porcius Cato, who was Confull the year following, and fent into that Province; found at his comming little leffe to doe, than the reconquering of all Spaine. But it fell out happily, that all the Spaniards were not of one minde: fome were faithfull to Rome; and fome were idle beholders of the paines that others tooke. Yet when Cate had wonne a great Victory upon the chiefest of to them; they rose against him in many parts of the Countrey, and put him unto much new trouble. Whilest he was about to make a journey against those that were as yet unfubdued: fome of the lately vanquished, were even ready to rebell. Hee therefore difarmed them: which they tooke so heavily, that many of them slew themselves for very griefe. Hearing of this, and well understanding, that such desperation might worke dangerous effects; Hee called unto him the principall among them: and commending unto them peace and quietnesse, which they never had disturbed but unto their owne great losse, He prayed them to devise what course might be taken, for holding them asfured unto Rome, without further trouble. None of them could, or would give counfell in a matter of this nature. Having therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their invention barren in this kinde of Subject; He gave expresse charge, That upon a day appointed they should throw downe the walls of all their Townes. Afterwards hee carried the Warre about from place to place; and with fingular inclustry finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any difference to him or to Rome, in this time of danger, to imitate the Carthaginians, and hire an army of the Celtiberians, against other of their Countrimen: excusing the indignity, such as it seemed, with a jest, That if he were vanquished and slaine, then should he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victory, He could pay them with the enemics money. Finally, He brought the Warre to so good end, that in long time after, though Spaine were often troublesome, yet was it inno danger of being loft. He increased also the publike Revenues in that Province, by caufing fome Mines of Iron and Silver to be wrought, that had before laine unregarded. Herein he did benefit the Common-wealth by a vertue much agreeable to his owne peculiar disposition.

For this M. Cato was not onely very notable in the Art of War, which might well be then termed the occupation of the Romans; but so well furnished with all other useful qualities, that very little was wanting in him, which might feeme requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was very skilfull in the Roman Lawes, a man of great Eloquence, and not unprofitable in any bufineffe either private or publike. Many books he wrote: whereof the principall were, of the Roman antiquities, & of husbandry. In matter Qqqqq 2

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of husbandry he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance; being of meane birth, and the first of his House. Strong of bodie he was, and exceeding temperate: so as he lived in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him unto the better fort of the Remans, was his great fincerity of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himselfe to the ancient laudable Customes of the Citie. Herein hee had merited fingular commendations, if the vehemencie of his nature had not caused him to maligne the vertue of that Noble Scipio the African, and some other worthy men; that were no leffe honest than himselfe, though farre leffe rigid, and more gallant in behaviour. Otherwife, He was a very good Citizen, and one of fuch temper, that he could fashion himselfe to all occasions; as if he were never out of his Element. He loved businesse so well, or ro rather hated vice fo earnestly; that even unto the end of his life, He was exercised in defending himselse or accusing others. For at the age of sourcescore and six years, he pleaded in his owne defence: and foure yeares after, he accused Sergius Galba unto the people. So beganthe Nobility of Cato his family; which ended in his great grand-child M. Cato the Utican: one that being of like vertue and fervencie, had all his good purposes dasht, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such Nobility and Greatnesse as this his Ancestor had continually vexed.

The Spanish Warres, after Cato his departure out of the Countrie, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many; and the Countrie seldome free from insurrection, in one part or other. The Roman Prætors therefore, of which two every yeare 10 were sent over Commanders into Spaine (that was divided into Governments) did rarely faile of such worke, as might affoord the honour of Triumph. One slew thirteene thousand Spaniards in a battell: another tooke fifty Townes; and a third enforced many States of the Countrey to fue for peace. Thus every one of them, or most ofthem, did some laudable service; and yet so, that commonly there were of men, townes, and people, new that rebelled, in stead of the old that were slaine, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof, I have already pointed; and therefore think it enough to fay, That the businesse in Spaine required not the imployment of a Roman Consul, from fuch time as Caso thence departed, untill the Numantian Warre broke out, which was ve-

ry long after.

In all other Countries to the West of the Ionian Seas, the Romans had peace; but so had not the Carthaginians. For when Hannibal was gone from them, and that the enemies of the Barchine House promised all felicity which Rome could grant, unto themfelves and their obedient City: Masanissa fell to disputing with the sword about the title tothe best part of their Lands. He began with Emporia, a fruitfull Region about the lesfer Syrtis: wherein, among other Cities, was that of Leptis, which daily paid a Talent unto Carthage for Tribute. This Country the Numidian challenged; and by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claime unto the whole. Hee had a great advantage: for that the Carthaginians might not make any Warre, without leave obtained from their Masters the Romans. They had none other way of redresse, than by sending to Rome 40 their Complaint of his doings. And furely they wanted not good matter to alledge, if the Judges had beene impartiall. For besides that Scipio, in limiting out to them their bounds, had left them the possession of this Country: Masanisa himselfe, now very lately pursuing a Rebell that fled out of his Kingdome, defired leave of the Carthaginians, for himselfe to passe through it in his way to Cyrene: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise been questionable) that the Country was theirs. This notwithstanding, Mafanissa had wherewith to justifie his proceedings, especially unto the Roman Senate. He gave the Fathers to understand by his Embassadors, what faithlesse people the Carthaginians were, and how ill affected to the State of Rome. There had lately been fent unto them from Hannibal, one that should perswade them to take part with Antiochus. 50 This man they had examined upon some suspicion of his errand; yet neither arresting him nor his ship, had thereby affoorded him means to escape. Hence the Numidian concluded, That certainely it was their purposeto rebell; and therefore good policie to keepe them downe.

As for the Country of Emporia: it had alwaies, he faid, beene theirs that were able to hold it by strong hand : and so belonged sometime unto the Numidian Kings; though now of late it was in possession of the Carthaginians. But if the truth were knowne, the Citizens of Carthage had not any very warrantable title unto any more ground, than

that whereon their City flood; or feareely to fo much. For they were no better than frangers in Africk, that had gotten leave there to build upon fo much ground, as they could encompasse with an Oxe-hide cut into small thongs. Whatsoever they held without fuch a compaffe, was purchased by fraud, and wrongfull encroachments. This confidered, Masanilla requested of the Senate, That they would not adjudge unto such usurpers, the Country fometimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their affured friend. The Romans having heard these allegations on both sides found the matter so doubtfull, that they could not on the fudden tell what to determine. Wherfore because they would doe nothing rafhly sthey fent over three Embaffadors, of whom P. Scipio the African to was one and the chiefe, to decide the controversie: yet fecretly giving them instructions. to leave all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embaffadors followed their directions, and left all doubtfull. So was it likely, that Majaniffa with a ftrong Army should quickly prevaile against those that could no more than talke of their right, and exclaime against the wrong. By such Arts were the Carthaginians held, not only from ftirring in favour of King Antiochus, if they had thereto any disposition; but were prepared by little and little unto their finall destruction: that came upon them, when the Romans had leifure to expresse the utmost of their hatred.

6. VI.

The Atolians labour to provoke Antiochus, Philip, and Nabis to War upon the Romans, by whom they hold themfelves wronged and difgraced. Nabis besiegeth Gytt beum, and wasteth (ome part of Achaa. The exact skill of Philopoemen in advantage of ground: whereby hee utterly vanguisheth Nabis. Antiochus being denied peace by the Romans, joynes with the AEtolians. The AEtolians surprize Demetrias; and by killing Nabis, their Confederate, feize upon Sparta. But they are driven out by the Citizens: who at Philopoemen his per-(wasions annexe themselves to the Achaans.

LL Greece being at peace, and the Roman Armies thence departed: it grieved much the AEtolians to thinke, that they who had promifed unto themselves the whole spoile of Philip, and the highest reputation among the Greeks; were not only disappointed of their coverous hopes, but quite for saken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the most unregarded. Yet was there made a great accesse to their Estate; by adding much unto them, of that which had been taken from the Macedonian. This might well have fufficed them, if their defires had not been immoderate; and their indignation more vehement, than their defire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, fince they thought it no more than part of their due: as they were vexed with the denial of that which they claimed, and with finding themselves to be wholly dife-40 steemed, wherein they thought that they had unsufferable wrong. Wherefore they devised, in a Parliament which they shortly held, by what meanes they best might right themselves; and give the Romans a sorrowfull knowledge of the difference between their enmity and friendship. To this purpose they soon agreed, as concurring all in one affection; That they would not onely perfwade Antiochus to make War upon the Romans, as one to whom the Romans had long refused Peace; but that they would deale with the King of Macedon their ancient enemy, and with Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedamon, to joyne all together in a new Confederacy: whose joynt forces could not in all likelihood, but far furmount those of the Romans, Achaens, Rhodians, and King Eumenes, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the A Etolians took in hand; and well 50 befeeming them, for they were great darers. They fent Embaffadors to all these Kings, with perswasions, as they thought most forcible. But Philip was irresolute; and Antiochus willing to try first all other courses. Nabis the Lacedamonian, who neither (as Philip) had loft much, nor (as Antiochus) was in feare of any War, ; yet shewed himselfe of all other the most forward: and not staying so much as to seeke any good pretence, began immediately to lay fiege unto Gytt heum, that had been lately taken from him by the Romans. The Acheans, to whose care chiefly Titus at his departure had commended the affaires of Pelopennesus, were not flow to admonish Nabis of his duty : neither would they have staid long from repressing his violence by open War; had not some of them thought Qqqqq 3

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it wisedome to aske Counsell of the Romans, and particularly of T. Quintim, before they engaged themselves in a businesse of such importance. Whilst thus they spent the time in fending Embassadors, and were advised by Quinting to let all alone, and to wait for the comming of the Roman forces, that would shortly be amongst them: Nabu was bold to

give them juster cause of complaint, by wasting their owne Territory.

Philopamen was then Pretor of the Achaans, who had long bin absent in Crete; making Warthere for his minds fake and recreation. Unto him the Acheans referred themfelves, giving him leave to order the War at his pleasure; either staying till the Romans came, or doing otherwise, as he should thinke best. He made all haste to relieve Gyttheum by Sea; fearing lest the Towne, and the Achaan Garrison within it, should be lost, if to he used any delay. But Philopamen was so bad a Sea-man, that hee knew not a strong Ship from a rotten. He made a Quadrireme Gally his Admirall, that had fourescore yeares agoe beene counted a gallant Vessell, in the Navie of Antigonus Gonatus. Neither was the rest of his Fleet so good, as might encounter with that of the Laced amonian. Onely it fell out well, that he committed himselfe to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with her wings, than with her talons. For his Admirall Gally was stemmed at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many leakes, and tooke in water so fast, that she was faine to yeeld without further resistance. When the rest of the Fleet faw what was become of their Admirall, all were presently discouraged, and saved themselves with what speed they could. But Philopamen was not herewith daunted. If 20 he had failed in Sea-fervice, which was none of his Occupation, He faid, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Army from the flege of Gyttheum, to stop the Achaens if they should invade his Countrey. But upon these which were placed in guard of Laconia, Philopamen came unexpected; fired their Camp, and put all, fave a very few of them, to the fword. Then marched hee with all his Army towards Lacedamon: within ten miles whereof he was when the Tyrant met him, that had already taken Gyttheum. It was not expected that Nabis would have been eready for them so soon. Or if he should come from Gyttheum, with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that he must overtake them, and charge them in Rere. They marched therefore almost securely, in a long Troupe reaching some five miles; having their 30 Horse, and the greatest part of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to beare off any sudden impression. But Nabis, who formerly understood, or at least suspected, what course they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Army; encamped there where they meant to have lodged. It was the custome of Philopamen, when he walked or travelled abroad with his friends, to marke the fituation of the Countrey about him; and to discourse what might befall an Army marching the same way. He viould suppose, That having with him there such a number of Souldiers, ordered and forted in such manner, and marching towards fuch a place; he were upon that ground encountred by a greater Army, or better prepared to the fight. Then would he put the question, Whether it vvere fit for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand : vvhat piece of ground it 40 were meet for him to feize upon and in what manner he might best do it in what fort he should order his men e vyhere bestow his carriages, and under vyhat Guard e in vyhat fort encampe himselfe : and which way march the day following : By such continuall meditation, Hee vvas growne so pertect, that he did never meet with any difficultie, vvhence he could not explicate himselfe and his followers. At this time hee made a stand: and having drawne up his Rere, Hee encamped neere unto the place where he was ; within halfe a mile of the Enemy. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he beflowed on a Rocke; encompaffing them round with his Souldiers. The ground was rough, the wayes bad, and the day almost quite spent; so as Nabis could not at the prefent greatly molest him. Both Armies were to water at one Brook synhereto the Acha- 50 ans lay the neerer. This vvatering therefore was like to minister the first occasion of skirmish. Philopamen understood this; and laid an ambush in place convenient; whereinto the Mercenaries of Nabis fell, and were flaughtered in great numbers. Prefently after this, he caused one of his owne Auxiliaries to goe to the Tyrant, as a sugitive, and tell him, that the Acheans had a purpose to get between him and Lacedamon; whereby they voould both debarre his returne into the Citie, and withall encourage the people to take Armes for the recovery of their freedome. The Tyrant hearing this, marched haftily away; and left his Campe, which hardly otherwise would have beene forced. Some

Some companies he made to stay behind, and shew themselves upon the Rampart, thereby to conceale his departure. But Philopæmen was not fo to be beguiled. He eafily won the Camp and gave chase to Nabis: whose followers being overtaken, had no courage to turn about & make head. The enemies being thus dispersed and fled into woods where they lay in covert all that day: Philopumen conceived aright, that their fear and necessity would teach them to creep homewards, and fave themselves, when it grew dark. Wherefore in the Evening, when he had gathered together all those of his light-armature, which had followed the chase whilest it was day, he led forth the rest that had well refreshed themselves, and occupied the two most ordinary passages unto Lacedamon. So Nabis his men, when it was darke night, perceiving in Philopamens Campe great flore of lights; thought that all had bin at reft: and therefore adventured to make an escape home. But they were fo way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into Sparta. Thirty dayes together after this, did Philopoemen wast the Country round about, whilest Nabis durst not iffue forth of his town; and then returned home, leaving the Tyrant in a manner without

The Roman Embassadors were then in Greece, and T. Quinting among them, labouring to make their partie strong against Aniochus and Nabis, whom they knew to be solicited by the Liolians. Very faire countenance they also made unto Philip; and with comfortable promifes drew him to make shew, whatfover he thought, of good correspondence. They promifed to restore unto him his some: and were contented to let him hope, that he should receive other favours at their hands; and regaine possession of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the Romans prepare for warre against Anizochu in Greece, whileft their Embassadours that were with him in Asia: denied otherwise to grant him Peace, than if he would yeeld unto one of the Conditions aby them fo often propounded. The long ablence of this King in Syria, where he had accomplified the marriage betweene Piolomie and his daughter; together with the death of young Antiochou the Kings sonne, which happened during the Treatie, and hindered, or feemed to hinder the King from giving audience in person to the Embassadours; caufed them to returne home to Rome; as uncertain of their answer as at their ferting forth. 30 One thing that might have beene, and partly was, beneficiall unto them, they brought to passe during their abode at Ephesus; either by cunning, or (as Livie rather thinkes) by chance. Finding Hannibal there, they discoursed often with him, and blamed him for having thus fled unto Anisochus, upon a caufeleffe fufpition wherein he held the Romans that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harme. Many have affirmed that P. Seipio was one of these Embassadours; and that he among other discourses with Hannibal, demanded once, Which of all the famous Captaines that had lived, Hannibal judged the most worthy? So Hannibal gave to Alexander of Macedon the first place: to Pyrrhus the fecond: and the third he challenged unto himselfe. But Scipio, who thought his own title better, than that it ought to be fo forgotten, asked yet further. What wouldest thou have faid then, Hannibal, if thou hadft vanquished me? To whom the Carthaginian replied. Then would not I have given the first place to Alexander, but have claimed it as due unto my selfe. Now whether this were so, or otherwise, the often and friendly conference of Hannibal with the Koman Embassadors, made him suspected of Antiochus, who therefore did forbeare a while to use his counsell. Yet afterwards, when Hannibal perceived this change in the King, and plainely defiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was; he eafily recovered his former grace and credit. For hee told how his Father had caused him to sweare at the Altars, when he was a little boy, That he never should be friend unto the Romans. Wherefore he willed the King not to regard any vaine furmifes: but to know thus much, That folong as he thought upon warre with 10 Rome, fo long would Hannibal doe him all good fervice: whereas contrariwise, if he intended to make peace, then should it behoove him to use the counsell of some other

The Ætolians, and their friends, were no leffe buffe all this while, in making their partie strong against the Romans, than were the Romans in mustering up their friends in Greece. They had so often dealt with Antiochin, vaunting much of their own forces, and arrogating to themselves the honour of the victory against Philip, that finally they prevailed with him; especially when the Roman Embassadors had left him without hope of peace, unlesse he would buy it at too deare a rate. They dealt in like fort with the Macedonian.

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Burin vaine. He understood the Romans, and himselfe, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improve their owne forces to the uttermost: as knowing, that all the burthen must lie upon Anisochus and themselves, without helpe from any, save onely from fome few that were discontented in Greece. Whilest they were about this, and had with them an Embaffador of the King Antiochus, that animated them to resolution, the Athenian Embassadours, whom Tim had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemencie a little; by exhorting them, notto conclude rashly, without first hearing the Romans, that lay neere at hand. For want of a ready answer hereto, they were contented to approve the motion. Tam hearing this, thought the buffreffe worthy of his prefence. For fince Anisohus had now declared himselfe against the Romans jit would be no small 10 piece of service, to withdraw from his friendship, those by whose encouragement he had made the adventure. Wherefore he came to their Panacolium, or great Affembly of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might ferve to appeale them. He willed them to confider the weight of the enterprise which they took in hand; whereby Greece was like to become a Champaigne-field, on which, to the ruine of the Country, the Romans and King Antiechie, that commanded no finall part of the World, should fight for the Masterie: the Etolians, as Masters in that kind of Fence, setting them on, and becomming *Liv.l.35.admi. * the Sticklers. As for those grievances which did thus exasperate them, and urge them flist tiellistorie, to fuch violent courses, he willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might doe, to fend Embaffadours to Rome, that should either pleade 20 their right in the Senate, or (if their right unto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to have what they defired: than thus to fer the world in an uproare, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he faid, or could say, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embaffador of the King, whose helpe they had fought, wait so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the Romans. Neither was it newes unto them, to heare those comfortable words, That, by fending to Rome, they might happen to obtain what they defired; either as their right, or else by way of favour. For with such Termes had they bin sea-Red once already: and were by the Senate rejected unto Times who, having it in his owne power, gave them to fatisfaction; yet would now againe referre them to the Se- 30 nate. This were only losse of time, and might abate their credit with Antiochus. Wherefore without more adoe they made a Decree, That King Antiochus the Great should be intreated to come over into i Greece, as well to fet the Gountry at liberty, as also to decide the controversies depending between the Romans and Aiolians. Such a Decree they would not have made, had they not understood the Kings minde before. Having made it, they forgot no point of bravery, whereby to vaunt themselves to the Kings Embalfadours, and against the Romans. Tim defired of their Prætor, tolet him see a Copie of this new Decree. The Prætor answered, That then he had other things to doe: but that this Decree, and their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if he came to their Camp in Italy upon the river of Tibris. Gentler words would have done better, as 40 the Atolians are like to understand hereafter. But having thus begun, they meant henceforth to goe roundly to work. The care of the warre they referred unto the more private Councellof their Nation; that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the Authority of a generall affembly. The Apoclesi (fo were the Privie Councell of Etolia called) went as hotly to worke as any of the youngest heads could have done. They laid a plot, how to get into their hands at one time the Townes of Chalcis, Demetrias, and Sparta: to each of which they sent men for the purpose. Demetrias they took upon the sudden; entring some of them as friends, to conduct home a principall man of the Citie: who for speaking words against T. Quintin, had been driven to flee thence; but was, by intercession of those that loved him, again re-called. His Aulian companions, that were 50 not many, seized upon a Gate; whereat they let in a Troupe which they had left not far behind them: and fofell to murdering the chief of the Roman Faction. At Chalcis they fped not fo well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home: but they came so strong, that their purpose was discovered, and the Town prepared to defend it selfe against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostility, they gave a gentle an-Iwer, laying, That they came not thither as enemies, but onely to deliver the Town from the Romans; who more infolently domineered over it, than ever the Macedonians had done. By which Rhetoricke they prevailed no more, than they could doe by plaine

force. For the Townef-men replied, That they neither found any abridgement of their libertie, nor needed any Garrison to keep them from the Romans, from whom they neither feared any danger, nor received injurie. So this bufinesse was dasht. The attempt upon Sparta was more strange and desperate. Nabis their good friend, was Lord of the Town; styling himselfe King: but more truely by all mencalled Tyrant. He had welneere loft all, by means of the overthrow which Philopamen had lately given him : fince he durst not stirre abroad; and daily expected the mischiefe, that on all sides threatned him. Wherefore he fent meffengers, one after another, to the Aiolians; requesting them, That as he had not beene flow to stirre in their behalfe, but adventured himselfe upon the utmost of danger, when all others were backward; so they would be pleased 10 to fend him what helpe they might, fince his bad fortune had caused him presently to need it. It hath beene often faid, That the ravenous Etolians were only true to themfelves, and regarded neither faith nor friendship, otherwise, than as it might conduce to their owne ends. And so dealt they now. For since Nabio his mercenarie forces, which upheld his Tyranny, were in a manner confumed: they thought it expedient for their Estate, to put him out of the way; and, by so doing, to assure Lacedamon unto themselves. To this purpose, they sent thither Alexamenus, one whom they thought a man fit for fuch a worke. To him they gave a thousand Foot, and thirtie Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirtie were by Democritus the Prætor brought into the Councell of the Apocleti, where they were commanded to be no wifer than they should be, nor to thinke 20 that they were fent to make warre with the Acheans, or to doe ought elfe, fave onely what Alexamenus should command them; which were it never so desperate, and in seeming against all reason; yet must they understand, that unlesse they performed it. they should have no good welcome home. So Alexamenus came to the Tyrant, whom he encouraged with brave words: telling him that Antiochus was already in Europe, and would be anon in Greece, meaning to cover all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the Romans were like to finde other manner of worke, than of late with Philip: fince the Elephants of this great King, without other help, would fuffice to tread them downe. As for the Etolians, he faid, that if need should so require, they would 20 presently send away to Lacedamon all the forces that they could raise: But that they were very defirous at the prefent, to make as goodly a muster as they could, before the great king; which caused them to send him thither afore with no greater company. Hereupon he willed Nabis to take heart; bring forth his men, that had bin long pent up in the Citie; and traine them without the wals: as if shortly he should employ them in work of conquest, rather than defence. Nabis was glad of this: and daily exercised his men in the field; riding up and downe with this Alexamenus, and no more than three or foure horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, Alexamenus made it his fashion, to step aside alone to his Atolians, and say fomewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned againe to Nabis. But when he faw time for the great work which he had in hand; he then went afide to his thirty horsemen, and bade them remember the taske enjoyned them at their fetting forth; telling them, that they were all in case of banished men, unlesse they would anon come up to him, and helpe him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewithall the Tyrant beganne to draw neere them: and Alexamenus making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and strucke him downe. The thirtie Lolians never stood to deliberate upon the matter, but all flew in; and, before any fuccour could arrive, had made an end of this wretched Nabie. Prefently upon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ran unto the dead body: where, in flead of feeking revenge, they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. Alexamenus with his Atolians hasted into the Citie, and feized on the Palace: where he fell to ranfacking the Treasure; and troubled himselfe with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the Towne, didalso the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who feeing themselves free by the death of the Tyrant, could not indure to fee those that had slaine him, beginne to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the town was shortly in Armes: and for lacke of another Captaine, they tooke a little Boy of the Royall stocke, that had beene brought up with Nabis his children; whom they mounted upon a good Horse, and made him their Chiefe. So they fell upon the tolians that were idly straggling about; and put them all to the sword. Alexamenus with CHAP 5.\$.7.

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with not many of his Company, were flaine in keeping the Citadel: and those few that escaped thence into Areadia, were taken by the Magistrates; who sold them all as bond-flaves. In this doubtfull Estate of things at Lacedamon, Philopamen came thither: who calling out the chiefe of the Citie, and speaking such words unto them, as Alexamenus calling out the chiefe of the Citie, and speaking such words unto them, as Alexamenus should have done after he had slainethe Tyrant; easily perswaded them for their owne spood and safety, to incorporate themselves with the Acheans. Thus by the enterprise, no lesse dishonourable than difficult, of the Atolians; and the small, but effectuall, travell of Philopamen, the Acheans made a notable purchase: and Lacedamon, that had hitherto bingoverned either by Kings, or by Tyrants that called themselves Kings, became the member of a Common-wealth, whereof the name had scarce any reputation, when Spartaruled over all Greece.

6. VII.

Antiochus, perswaded by Thoas the Ætolian, comes over into Greece ill attended. Sundry pass ges between him, she Ætolians, Chalcidians, and others. He wins Chalcis, and thereby the whole sle of Eubœa. The vanity of the Kings Embassadors and the Ætolians, with the civill answer of Titus to their discourse, before the Achæans. That it concerned the Greekes to have desired peace betweene the Romans and Antiochus, as the best assurance of their owne libertie. Of many petty Estates that fell to the King. Of Aminander; and an 20 idle vanity, by which King Philip was lost. Hannibal gives good coinsell in vaine. Some Towns won in Thessalie. The King retires to Chalcis, where he marrieth a young wise, and revels away the rest of winter. Upon the comming of the Roman Consul all forsake Antiochus. He with two thousand Ætolians keeps the Streights of Thermopylæ. He is beaten, and slies into Asia: leaving all in Greece unto the Victors.

Nisochue was troubled much in Afia with Smyrna and Lampfacus, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leave them Enemies behind him; and to win them by force, was more than hithertohe was able. Yet was he defirous, with all speed convenient, to shew himselfe in Greece; where 30 he had bin told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, That in all the country there was a very small number, which bore hearty affection unto the Romans: That Nabis was already up in arms: That Philip was like a Bandog in a chain, desiring nothing more, than to breake loofe; and that the Ætolians, without whom the Romans had done nothing, nor nothing could have done, were ready to conferre upon him the greatnesse, which they had unworthily bestowed upon insolent Barbarians. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made such a noise, as added credit unto all the rest. Whilest therefore the king was thinking to send Hannibal into Africk, there to molest the Romans, and fo give him the better leifure of using his own opportunities in Greece: Tho.ss the Audian came over to him, and bad him lay all other care afide; for that his Country-40 men had already taken Demetrias, a Town of main importance, that should give him enterrainment, whence he might proceed as became the greatnesse of his vertue & fortune. This did serve to cut offall deliberation. As for Hannibal, Thoas was bold to tel the king, first, That it was not expedient for him to divide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into Greece, might ferve to lay open unto him all places, without need of using violence: and secondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more unfit man to be employed in the kings service, than was that famous Hannibal the Carthaginian. For he faid, That the king should as greatly feele the losse of a Fleet or Army, perishing under such a notable Commander if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried under one of meaner qualitie: whereas neverthelesse if 50 Hannibal prevailed, Hannibal alone should have all the honor, and not Antiochia. In this regard he was of opinion, That fuch a renowned Warriour should be alwayes neere unto the Kings person, to give advice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good fuccesse would wholly redound unto the honour of him that had the foveraigne Command; even of the Kinghimselse. Aniochun gladly hearkened unto this admonition; being jealous of the vertue, that shined brighter than the Majestie of his own fortune. And thereupon he laid afide the determination, which tended more to the advancement of his defires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought upon.

Presently after this, He made ready for Greece. Before his setting forth, in a frivolous pompe of ceremony, he went up from the Sea-fide to Ilium; there to doe facrifice to Minerva of Troy. Thence passing over the Aegean Sea, He came to Demetrias. Eurylochus the Magnetian, the same whom the Aetolians had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they won Demetrias; was now the chiefe man, and Ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Countrimen, in great frequencie, came to doe their duties to the King Antiochus, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this: and tooke it as a figne of good lucke, to be so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, that the Magnetians found not the like cause of joy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Arno my formewhat like to that of Xerxes: they faw three hundred ships: of which, no more than fortie were ferviceable for the Warres, with an Armie of tenthousand Foot, five hundred Horfe, and fixe Elephants. The Atolians no fooner heard of his comming than they called a Parliament and made a Decree, whereby they invited him into their country. He knew before that they would fo doe; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his comming to Lamia the £tolians gave him as joyfull entertainment as they could devife. Being brought into their Councell, he made an Oration: wherein he defired them to hold him excufed. that he came not followed with a greater Armie. This was, he faid, in true estimation, a figne of his good will: in that he staid not to make all things ready, but hasted unto their 20 aide, even whilest the season was unfit for navigation. Yet it should not be long, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be fatisfied unto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all Greece with Armies and all the Sea-coast with his Fleets. Neither would be for any charge, travell, or danger, to follow the bufinesse which he had undertaken: even to drive the Romans and their authority out of Greece; leaving the Country free indeed, and the Aulians therein the chiefe. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be very great; so was it his meaning, that all provisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because he would not be any way burdenfome unto his Confederates. But at the present he must needs intreat them, having thus hastily come over unto their aide, unprovided of many necessaries, that they would 30 helpe him with Corne and other victuals, whereof he flood in need. So he left them to their consultation: the conclusion whereof was after a little dispute, (for a vaine motion was made by fome, that the differences between the Romans and them, should be put by Compromise to the decision of Antiochus) That they would yeeld unto the Kings defire, and affift him with all their forces. Here we may observe, how vaine a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himselfe, as did Antiochia, in a businesse of dangerous importance, upon the promifed affurance of a State that is meerely popular. For if the vehemencie of Thoas, and some other of that Faction, had not prevailed in this Councell: the Atolians, for gaine of two or three Townes, yea, for hope of fuch gaine that might have deceived them, were like to have abandoned this King their friend, unto the 40 discretion of the Romans. And what remedy had there beene, if this had so fallen out? He could have be morned himself to Thors, and complained of the wrong: but he must have been contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side; whom Theas would therefore have pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the present, though in the future it proved much worse, both for him, and for the Etolians. He was chosen Generall of all their forces: and thirty Commisfioners were appointed to be about him, as a Councell of Warre for the Nation. Thefe armed fuch as readily they could, whileft it was in dispute where they should begin the Warre. Chalcis was thought the meetest place to be first undertaken: whither if they came fuddenly, they should not peradventure need to use much force. The King had o brought with him into Atolia but a thousand Foot, leaving the rest behinde him at Demetrias. With these he hasted away directly toward Chalcie; being overtaken by no great number of the Etolians, which accompanied him thither. At his comming, the Magistrates, and some of the chiefe Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the Atolians began, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the Romans had onely in words and falle femblance, fet Greece at libertie. But fuch libertie, as might be true and usefull, they faid, would never be obtained; untill by removing the necessity of obeying their pleasure that were most mightie, every severall Estate had where to finde redresse of any pressure. And to this end was the great Antiochus come thither; a King CHAP.5.\$.7.

well able to counterpoise, yea to overweigh the Romans: who neverthelesse desired them onely, so to joyne with him in League, as that if either the Romans or he should offer them wrong, they might keep it in their power, to feek redresse at the others hands. The Chalcidians made hereto the same answer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedome was not imaginarie, but absolute; for which they were to thanke the Romans; without whose good liking, they would enter into no new confederacie. That which they spake of themselves, they could likewise affirme of all the Greeks: forasmuch as none of them paid any Tribute, was kept under by any Garrifor, or lived otherwise than by their owne Lawes, and without being tied unto conditions which displeased them. Wherefore they wondred, why the King should thus trouble to himselfe, to deliver Cities that were already free. But fince he, and the Etolians, requested their friendship; they befought both him and the Etolians, to doe a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leaving them in fuch good cafe as they were. With this answer the King departed: for he was not, as then, strong enough to force them. But very foon after, he brought thither a greater power, which terrefied them and made them yeeld: before all the fuccours could arrive, which Tim had fent for their

The chiefe Citie of Eubaabeing thus gotten, all the rest of the Iland shortly yeelded to Amiochus. Foure or five hundred Roman Souldiers, that came over-late to have defended Chalcis, reposed themselves at Delium, a little town of Baoria, lying over against 25 the Hand; where was a Temple and Grove, confecrated unto Apollo, that had the priviledge of an inviolable Sanctuary. In this place were fome of them walking, and beholding the things there to be feen, whilest others were busied as they found cause: without feare of any danger; as being in such a place, and no warre hitherto proclaimed. But Menippus, one of Antiochus his Captains, that had wearied himselfe in many vain Treaties of peace, took advantage of their carelesnesse, and used them with all extremity of war. Very sew of them escaped: fiftie were taken, and the rest slain. Hereat Quinting was grieved: yet so. as it pleased him well to consider that his Romans had now more just cause than before.

to make war upon the King.

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Antiochus liked wel these beginnings, and sent Embassadors into all quarters of Greece; 30 in hope, that his reputation should perswade very many to take his part. The wiser fort returned fuch answer, as the Chalcidians had done. Some reserved themselves untill he should come among them: knowing that either, if he came not, he must hold them excufed for not daring to stirre; or, if he came, the Romans must pardon their just feare, in yeelding to the stronger. None of those that lay farre off, joyned with him in true meaning, fave the Eleans, that alwayes favoured the Atolians, and now feared the Acheans. Little reason there was, that he should think to draw the Achaens to his partie. Nevertheleffe he affayed them, upon a vain hope, that the envie which Titus was faid to beare unto Philopæmens vertue, had bred a secret dislike between that Nation and the Romans. Wherefore both he and the Atolians sent Embassadours to the Councell at Agium; 40 that spared not brave words, if the Acheans would have beene so taken. The Kings Embaffadour told of great Armies and Fleets that were comming; reckoning up the Dahans, Medians, Elimaans, and Caducians, names that were not every day heard of, & therefore as he thought, the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the Sydomans, Tyrians, Aradians, and Pamphylians were; such indeed as could not be resisted. Now concerning money and all warlike furniture: it was, he faid, well knowne, that the Kingdomes of Asia had alwayes thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceived: who confidering the late warre made against Philip, did thinke that this with Antiochus would prove the like: the case was too farre different. Yet this most powerfull King, that for the liberty of Greece was come from the utmost parts of the East requested no more 50 of the Achaans, than that they would hold themselves as neutrall, and quietly looke on, whilest he took order with the Romans. To the same effect spake the Æiolian Embassador, and further added, that in the battell at Cynoscephala, neither Titus had done the part of a Generall, nor the Romans of good Souldiers: but that both he and his Army had bin there destroyed, had they not beene protected by vertue of the Atolians, which carried the day. Titus was present at the Councell, and heard all this: to which he made as fit answer, as could have beene desired. He told the Acheans, That neither the Kings Embaffadour, nor the Aulian, did fo greatly labour to perfwadethose unto whom they addreffed

addressed their Orations; as to yount themselves the one unto the other. So as a man might well differen, what good correspondence in vanity it was, that had thus linked the King and the Aetolians together. For even such bragges as here they made before the Acheans, who knew them to be lyars, had the Esolians also made unto King Antiochus: proclaiming the victory over Philip to be meerely their Act: and the whole Countrey of Greece to be dependent on them. Interchangeably had they beene feafted by the King, with fuchtales as his Embassador told even now; of Dahans, and Aradians, and Elimeans, and a many others: that were all but a company of Syrians, fuch as were wont to be fold about for bond-flaves, and good for little elfe. These divers to names of rafcall people were he faid, like to the divertity of Venifon, wherewith a friend of his at Chalcis (no fuch vaunter as were these Embassadors) had sometime seasted him. For all that variety, whereathe wondred, was none other, as his Host then merrily told him; than so many pieces of one tame swine, drest after severall fashions, with variety of fawces. Setting therefore afide this vanity of idle pompe: it were good to make judgement of the great King, by his prefent doings. He had, notwithstanding all this great noyfe, no more than tenne thousand men about him: for which little Army hee was faine in a manner to begge victuals of the Aetolians; and take up money atusurie, to defray his charges. And thus he ranne up and downe the Countrey; from Demetrias to Lamia; thence back to Chalcis; and being there shut out, to Demetrias againe. These were 20 the fruits of lyes: where with, fince both Antiochus and the Ætolians had each deluded other; meet it was that they should, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilest wifer men took heed by their example. To a favourable Auditory much perswassion is needless. The Acheans did not love so well the Atolians, as to defire that they should become Princes of Greece: but rather wished to see them, of all other, made the veriest abjects. Wherefore they stood not to hearken after newes, what Antiochus did, how he sped in Eubaa, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed Warre against him, and against the Etolians.

How the hatred betweene these two Nations grew inveterate,; sufficiently appeares in the story foregoing. Now have they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the Romans; 30 the other, King Antiochus. Herein did each of them unwisely: though far the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent spirits of the Aerolians. For when the Romans departed out of Greece, and left the Country at rest: there was nothing more greatly to have been defired, than that they might never finde occasion to returne with an Army thither againe. And in this respect ought the Greekes to have sought, not how Smyrna and Lampfacus might recover their liberty (which had never been held a matter worth regarding, untill now of late) but how the powers of the East and West, divided and kept afunder by their Countrey, astwo Seas by an Isthmus, or neck of land, might bee kept from overflowing the barre that parted them. Neither had the Romans any better pretence for their feeking to make free those base Assiques, who originally were 40 Greekifb; than the general applause, wherewith all the nation entertained this their loving offer. Yet were Lystmachia, and the Townes in Thrace, lately gotten by Antiochus, pretended as a very great cause of seare, that should move them to take armes even in their owne defence. But if all Greece would have made intercession, and requested that things might continue as they were, promifing joyntly to affift the Romans, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, vvhenfoever King Antiochus should make the least offer to stirre against them: then had not onely this quarrell beene at an end; but the Roman Patronage over the Countrey, had been far from growing, as foon after it did, into a

Lordly rule.

The Acheans were at this time, in a manner, the only Nation of Greece, that freely and 50 generously declared themselves altogether for the Romans, their friends and benefactors. All the rest gave doubtfull answers of hope unto both sides: or if some few, as did the Thessalians, were firm against Antiochus; yet helped they not one another in the quarrell, nor shewed themselves his enemies, till he pressed them with open force. The Bastians willingly received him, as foone as he entred upon their borders, not fo much for feare of his power, as in harred of Titus and the Romans, by vvhom they had bin somewhat hardly used. Aminander the Athamanian, besides his old friendship with the Actolians, was caught with a bair, which it may be doubted, whether he did more foolishly swallow, or Antiochus cast out. He had married the daughter of an Arcadian, that was an Rrrrr

idle-headed man, and vaunted himselse to be descended from Alexander the Great: naming his two fons, in that regard, Philip and Alexander. Philip, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his fifter to the poore Court of Athamania: where having made his folly knowne, by talking of his Pedigree; He was judged by Antiochus and the Etolians, a man fit for their turns. They made him believe, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memory of Alexander his forefather; it was their purpose, to doe their best for the conquest of Macedon to his behoofe: fince no man had thereto so good title as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto; it behooved him to draw Aminander to their party, that fo they might the fooner have done with the Romans. Philip was highly pleafed herewith; and by perswasions of himself, or of his sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of service done by this imaginary King (whether it proceeded from his owne phrenzie in hope to get love of the Macedonians that should be his subjects or whether from some vanity in King Antiochus that employed him) vvrought more harm to his friends, than he and Aminander vvere able to do good. There vvere two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched unto Cynofcephala, there to gather up the bones of the flaughtered Macedonians; whom their King had fuffered all this while to lie unburied. The Macedons troubled not themselves to think on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but King Philip took it in high indignation: as intended meerely unto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent unto the Romans; and gave them to understand, that he was ready with all his power to aid them wherein foc-20

The fifth Booke of the first part

ver they should be pleased to use him. The Aetolians, Magnetians, Eubaans, Baotians, and Athamanians, having now all jovned with him; Antiochus tooke counsell of them about the prosecution of the Warrein hand. The chiefe question was, Whether it were meet for him to invade Thessalie, that would not hearken to his perswassions; or whether to let all alone until the Spring: because it was now mid-winter. Somethought one thing, and some another; confirming each his owne fentence, with the weightieft reasons which he could alledge; as in a matter of great importance. Hannibal was at this meeting: who had long been cast aside as avessell of nouse; but was now required to deliver his opinion. Hee freely told the king. That what he should now utter, was even the same which he would have spoken, had his 20 counsell at any time before been asked fince their comming into Greece. For the Magmetians, Baotians, and other their good friends, which now fo willingly tooke their parts: what were they else than formany poore Estates, that wanting force of their owne, did adjoyne themselves for searc unto him, that was strongest for the present; and would afterwards, when they faw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary fide, alledging the same feare for their excuse? Wherefore he thought it most behoovefull to win King Philip of Macedon unto their party: who (besides that being once engaged, he should not afterwards have power to recoyle and for fake them at his pleasure) vvas a mighty Prince; and one that had meanes to furtaine the Roman Warre with his proper forces-Now that Philip might be easily perswaded to joyne with them; the benefit likely to re- 40 dound unto himselse, by their society, was a very strong Argument : though indeede what need was there, of proving by inference the likelihood of this hope? For, faid Hee, These Actolians here present; and namely, this Thous, being lately Embassadour from them into Afia, among other Motives which he then used to excite the King unto this Expedition, infisted mainely on the same point. He told us that Philip was moved beyond all patience with the Lordly in solence of the Romans: likening that king to some wilde bealt, that was chained or lockt up within some grate, and would faine break loofe. If this be fo : let ses breake his chaine, and pull downe the grate, that he may regaine his liberty, and satisfie his angry Stomacke, upon those that are common enemies to us and him. But if it prove otherwife, and that his feare be greater than his indignation : then [hall it behoovens to looke unto 50 him; that he may not feeke to please his good masters the Romans, by offending us. Tour some Seleucus is now at Lyfimachia, with part of your Army: if Philip will not hearken to your Embassage; let Seleucus be in readinesse to fall upon Macedon, and finde him work to defend his owne on the other fide without putting us here to trouble. Thus much concerning Phillip; and the present war in Greece. But more generally for the manuaging of this great enterprise, wherein you are now embarqued against the Romans, I told you my opinion at the beginning: Whereto had you then given eare the Romans by this time (bould have beard other newes, than that Chalcis in Eubœa was become ours. Italy & Gaul Should have bin on fire with war; and.

little to their comfort, they should have understood, that Hannibal was againe come into I. taly. Neither doe I fee what should hinder us even now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleet and Army bither (but in any case let Ships of burden come along with them, loader with store of victuals: For as the case now stands, we have here too few hands, and too many mouthes.) Wherefore let the one halfe be imployed against Italy; whilest you in person with the other halfe, tarrying on this side the Ionian Sea, may both take order for the affaires of Greece, and therewith all make countenance, as if you were even ready to follow us into Italy: yea, and be ready to follow us indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my advice; who though perhaps I am not very skilfull in all forts of Warre; yet how to war with the Romans, I have been instructed by long experience, both to their cost and mine owne. Of this counsell which I give, I promise you my faithfull and diligent service for the execution : but what counsell Toever you please to follow, I wish it may bee prosperous. Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said he had spoken bravely: but of all this was nothing done; save onely that one was fent into Asia, to make all things ready there. In the meane while they went in hand with Thessaly; about which they had before disputed. There when they had wonne one Towne by force, many other places, doubting their owne strength. were glad to make submission. But Larissa, that was chiefe of the Country, stood out : not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the walls with his whole Army. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For M.Babius, a Ro-20 man Proprætor, did send help thither. Likewise Philip of Macedon professed himselfe enemy unto Antiochus; whereby the fame of the fuccour comming to Lariffa, grew fuch, as wrought more than the fuccour could have done, had it arrived . For Antiochus perceiving many fires on the Mountains tops afarre off; thought that a great Army of Romans and Macedonians had been comming upon him. Therefore excusing himselfe by the time of the yeare; He brake up his fiege, and marched away to Chalcis. At Chalcis he fell in love with a young Maiden, daughter unto a Citizen of the Towne; whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was betweene them, both in years and fortune, He fhortly married; and so spent the Winter following as delightfully as hee could, without thinking upon the War in hand. His great men and Captaines followed his exam-30 ple; and the fouldiers as readily imitated their Captains: in fuch wife, that when he took the field, he might evidently perceive in what loose manner of discipline his Army had paffed the winter. But M. Acilius Glabrio, the Roman Conful, shal meet him very shortly, and help him to reclaime them from this loofenesse of nuptiall Revels; by setting them to harder exercise.

M. Acilius was chosen Consul with P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica. The war against Antiochus fell to him by lot; whereas otherwife He was no way fo honourable, as Nafica his Colleague: unto whom fell a charge, of far leffe credit and importance. Nafica, befides the great Nobility of his Family, had bin long fince, in time of the Punick Warre, crowned with the title of The best man in Rome: when the Senate for very feare and superstiti-40 on, durst not have so pronounced him, had they not so thought him, as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man than the very best, should entertaine an old stone, which the Divell then taught them to call The Mother of the gods. But no prerogative of Birth, Vertue, or good Opinion, gave such advantage to the better man, as to make choice of his owne Province; or arrogate more unto himselfe, than his lot should affoord him. This unpartiall distribution of employments, helped well to maintaine peace and concord. P. Scipio therefore was appointed to make Warre against the Bojians; wherein he purchased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchased with harder service, requiring the more ability in matter of War. But M. Acilius went over into Greece, with ten thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, and fifteen 50 Elephants. Ptolomy King of Egypt, notwithstanding his late Alliance with King Antrochus; and Philip King of Macedon; had lately fent Embassadors to Rome, making

offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into £tolia, there to assist the Consul in this War. Ptolomie sent also gold and silver, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earnest. But he was too young; and dwelt too sarre off. So his mony was returned unto him with thankes; and his loving offer as lovingly resuled. Unto Philips Embassadors answer was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of Rome would thinke themselves beholding to him, for the assistance that thee should give to Acidius the Reference.

CHAP.5 \$.7.

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Consull. Masanissa likewise, and the Carthaginians, did strive, which of them should bee most forward in gratifying the Romans. Each of them promised a great quantity of graine; which they would send partly to Rome, partly to the Army in Greece. And herein Masanissa far out-went the poor City of Carthage; as also in that he offered to lend the Consul sive hundred Horse, and twenty Elephants. On the other side, the Carthaginians Consul sive hundred Horse, and twenty Elephants. On the other side, the Carthaginians undertook to set out a Fleet at their owne charges: and to bring in at one payment, all the undertook to set out a Fleet at their owne charges: and to bring in at one payment. Tribute-mony which was behind, and ought to be discharged by many yearly pensions. But the Romans did neither think it good, to let them arme a Fleet; nor would let them redeeme themselves out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corne, it was accepted to the them of the strip
ted, with condition, That they should be contented to receive the price of it. The hastie and ridiculous issue of this War, that began with such noyse and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great between the Roman and the Afiatique fouldier. Antiochus had gotten this Spring a few townes of Acarnania, after the same maner as he had prevailed in other parts of Greece; partly by faire words, and treason of the Rulers; partly by terror, that was like to prove their excuse, when they should againe for fake him. But King Philip and B abim having recovered many places; and the Roman Conful being arrived, against whom none made resistance; He was glad to withdraw himselfe. Aminander fled out of his Athamania : which the Macedonian tooke and enjoyed; as in recompence of his good service to the Romans. Philip the brother of Aminanders wife, was taken by the Confull, made a mocking-stock, and sent a- 20 way prisoner to Rome. The The Salians used much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yeelding to the King. All their cities, one after another, gaveup themselves: the Garrisons of Antiochus, compounding onely for their owne lives, and departing unarmed: yet fo, that a thousand of them stayed behind, and tooke pay of the Romans. This did wonderfully perplexe Antiochus; who having withdrawne himselfe to Chalcis, and hearing how things went, cried out upon his friends : and said, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deale of toyle during one halfe of a Winter, and spent the other halfe in such Nuptials, as were little to his honour : after which, in time of need, Hee found all the promises of the Actolians meerely verball: and himselse reduced into termes of great extremity. He therefore admired Hannibal 30 as a wise man, yea, a very Prophet, that had foreseene all this long before. Nevertheleffe, He fent word to the Actolians, that they should now make ready all their forces: as confidering their owne need to be no leffe than his. But the Aetolians had cause to think, that they themselves were shamefully disappointed by Antiochus, who having promised to doe great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of Asia, than so many as would fill up the same ten thousand which hee first brought over. Yet came there fome of them, though fewer than at any time before, which joined with him. Hereat the King was angry: and could get no better fatisfaction, than that Theas and his fellowes had done their best in vaine, to have made all the Nation take Armes. Since therefore neither his owne men came over to him out of Asia, nor his friends of 40 Greece would appeare in this time of danger : Hee seized upon the Streights of Thermopyla; as meaning to defend them against the Romans, untill more helpe should come. Of the Streights of Thermopyla, there hath beene spoken enough * before, upon many occasions : and then chiefly, when they were defended by Leonidas against the huge Armie of Xerxes. Wherefore it may easily beconceived, how the Romans, that landedabout Apollonia, and so came onwards into Thessaly, were unable to passe that Ledge of Mountaines, dividing the one halfe of Greece; unleffe they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference between Leonidas and Antiochus. The former of these, with an handfull of men, defended this passage two or three dayes together, against a World of men comming to invade the Country. The latter, having taken upon him to 50 doe great miracles, and effect what he lifted himfelfe in Greece : did commit himfelfe unto the fafety of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his owne Army. There whilest he lay, He sent earnest messengers one after another to the Actolisms, entreating them not to forlake him thus; but at least wife now to helpe, and keepe the toppes of the Mountaines, left the Romans, finding any by-path, should come downe upon him. By this importunity, he got of them two thousand, that undertook to make good the few passages: by which onely and not without extreme difficulty, it was possible for the Enemy to ascend. The Roman Consul inlike fort, prepared to force

the Streights: without flaying to expect King Philip: that was hindered by ficknesses from accompanying him. He had with him M. Porcius Cato, and L. Valerius Flaccus, that had both of them been Consuls. These he sent forth by night with two thousand mento try whether by any meanes they could get up to the Aetolians. He himselfe encouraged his Army: not onely by telling them with what base conditioned enemies they had to deale: but what rich kingdomes Antiochus held, that should bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battell. All that night Cate had a fore journey (for what happened unto L. Valerius it is uncertaine, fave onely that he failed in his intent) and so much the worse, for that he had no skilfull guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tyred, with climbing up steepie Rocks and crooked waies: He 10 commanded them to repose themselves; whilest Hee, being a very able man of body. tooke in hand the discovery, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himfelfe. After a great deale of trouble, He found at length a path: which he tooke tobe, as indeed it was, the best way leading unto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the fame path till toward break of day. It was a place not hanted, because in time of peace, there was a faire way through the Streights below, that required no fuch trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance of the Thermopyla been fo often the Seat of War, as might cause any travellers to search out the passages of those desolate Mountaines. Wherefore the way that Cato followed, though it were the best: yet did it lead him to a bogge at the end, which would fuffer him to passe no further. So he staid there untill day-light: by which hee discovered both the Campe of the Greekes underneath him; and some of the Aetolians very neare unto him, that were keeping watch. He therefore fent forth a lufty Crue of his men, whom he thought fitteft for that fervice; and willed them by any meanes to get him some prisoners. This was effected and he thereby understood that these Aetolians were no more than fixe hundred; as also that King Aritiochus lay beneath in the Valley. So he presently set upon the detolians, overthrew them flew a great part of them, and chased the rest, that by slying to their Campe, guided him unto it. The fight was already begun betweene the Armies below: and the Romans, that had eafily repelled the Kings men, and driven them into their Campe, found 30 it in a manner a desperate piece of worke to assault the Campe it selfe, which occupied the whole breadth of the Streights; was notably fortified; and not only defended by Antiochus his long Pikes, which were best at that kind of service; but by Archers and Slingers, that were placed over them on the Hill-fide, and powdred down a flowre of weapons on their heads. But Gato his approach determined the matter. It was thought at first that the Actolians had beene comming to helpe the Kings men: but when the Roman armes and enfignes were discovered, such was the terrour, that none made offer of refi-Rance; but all of them for fook the Camp, and fled. The flaughter was not great: for that the badnesse of the way did hinder the Roman Army from making pursuit. Yet this daies loffe drave Antiochus out of Greece, who directly fied to Chales; and from thence with to the first opportunity, got him back into Asia.

All the Cities that had imbraced the friendship of Antiochus, prepared forthwith to entertaine the Romans, and increat for pardon: fetting open their gates; and prefenting themselves unto the Consul, in manner of suppliants. Briefely, in few dayes all was recovered that Antiochus had gained : the Aetolians onely flanding out, because they knew not what elfe to doe. Neither did the Conful give them any respite. At his returne from Chalcis, he met with King Philip, that having recovered health, came to joyne with him against Antiochus: over whom fince the victory was already gotten. He did gratulate unto the Romans their good fuccesse; and offered to take part with them in the Actolians Warre. So it was agreed, That the Conful should befrege Heracles; and Philip Lamia; to at the same time. Each of them plied his worke hard; especially Philip, who faine would have taken Lamia before the Conful should come to help him. But it could not be. For his Macedonians that used to worke by Myne, were overmuch hindered by the stony ground. Yet was Lamia even ready to be taken when the Conful, having won Heraclea, came thither; and told Philip, that the Ipoile of these towns was a reward unto those than had fought at Thermopyla. Herewith Philip must be contented; and therefore went his way queetly. But Aciltus that could fo ill endure to fee Philip in likelihood of thriving by

the Romans victory, got not Lamia himselfe: untill such time as another Consulwas rea-

dy to cafe him of his charge.

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CHAP. 5. S. 7.

Polyb.13.

The losse of Heraclea did so affright the Actolians, that they thought no way safer than to desire peace. Yet had they sent unto King Antiochus presently after his flight: intreating him not to forfake them utterly, but either to returne with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into Greece; or if any thing with-held him from comming in perfon at least wife to helpe them with money and other aide. They prayed him to confider, that this did not onely concerne him in honour; but appertained unto his owne fafety: fince it would be much to his hurt, if the Aetolians being wholly subdued, the Romans, without any enemies at their backes, might fet upon him in Afia. He confidered well of this, and found their words true. Therefore He delivered unto Nicander, one of their Embassadors, a summe of money, that might serve to defray the charges of the Warre: promising that ere long he would fend them strong aide, both by Land and Sea. Those another of their Embassadors, Hee retained with him: who willingly stayed. that he might urge the King to make his word good. But when Heracles was taken from them; then did the Aetolians lay afide all hope of amending their fortune by the helpe of Antiochus; and made suit unto the Consul to obtaine peace, upon any reasonable Condition. The Confull would fearce vouchfafe to give them audience, but faid, He had other businesse in hand; onely he granted them tenne dayes of Truce, and sent L. Valerins Flaccus with them to Hypata; willing them to make him acquainted with as much as they would have delivered unto himselfe. At their comming to Hypata; they began. as men favouring their owne cause, to alledge how well they had deserved of the Romans. Whereto Flacess would not hearken. He told them plainely, That the memory of fuch good Offices past, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to doe so even betimes, than to stay till they were reduced into termes of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselves unto the faith of the Romans; and to that effect fent Embaffadors to the Conful. This phrase of committing unto the faith; fignified, in their use of it, little else than the acknowledgement of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the Romans used those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as * yeelding to discretion. Wherefore when the Conful heard them speake in this manner: Hee asked them whether their meaning were a- 30 greeable to their words. They answered that it was: and shewed him the decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpose. Then faid he, I command you first of all. That none of you prefume to goe into Asia, upon any businesse private or publike: then, That ve deliver up unto me Dicarchus the Aetolian, Menestratus the Epirot, Aminander the Athamanian, and fuch of his Countrimen as have followed him in revolting from us. Whilest he was yet speaking: Phameas the Embassador interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the custome of the Greekes, who had yeelded themselves unto his faith; not unto flavery. What? (faid the Conful) Doe ye stand to plead Custome with mee, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chaine. With that, chaines were brought; and an iron collar by his appointment fitted unto every one of their necks. This did so af- 40 fright them, that they stood dumbe and knew not what to say. But Valerius and some others entreated the Conful, not to deale thus hardly with them, fince they came as Embaffadors; though fince, their Condition was altered. Phameas also spake for himselfe: and said, That neither He, nor yet the Appeleti or ordinary Councell of the Nation, were able to fulfill these injunctions; without approbation of the generall Assembly. For which cause hee entreated yet further ten dayes respite; and had granted unto him Truce for fo long.

This surcesance of Warre, during ten, and other ten daies together, began presently after the taking of Heraclea; when Philip had beene commanded away from Lamia, that else he might have wonne. Now because of the indignity herein offered unto that King, and to the end that he might not returne home with his Army, like one that could not bee trusted in employment: especially the Romans being like hereafter to have further need of him in the continuance of this Warre: He was desired to set upon the Athamas, and some other petty Nations their borderers, whilest the Consul was busie with the Aetolians; taking for his reward, all that he could get. And hee got in that space all Athamania, Perrhabia, Aperantia, and Dolopia. For the Aetolians, hearing what had befallen their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill provided for Warre, yet they could not endure to heare more talke of Peace. And it happened,

that Nicander about the same time was come back from Antiochu, with mony & hopefull promifes: the Romans abiding still about Heraclea; & Philip having lately rifen from before Lamia, yet not being far gone thence. His money Nicander conveighed into Lamia, by very unufuall dexteritie. But he himfelfe being to paffe further to the Affembly of the Etolians, there to make report of his Embassage; was very much perplexed about this his journey, which lay between the Roman and Macedonian Campes. Yet he made the adventure: and keeping as farre as he could from the Roman fide, fell upon a Station of Macedonians; by whom he was taken, and led unto their King. He expected no good; but either to be delivered unto the Romans, or used ill enough by Philip. But it 16 feemes, that the King had not hitherto concocted well the indignitie, of his being fent away from Lamia. For he commanded his fervants to entreat Nicander friendly : and he himselfe being then at supper, did visit him as soone as he rose up: giving him to understand, That the Atolians did now reape the fruits of their own madnesse; for a fruits as they could never hold themselves contented, but would needs be calling strangers into Greece. They had pleafed themselves well, in their acquaintance first with the Romans. and then with King Antiochia; but himself, being their neighbour, they could never well endure. It was now therefore, he faid, high time for them to have regard unto his friendthip, whereof hitherto they had never made any triall: for furely their good affection. one unto the other, would be much more availeable unto each of them, than their mu-20 tuall catching of advantages; whereby they had wrought them felves much displeasure. Thus much the King willed Nicander to fignific unto his Countrimen; and privately to hold in minde the courtefie which he then did him, in fending him fafe home. So giving him a Convoy to guard him to Hypata, he lovingly dismissed him. For this benefit, Nicander was alwaies after dutifully affected to the crown of Macedon: fo as in the war of Perfess he made himselfe suspected unto the Romans, and therefore was had away to

Rome, where he ended his life. When the Conful understood, that the Lulians refused to make their submission, in fuch wife as he required it: he forthwith meant to profecute the warre against them. without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at Nau-30 pastus: whither he therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durst. The flege of Naupattus was of greater length, than the Romans had preconceived it: for it was a ftrong City, and well manned. But Action ftood upon point of honour, wherein he thought that he should have beene a loser, by rising from before it without Victory. So he staid there welneere all the following time of his Consulship; whilest the Macedonianking and the Acheans made farre better use of the Roman Victory. Philip, as is said before, being allowed to take in fuch places as had revolted unto Antiochu, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the strong Citie of Demetrias; and with an hastic course of Victory, fubdued the Athamanians and others. The Achaans called to account the Elaans and Messemans: which had long beene addicted to the Atolian side; and followed it in 40 taking part with Antiochus. The Eleans gave good words; whereby they faved themfelves from trouble awhile. The Meffenians being more frout, before they were invaded, had none other helpe when the Achaan Prator wasted their Countrey, than to offer themselves unto the Romans. Titus was then at Corinth: to whom they sent word, That at his Commandement their gates should be opened; but that unto the Acheans it was not their meaning to yeeld. A message from Titus to the Achean Prætor, did suffice to call home the Armie, and finish the Warre: as also the peremptorie Command of the fame Titus, caused the Messenians to annexe themselves unto the Achaans, and become part of their Common-weale. Such was now the Majestie of a Roman Embassadour. Tiand did favour the Acheans; yet could not like it wel, that either they or any other should 50 take too much upon them. He thought it enough, that they had their libertie, and were strong enough to defend it against any of their neighbours. That they should make themfelves great Lords, and able to dispute with the Romans upon even terms; it was no part of his defire. They had lately bought the Ile of Zacynthus; which had once bin Philips, and was afterward given by him to Aminander, who fent a Governor thither. But when Aminander in this present warre, was driven out of his own Kingdome by Philip; then did the Governour of Zacynthus offer to fell the Iland to the Acheans; whom he found ready Chapinen. Tim liked not of this: but plainly told them, That the Romans would be their owne Carvers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to CHAP.5. \$.7.

their Enemies; as a reward of the victorie which they had obtained. It was bootleffe to dispute. Whereforethe Achains referred themselves unto his discretion. So he told them, that their Commonwealth was like a Tortoise, whereof Peloponnessu was the shel: and that, holding themselves within that compasse, they were out of danger; but if they would needs be looking abroad, they should lie open to blowes, which might greatly hurt them. Having settled things thus in Peloponnesus, he went over to Naupastus: where Glabrio the Confull had laine two moneths, that might have beene farre better fpent. There, whether out of compassion which he had upon the Aciolians, or out of diflike of King Philips thriving fo fast: he perswaded the Conful to grant unto the besieged, and to the whole Nation, to long truce, that they might fend Embaffadors to Rome; 10 and submitting themselves, crave pardon of the Senate. Most like it is, that Naupastus was in great danger: else would not the Aerolians have made such earnest fuit as they did unto Tim, for procuring of this favour . But if Glabrio had bin fure to carry it in any short space it may well be thought he would not have gone away without it; fince the winning of that Town, wherein was then the whole floure of the Nation, would have made the promifed submiffion much more humble and fincere. When they came unto Rome, no entreaty could helpe them to better Conditions, than one of these two; That either they should wholly submit themselves to the good pleasure of the Senate, Or else pay athoufandtalents, and make neither peace nor war with any, further than as the Romans should give approbation. They had not fo much mony neither could they well hope to be gently 20 dealt withall, if they should give themselves away anto discretion; which what it signified, they now understood. Wherefore they defired to have it fet down, in what points, & how far forth they should yeeld unto the good pleasure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certain answer: so that they were dismissed as enemies, after long and vain artendance.

Whilest the Aetolians were pursuing their hopes of peace, the Conful had little to do in Greece, and therefore took upon him gravely to fet things in order among the tractable Achains. He would have had them to reftore the banished Laced emonians home into their Countrie; and to take the Eleans into the fellowship of their Commonwealth. This the Arbams liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the Romans should be med- 20 dling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the restitution of the banished Lucedamontant: intending to make it an Act of their own meete grace. As for the Eleans, they were loth to be beholding to the Romans, and thereby to disparage the Acheans: into whose Corporation they were delirous to be admitted, and faw that they should have

their defire, without fuch compulfive mediation.

The Roman Admirall C. Livim, much about the same time, fought a battell at Sea with Polyxemdin, Admirall to the King Annochus. King Eumenes brought help to the Romans though it was not great: and five and twenty faile of Rhodians came after the barrell, when they were following the Chafe. The Kings Fleet was the better of faile; but that of the Romans the better manned. Wherefore Polyxenidas being vanquished in 40

fight, was yet out of danger; as foon as he betook himselfe to a speedy retrait.

And fuch end had the first yeers war between King Antiochus and the Romans. After this, as many of the Greeks as had followed the vain hopes of the Aetolians, were glad to excuse themselves by seare; thinking themselves happy when by Embassadors they had obtained pardon. On the contrarie fide, Philip of Macedon, Arch-enemy of late unto the Romans, did now fend to granulate this their victorie: and, in recompence of his good affection, had restored unto him Demerities his younger son; whom some sew yeeres they had kept as an hoftage. Also King Prolomie of Egypt, gratulating the Roman Victory, sent word how greatly all Afra and Spra were thereby terrefied. In which regard he defired the Senare nor to forellow time; but to fend an Armie, as foon as might be, into Afa: 50 promifing that his affiltance, wherein foever it pleafed them to use it, thould not be wanting. This Protomie was the fonne-in-law of king Antioobia: but he was the friend of fortime. He understood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the contention, that the Romans were like to have the upper hand. The fame did Antiothm now begin to Tufpect, who had thought hamfelfe a white as fafear Ephelia, as if he had bin in another world: but was told by Hannibal, That it was not fo far out of Greece into Afia, as our of Tralyinto Greece; and that there was no doubt but the Romans would from be there, and make him trie the chance of a battell for his kingdome. 6.VIII.

&. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, having with him Publius the African his elder brother, for his Lieutenant, is Sent into Greece. He grams long Truce to the Atolians, that so he might at leisure passe into Asia. Much troublesome businesse by Sea, and drivers fights. An invasion upon Eumenes his Kingdome; with the fiege of Pergamsu, rayfed by an handfull of the Achaans. L. Scipio the Conful comes into Afia: where Antiochus most earnestly desireth peace, and is denied it. The battell of Magnesia: wherein Antiochus being vanquished, yeeldeth to the Romans good pleasure. The conditions of the peace. In what fort the Romans used their vi-Horie L. Cornelius Scipio, after a most sumptuous triumph over Antiochus, is surnamed The Afracique as his brother was stiled The African.

ucim Cornelius Scipio, the brother of P. Scipio the African, was chosen Conful at Rome with C. Laline. Laline was very gracious in the Senate: and therefore being defirous (as generally all Confuls were) of the more honourable employment of fered to referre to the arbitrement of the Senate, if L. Cornelin would be so pleased, the disposition of their Provinces, without putting it to the hazzard of a Lottery. Lucius having talked with his brother Publius, approved well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time bin put unto the Fathers: who therefore were the more defirous to make an unblameable Decree. But the matter being otherwise somewhat indifferent, P. Scipio the African said openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the war against Aniochm, He himselfe would follow his brother in that war, as his Lievtenant. These words were heard with such approbation, that the controversie was forthwith at an end. For if Antiochus relied upon Hannibal, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great Captain, what better mancould they oppose, than Scipio that had bin victorious against that same Great Worthy: But indeed a worser man might have served well enough the turn. For Hannibel had no absolute Command, nor scarce any trust of great importance: excepting now and then in consultation: where his wisedome was 30 much approved, but his liberty and high fpirit as much difliked. It is worthy of remembrance, as a figne of the freedome that he used in his censures, even whilest he lived in such a Court. Aniochus mustered his Armie in presence of this famous Captain: thinking, as may feem to have made him wish, that he had bin served by such brave men in Italy. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horses, and Elephants, with such costly furniture of gold, filver, and purple, as glittered with a terrible bravery on a Sun-shine day. Whereupon the King, well pleasing himselfe with that goodly spectacle, asked Hannibal what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the Romans . Enough (faid Hannibal) were the Romans the most covetous men in all the world : meaning, that all his cost upon the backs of cowardly Afiatiques, was no better than a fpoyle to animate good Souldiers. How little this answer pleased the king, it is easie to ghesse. The little use that he made of this Carthaginian, testifies that his dislike of the man, caused him to lose the use of his service, when he stood in greatest necessity thereof.

The Scipio's made all haste away from Rome as soon as they could. They carried with them, besides other Souldiers newly prest to the war, about five thousand Voluntaries, that had served under P. Africanus. There was also a Fleet of thirty Quinquereme Gallies, and twenty Triremes newly built appointed unto L. & milius Regillus, that was chofen Admirall the fame yeere for that voyage. At their comming into Greece, they found the old Conful Glabrio belieging Amphylla a City of the Leolians. The Aerolians after that they were denied peace, had expected him once againe at Naupastu. Wherefore to they not onely fortified that Towne, but kept all the paffages thereto leading; which heedlefly, as in a time of confusion, they had left unregarded the last yeere. Glabrio knowing this, deceived their expectation, and fell upon Lamia: which being not long fince much weakened by Philip, and now by him attempted on the fudden; was carried at the second assault. Thence went he to Amphyssa: which he had almost gotten, when L. Scipio, his successor, came with thirteene thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, and tooke charge of the Armie. The Towne of Amphy fa was presently for saken by the Inhabitants: but they had a Caftle, or higher Town, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The Athenian Embassadors had dealt with P. Scipio, in behalfe of the Aero-

lians :

lians: entreating him to stand their friend, and helpe them in obtaining some tolerable Condition of peace. He gave them gentle words, and willed them to perswade the £tolians, that they should faithfully and with true meaning defire it. This was gladly taken. But many messages passing to and fro: though Publius continued to put them in good hope; yet the Confull made still the same answer, with which they had bin chased from Rome. The Conclusion was, That they should sue for a longer time of respite from war: whereby at more leisure they might attend some better disposition of the Senates or any helpfull commoditie which time should affoord. So they obtained halfe a yeeres truce: after which, the winter was like to affoord them another half yeers leifure of breathing. Hereof were they not more glad, than was P. Scipio: who thought all time loft, 10 which with-held the War from passing over into Asia.

The businesse of Aetolia being thus laide aside, and the old Confull Glabrio sent home into Italy, the Scipio's marched into Thessaly; intending thence to take their way by Land, through Macedon and Thrace unto the Hellespom . Yet they considered, That hereby they must commit themselves unto the loyaltie of King Philip: who might either do them some mischiese by the way, if he were disposed to watch a notable advantage : or at the least, would he be unfaithfull; though he were not so couragious, yet might he take fuch order with the Thracians, that even for want of victuals, if by no greater inconvenience, they should be disgracefully forced to returne. He had promised them the utmost of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant fincerely, they thought to make fometriall, by caufing a Gentlemanto ride Post unto him, and observe his doings as he should take him on the sudden. The King was merry at a feast, and drinking, when the Messenger came: whom he lovingly bade welcome; and shewed him the next day, not only what provision of victuals he had made for the Army, but how he had made bridges over the rivers, and mended the bad wayes by which they were to passe. With these good newes Gracches returned backe in haste unto the Scipio's: who entring into Macedon, found all things in a readinesse, that might helpe to advance their journy. The King entertained them royally, and brought them on their way, even to the Hellespont ? where they stayed a good while untill their Navie was in readinesse to transport them in-

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this yeere; though, for the most part, little of importance. Polyxenidas, the Admirall of Antiochus, was a banished Rhodian: trueto the King; and defirous of revenge upon his Country-men, that had expelled him. He, hearing that the Rhodian Fleet was at Samos, the Romans and Eumenes having not as yet put to Sea, thought to doe somewhat upon those that were so early in their diligence, before their fellowes should arrive to helpethem. Yet went he crastily to worke, and sent word, as in great secrecie, to the Rhodian Admirall, That if the sentence of his banishment might be repealed, He would, in requirall thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many passages to and fro, this was believed: and the Rhodian Admirall grew so careleffe, expecting still when he should receive a watch-word from Polyxenidas, that 40 he himselse was taken by Polyxenidas in his owne Haven. The Kings Fleet setting forth from Ephesus by night; and, for feare of being discovered, resting one day in harbour by the way, came the fecond night to Samos: where, by morning, it was ready to enter the Haven. Paulistrains the Rhodian Admirall seeing this, thought it his best way of refistance, to bestow his men on the two head-lands or points of the Haven; so to guard the mouth of it: for that he saw no likelihood of defending himselfe by Sea. But Poixenidas had already landed some Companies in another part of the Iland: which falling upon the backe of Paulistrain, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboord. This could not be without great confusion: so as the enemies tooke him out of all order, and funke or boorded all his Navie, five excepted, that by a fudden de- 50 vice made shift to escape. Each of them hung out a burning Crescent upon two poles, at the Beake-head; and then rowed forwards directly upon the Enemie: who having not bethought himselse what shift to make against such unexpected danger of firing, was content to give way unto these desperate Gallies; for feare lest they should burn, together with themselves, a part of the Kings Fleet.

Not long after this, the Romans had some losse by tempest: whereof Polyxenidas could not take such advantage as he had hoped; because, putting to Sea for that purpose, hee was driven backe againe by the like foule weather. But the Rhodians, to shew that they were not discouraged, set forth twenty other Gallies: the Romans also with King Eumenes, repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great bravery, presented battell to Polywenidas before the Haven of Ephesia. When he durst not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as either they were entreated by the Rhodians, or perswaded by some appearing hopes of doing good. Yet persormed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by stormes at Sea; and another while by strong resistance made against them at Land.

Eumenes with his Flect was compelled to for fake them; and returne home to the defence of his owne Kingdome. For Antiochus wasted all the grounds about Elegand Per-10 gamus: and leaving his fonne Seleucus to befiege the royall City of Pergamus: did yvith thereft of his Army spoyle the vyhole Countrey thereabout. Attalus, the brother of king Eumenes, was then in Pergamus; having with him no better men to defend the City. than yvere they that lay against it. Wherefore he had reason to stand in feare; being too much inferior in number. There came to his aid a thousand Foot, and an hundred Horse of the Achaens: old fouldiers all, and trained up under Philopamen, vvhofe Scholler, in the art of war, Diophanes their Commander vvas. This Diophanes, beholding from the wals of Pergamus, which was an high Town, the demeanour of the enemy; began to disdain that fuch men as they should hold them besieged. For seleucus his army which was encamped at the hill-foot, seeing that none durst fally forth upon them, grew so carelesse: as otherwife than by fpoyling all behind their backes, they feemed to forget that they were in an enemies country. Diophanes therfore spake with Attalus: and told him that he yould go forth to visit them. Aualus had no liking to this adventure; for he said, that the march was nothing equal. But the Achaan would needs have his will and iffung forth, encamped not far from the enemy. They of Pergamus thought him little better than mad. As for the befiegers, they wondred at first what his meaning was: but when they saw that he held himfelf quiet, they made a jeft of his boldnesse; & laughed to see with what an handful of men he looked fo froutly. So they returned unto their former negligence & diforders. Which Diophanes perceiving. He commanded all his mento follow him, even as fast as they well might: &he himself, with the hundred horse, brake out on the sudden upon the station that was next at hand. Very few of the enemies had their Horses ready sadled, but more few. or none had the hearts to make refistance: so as he drave them all out of their Camp; and chased them as farre as he might safely adventure, with great slaughter of them, and no losse of his owne. Hereat all the Citizens of Pergamus (vvho had covered the walls of the Towne, men and women, to behold this spectacle) vvere very joyfull; and highly magnified the vertue of these Acheans. Yet would they not therefore iffue forth of their gates, to helpe the Achaans in doing what remained to be done. The next day Seleneus encamped halfe a mile further from the Towne, than he had done before: and against him event forth Diophanes the second time; who quietly rested a while in his old Station. When they had stayed many houres, looking vvho should begin: Seleucus, infaire order as he came, withdrew himselfe toward his lodging that was further off Diophanes moved not whilest the Enemie was in fight: but as soone as the ground between them hindred the prospect, hee followed them in all haste, and soone overtaking them with his Horse, charged them in Rere; so as hee brake them, and with all his forces pursued them at the heeles, to their very Trenches. This boldnesse of the Achaens, and the baseneffe of his own men, caused Seleucon to quit the siege, little to his honour. Such being the qualitie of these Asiatiques, Philopæmen had cause to tell the Romans, That he envied their victory. For when Antiochus lay feafting at Chalcis after his marriage, and his fouldiers betook themselves to Riot, as it had bin in a time of great security: a good man of war might havecut all their throats, even as they were tipling in their victualling houses; which Philopamen faid that he would have done, had he bin Generall of the Achains, and not, as he then was, a private man.

Antiochus was full of businesse: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deale of travell, brought almost nothing to passe. He had beene at Pergamus: into which Eumenes, leaving the Romans, did put himselfe with a few of his Horse and light armature. Before Pergamu he left his fon, as before hath beene shewed, and went to Elea: whither he heard that Amylius the Roman Admirall was come to bring succor to Eumenes. There he made an Overture of peace: about which to confult, Eumenes was sent for by Emilia, and came from Pergamus. But when it was considered, that no conclusion could be made without the Consul: this Treatie brake off. Then followed CHAP. 5. 5.8.

the overthrow newly mentioned; which caused Selenem to give over the siege of Pergamu. Afterwards, foure or five Townes of scarce any worth or note were taken by the King: and the Syrian Fleet, being of feven and thirty Saile, was beaten by the Rhodian which was of like number. But of this victorie the Rhodians had no great cause to rejoyce: for that Hannibalthe Caribaginian, who, together with Apollonius a Courtier of Antiochen, was Admirall of the Syrians, did them in a manner as great hurr as they could doe to Apollonius; and having the victory taken out of his hands by Apollonius his flight. vet made such a retrait, that the Rhodians durst not faire adventure upon him. Now of these Actions which were but as Prefaces unto the warre, the last and greatest was a vi-Clory of the Romans by Sea, against Polyxenidas the Kings Admirall. The battell was fought by Myonnesus a Promontorie in Asia: where Polyxenidas had with him fourescore and nine Gallies; and five of them greater than any of the Romans. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of those brags, wherewith Antiothen vaunted the last yeere, That his Armada should cover all the shores of Greece. The Romans had eight and fiftie Gallies; the Rhodeans two and twenty: the Roman being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned the Rhodian more light-timbred and thin planckt, having all advantage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to helpe themselves by the same device, with which five of their Gallies had lately escaped from Samos. For with fire in their prowes they ran upon the enemy : who declining them for feare, laid open his fide: and was thereby in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Navie hoysted saile: and, having a faire wind, bore away toward Ephelin as falt as they could . Yet forty of their Galllies they left behind them: whereof thirteen were taken, all the rest burnt or sunke. The Romans and their fellowes lost only two or three ships: but got hereby the absolute Masterie of the

The report of this missadventure, may seeme to have taken from Anisochus all use of reason. For as if no hope had bin remaining to detend those places that he held in Europe, he presently with drew his Garrisons from Lysimachia: which might easily have beene kept, even till the end of Winter following, and have reduced the besiegers (if the siege had been continued obstinately) unto termes of great extremity. He also gave over the 30 siege of Colophon: and laying aside all thought save onely of defence, drew together all his Armie; and sent for helpe to his Father-in-law, King Ariarashes the Cappado-

Thus the Roman Confull, without impediment, not onely came to the Hellespont, but had yeelded unto him all places there, belonging to Antiochus on Europe side. The Fleet was then also in a readinesse to transport him over into Asia: where Eumenes had taken finch care before, that he landed quietly at his owne good eafe; even as if the Countrie had been his already. The first newes that he heard of the Enemie, was by an Embalfadour that came to fue for peace. This Embaffador declared in his Masters name, That the same things which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the Romans hereto-40 fore, did now perswade him, that he should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputations heretofore, Smyrna, Lampsacu, and Lysimachia, had beene the places about which they varied. Sceing therefore the King had now already given over Lysimachia, and was further purposed, not to strive with the Romans about Lampsacus and Smyrna: what reason was there, why they should need to trouble him with warre? If it was their defire, that any other Townes upon the Cost of Afia, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, flould be also set at libertic, or otherwise delivered into their hands: the King would not refuse to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take fome part of Afia: To as the bounds, dividing them from the King, might not be uncertaine, and it should be quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough, the 50 King would likewife beare halfethe charges, whereat they had been in this Warre. So praying the Romans to hold themselves contented with these good offers, and not to be too infolent upon confidence of their fortune, he expected their answer. These offers which to the Embaffador feemed fo great, were judged by the Romans to be very little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King should be are all the charges of the warre, fince it began through his owne fault: and that He should not onely depart out of those few Townes, which he held in Folis and Ionia, but quite out of Afiathe leffe, and keep himselfe on the other side of Mount Taurus. When the Embassadour therefore saw,

that no better bargaine could be made, He dealt with P. Scipio in private and to him he promifed a great quantitie of gold, together with the free reftitution of his fonne; who (it is uncertaine by what mifchance) was taken prifoner, and most honourably entertained by the King. Scipio would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor otherwise to the reftitution of his fonne, than upon Condition, That it might be with making such amends for the benefit, as became a private man. As for the publique businesse: He onely said thus much, That since Amiochus had already sorsaken Lysimachus, and suffered the warre to take hold on his owne Kingdome; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yeeld to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, said he, tell your to King in my name, that I would advise him to resuse no Condition whereby he may

The King was not any whit moved with this advice. For feeing that the Conful demanded of him no lesse, than if he had beene already subdued: little reason there was that he should feare to come to battaile; wherein he could lose, as he thought, no more. than by feeking to avoid it he must give away. He had with him threescore and tenne thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse's besides two and fifty Indian Elephants, and many Chariots armed with hookes or fythes, according to the manner of the Easterne Countries. Yet was he nothing pleased to heare that the Confull drew neere him apace. as one hastning to fight. But how soever he was affected; He made so little shew of search 20 that hearing P. Scipio to lie ficke at Elaa, He fent thither unto him his fon without ranfome: as one both defirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his fickneffe, and withall not defirous to retaine the young Gentleman for a pledge of his owne fafetie. Thus ought his bountie to be conftant. Otherwife it might be suspected, That herein hee dealt craftily. For fince he could have none other ransome of Scapio, than such as an honourable man, that had no great flore of wealth, might pay better it was to doe fuch a courtefie before the battell, as would afterwards have been elittle worth; than to flay untill the Romans, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. P. Scipio was greatly comforted with the recoverie of his fonne: fo as the joy thereof was thought to have beene much availeable unto his health. In recompense of the Kings humanitie, Hee 30 faid onely thus much unto those that brought him this acceptable Present, I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by advising him not to fight untill he Shall beare that I am in the Campe. What he meant by this, it is hard to conjecture. Antiochus resolved to follow his counsaile: and therefore withdrew himselfe from about Thyatira, beyond the River of Phrygius or Hyllus, unto Magnefia by Sipylus: where encamping. He fortified himselfe as strongly as he could. Thither followed him L. Scipio the Conful, and fate downe within foure miles of him. About a thousand of the Kings Horse, most of them Gallo-Greeks, came to bid the Romans welcome of whom at first they slew some; and were anon, with some losse, driven backe over the River. Two daies were quietly from , whileft neither the King nor the Romans would passe the water. The third day the Romans made the adventure: wherein they found no disturbance; nor were at all opposed, untill they came within two miles and a halfe of Antiochus his Campe. There as they were taking up their lodging, they were charged by three thousand Horse and Foote: whom the ordinary Corps de garde repelled. Foure dayes together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and fet them in order before the Trenches, without advancing any further. The fift day the Romans came halfe way forward, and prefented battaile; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Confull tooke advice what was to be done. For either they must fight upon what soever disadvantage, or else resolve to abide by it all Winter, farre from any Countrey of their friends, and therefore subject unto many difficulties : unlesse they 50 would staine their honour by returning farre backe, to winter in a more convenient place; and so defer the warre untill the next Spring. The Roman Souldier was throughly perswaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the Generall Crie, That this great Army should be assailed, even in the Campe where it lay: as if rather there were fo many beafts to be flaughtered, than men to bee fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discovering the fortifications of Antiochus, and the safest way to set upon him. All this while P. Scipze came nor. Wherefore the King, being loth to dishearten his men, by seeming to stand in feare of the Enemie, resolved to put the matter to triall. So when the Romans tooke the field againe, and ordered their Battells: SIIII

CHAP. 5. 8.8.

Hee also did the like; and advanced so farre, that they might understand his meaning to fight.

The Roman Army confisted of foure Legions, two Roman and two Latine: in each of which were five thousand and foure hundred men. The Latines, as usually, were in the points: the Romans, in the meane battell. All of them, according to their wonted forme. were divided into Maniples. The Hastari had the leading: after them follow the Principes, at fuch distance as was usuall; and last of all, the Triarii. Now beside these, there were about three thousand Auxiliaries; partly Achaans, and partly such as belonged to Eumenes: which were placed in an equal Front beyond the Latines in the right wing. Urmost of all (save some five hundred Creisans, and of the Trallians) were almost three thousand Horse: of which, Eumenes had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being Roman. The left wing was fenced by the banke of the River: yet foure Troups of Horse were placed there, though such helpe seemed in a manner needlesse. Two thousand Voluntaries, Macedonians and Thracians, were left to guard the Campe. The Conful had with him fixteene African Elephants, which he bestowed in his Rere: forasmuch as had they come to fight with those of Antiochus, they onely would have served to discourage his men; as being fure to bee beaten: the Indian being farre the greater. and more courageous beaftes: whereof Antiochus had likewise much advantage in number.

The Kings Army being compounded of many Nations, diverfly appointed, and not 20 all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the severall kindes, in fuch wife as each might be of most use. The maine strength of his Foot consisted in fixteene thousand, armed all Macedonian-like, and called Phalangiers. These he placed in the middest, and divided into tenne Bartalions: every one having two and thirty in File. and fifty in Front. Betweene every Battalion were two Elephants, goodly beaftes. and fuch as being adorned with Frontals, high Crests, Towers on their backes, and befides him that governed the Elephant, foure men in every Tower, made a gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these were fifteene hundred Horse of the Gallo-Greeks: then, three thousand Barbd Horse : and a Regiment of almost a thousand horse, called the Agema, that were all Medians, the choice of the Countrie, and accompanied by some others. All which Troups of Horse, divided in their severall kindes, doe seeme to have followed one another in depth, rather than to have bin stretched our in Front. Adjovning unto these, were fixeteene Elephants together in one flocke. A little further to the right hand, was the Kings owne Regiment; called the Argyraspides, or Silversbields, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like fo valiant as those of the same name, that had served under Great Alexander: then, twelve hundred Archers on horsebacke, three thousand light-armed Foot, two thousand and five hundred Archers of Mysia; with foure thousand Slingers and Archers of the Cirtaans, and Elymeans. On the left hand of the Phalangiers, were placed the like numbers of Gallo-Greeks, and Barbd Horse: as also two thousand horse that were sent from Ariarathes, with two thousand and seven hundred of divers Nations; and a Regiment of a thousand Horsemore lightly armed, that were called The Kings Troup, being Syrians, Phrygians. and Lydians. In front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with hooks or sythes, and the Dromedaries, whereon fate Arabians with long Rapiers, that would ferve to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rable of many Nations , Carians , Cicilians , Pamphylians , Pifidians , Cyrtaans , Elymaans , and many others, having also with them fixteen Elephants. Antiachus him selse commanded in the right wing: Seleucus in the left: and three of his principall Captains commanded over the Phalangiers.

The first on-set was given by the Dromedaries, and armed Chariots: of which the 50 one, being like to terrefiethe Horse; the other, to breake the Squadrons of the Foot; Eumenes with a sew light-armed Cretians, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatned by them both. For with shortings, and noises, and some wounds, they were driven out of the field, and running backe upon their owne men, did the same harme which they had intented to the Enemies. Wherefore the Roman Horse following this advantage, charged upon the left wing: whereas they found no resistance; some being out of order; others, being without courage. It is shameful to rehearle, and so strange, that it may hardly seeme credible; that the Phalangiers,

with such varietie of Auxiliaries, made little or no resistance; but all of them fled, in a manner, as soone as they were charged. Onely the King, Antiochus himselse; being in the left wing of his owne battaile: and seeing the Latines, that stood opposite unto him; weakly slanked with Horse: gave upon them courageously, and forced them to retire. But M. Amilius, that had the Guard of the Roman Campe, issued forth with all his power to helpe his fellowes: and, what by persuasion, what by threats, made them renew the sight. Succour also came from the right wing, where the Romans were already victorious: whereof when Antiochus discovered the approach; He not onely turned his Horse about, but ranne away upon the spur without surther tarriance. The Campe was to desended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. Antiochus is said to have lost in this battaile sifty thousand Foot, and source thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the Romans, there were not slaine above three hundred Foot, and source and twenty Horse: of Eumenes his followers sive and twenty.

Antiochus fled to Sardes, and from thence to Anamea, the fame night; hearing that Seleucus was gone thicher before. He left the custody of Sardes, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithfull. But the Townef-men and Souldiers were fo diffnaved with the greatnesse of the Overthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Townes in those parts, without expecting summons, yeelded up themselves by Embas-20 fadours: whom they fent to the Romans, whileft they were on the way. Neither were many dayes spent, ere Antiochus his Embassadour was in the Campe : having none other errand, than to know what it would please the Romans to impose upon the King his Master. P. Scipzo was now come to his brother, who obtained leave to make the answer, because it should bee gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, that he should quite abandon his Dominions on this side Taurus. For their charges in that Warre, they required fifteene thousand Talents: five hundred in hand; two thousand and five hundred, when the Senate and People of Rome should have confirmed the peace; and the other twelve thousand, in twelve yeeres next ensuing, by even portions. Likewise they demanded foure hundred Talents for Eumenes; and some 30 store of Corne, that was due to him upon a reckoning. Now besides twenty hostages which they required, very earnest they were to have Hannibal the Carthaginian, and Thoas the Liolian, with some others who had stirred up the King to this warre, delivered into their hands. But any wife man might fo eafily have perceived, that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principall demands; as no great are was needfull to beguile their malice. The Kings Embaffadour had full commission, to refuse nothing that should be enjoyed. Wherefore there was no more to doe, than to fend immediatly to Rome for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Confuls chosen in the meane while at Rome, M. Fulvius, & Cn. Manlins Volso. The £tolians desired peace, but could not obtaine it: because they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Consuls should make warre upon the £tolians; the other, upon Antio-chuin in Asia. Now though shortly there came newes that Antiochui was already vanquissed in battaile, and had submitted himselfe unto all that could be required at his hands: yet since the State of Asiawas not like to be so throughly settled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the Romans care; Cn. Manlins, to whom Asia fell by lot, had not his Province changed:

Soone after this, came the Embassadours of King Antiochus to Rome, accompanied with the Rhodians and some others; yea, by King Eumenes in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the businesse in hand. Concerning the peace to be made with 50 King Antiochus, there was no disputation: it was generally approaved. All the trouble was, about the distribution of the purchase. King Eumenes reckoned up his own deserts; and comparing himselfe with Masanissa, hoped that the Romans would be more bountifull to him than they had beene to the Numidian, since they had found him a King indeed, whereas Masanissa was onely such in title; and since both he and his Father had alwayes beene their friends, even in the worst of the Roman fortune. Yet was there much adoe to make him tell what hee would have: He still referring himselfe to their courtesse; and they desiring him to speake plaine. At length he eraved that they would bestow upon him, as much of the Country by them taken from Antiochus, as they

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had no purpose to keepe in their owne hands. Neither thought he it needfull, that they should trouble themselves with the care of giving liberty to many of the Greeke Towns, that were on Asia side. For since the most of those Towns had been partakers with the King in his Warre; it was no reason that they should be gainers by his overthrow. The Rhodians did not like of this. They defired the Senate to be truely Patrons of the Greecan liberty; and to call to minde, that no small part of Greece it selfe had bin subject unto Philip, and served him in his War: which was not alledged against them as a cause why they should not be made free, after that Philip was overcome. But the maine point whereon they insisted, was this, That the Victory of the Romans against King Aniochus was so great, as easily might satisfie the desires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to 10 heare of this; and very bountifully gave away so much, that every one had cause to be

Such end had the Warre against King Antiochu: after which, L. Cornelius Scipio, returning home, had granted unto him the honour of a Triumph: the pompe whereof exceeded in riches, not only that of Titus Quintius Flaminius, but of any ten that Rome had beheld untill that day. Now forasmuch as the surname of The African had been given unto P. Scipio, it was thought convenient by some, to reward L. Scipio with the title of the Assaique: which the fortune of his Victory had no lesse deserved; though the vertue, requisite to the purchase thereof, was no way correspondent.

§. IX.

The £tolians, and the Gallo-Greeks, vanquished by the Roman Confuls Fulvius and Manlius. Manlius hardly obtaines a Triumph: being charged (among other objections) with attempting to have passed the bounds appointed as fatall to the Romans by Sybil. Of Sybils Prophesies; the Bookes of Hermes; and that Inscription, Simoni Deo Sancto. The ingratitude of Rome to the two Scipio's: and that beginning and faction among the Roman Nobility.

Arc. Fulvius and Cn. Manlius had the same charge divided betweene them, 30 which L. Cornelius Scipio, now styled Asiaticus, had lately undergone. It was found more than one mans worke, to looke at once to Greece and to Asia. And for this reason was it apparent, that L. Scipio had granted solong a Truce to the Etolians. But since, in this long Interim of Truce, that haughtie little Nation had not sought to humble it selfe to the Roman Majessie, it was now to be brought unto more lowly termes than any other of the Greeks. The best was, that so great a storme fell not unexpected upon the Etolians. They had foreseene the danger, when their Embassadours were utterly denied peace at Rome; and they had provided the last remedy; which was, to entreate the Rhodians and Athenians to become intercessours for them. Neither were they so dejected, with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well dequise, even upon helping themselves, by repurchase of Countries lost, where they spied advantage.

Poore King Aminander lived in exile among them, whilft Philip of Macedon kept for him, possession of his Lands and Castles. But the Athamanians (besides that many of them bore a natural affection to their owne Prince) having beene long accustomed to ferve a Mountaine Lord, that converfed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and infolent manner of command, used by the Captaines of Philip his Garrifons. They fent therefore some few of them to their King, & offered their service towards his restitution. At the first there were onely foure of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fiftie, which undertooke the worke. Yet, affu-50 rance, that all the rest would follow, made Aminander willing to trie his fortune. He was at the borders with a thousand Ætolians, upon the day appointed: at what time his two and fifty adventurers, having divided themselves into source parts, occupied, by the ready affiftance of the multitude, foure of the chiefe Towns in the Countrie, to his use. The fame of this good successe at first; with divers letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to doe their best in helping forward the Action, made the Lievtenantsof Philip unable to thinke upon refistance. One of them held the Towne of Theium a few dayes; giving thereby some leisure unto his King to

provide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence; and could onely tell Philip, whom he met on the way, that all was loft. Thilip had brought from home fixe thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, he left all fave two thousand behinde him, and so came to Athaneum, a little Athamanian Castle, that still was his, as being on the frontier of Macedon. Thence he sent Zeno, who had kept Theium a while, to take a placelying over Argainea, that was chiefe of the Countrie. Zeno did ashe was appointed : yet neither he, nor the King had the boldeness to descend upon Argithea; for that they might perceive the Athamanians, all along the hill fides, ready to come downe upon them, when they should be busic. 10 Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a fafe retrait: especially when Aminander came in fight with his thousand Etolians. The Macedonians were called backe, from-wards Argithea, and prefently withdrawn by their King towards his owne borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet at their pleasure. The Athamanians and Aetolians way-laid them, and pursued them so closely, that their retrait was in manner of a plaine flight, with great loffe of men and armes, few of those escaping, that were left behinde, as to make a countenance of holding fomewhat in the Countrey, untill Philip his returne.

The Aetolians having found the businesse of Athamania so easie, made an attempt in their owne behalfe, upon the Amphilochians and Aperantians. These had belonged unto their Nation, & were lately taken by Philip; from whom they diligently revolted, and became Aetolian againe. The Dolopians lay next; that had been ever belonging to the Maccaonian, and so didstill purpose to continue. These tooke Armes at first: but soone layed them away; seeing their neighbours ready to sight with them in the Aetolian quarrell, and seeing their owne King so hastily gore, as if he meant not to returne.

Of these victories the joy was the lesse; for that newescame of Antiochia his last overthrow, and of M. Fulcim the new Confull his hasting with an Armie into Greece. Aminander fent his excuses to Rome, praying the Senate not to take it in despight, that he had recovered his owne from Philip with fuch helpe as he could get. Neither feemes it that the Romans were much offended to heare of Philip his losses: for of this fault they 30 neither were sharpe correctors, nor earnest reprovers. Fulvius went in hand with the businesse, about which he came, and layed siege to Ambracia, a goodly City, that had beene the chiefe feate of Pyrrhu his Kingdome. With this he began, for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the Aeiolians: yet could not by them be relieved, unlesse they would adventure to fight upon equal ground. To help the Ambracians, it was not in the Atolians power: for they were, at the same time, vexed by the Illyrians at fea, and ready to be driven from their new conquest, by Perseus the sonne of Philip, who invaded the Countries of the Amphilochians and Dolopians. They were unable to deale with formany at once; and therefore as earneftly fought peace with the Romans, as they flourly made head against the rest. In the meane while the Athenian and Rhodian Embaffadours came; who befought the Confull to grant them peace. It helped well that Ambracia made strong resistance, and would not bee terresied, by any violence of the Affailants, or danger that might feeme to threaten. The Confull had no defire to spend halfe his time about one Citie, and so bee driven to leave unto his fucceffour the honour of finishing the Warre. Wherefore hee gladly hearkened unto the Atolians, and bade them feeke peace with faithfull intent, without thinking it overdeare, at a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend Anisothus had made the same purchase. He also gave leave to Aminander, offering his fervice as a mediatour, to put himfelfe into Ambracia, and trie what good his perswasions might doe with the Citizens. So, after many demaunds and excuses, the 50 conclusion was fuch as was grievous to the weaker, but not unsufferable. The same Embaffadours of the Athenians and Rhodians, accompanied those of the Etolians to Rome, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needfull in this intercession, for that Philip had made a very grievous complaint about the loffe of those Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Hereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it did not hinder the peace, which those good Mediatours of Rhodes and Athens did earnestly solicite. The Etolians were bound to uphold the Majestie of the people of Rome, and to observe divers Articles, which made them the leffe free, and more obnoxions to the Romans, than SIIII 3

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any people of Greece; they having been the first that called these their Masters into the Countrie. The Ile of Cephalema was taken from them by the Romans: who kept it for themselves (as not long since they had gotten Zacynthus from the Achaans, by stiffely pressing their owne right) that so they might have possession along the coast of Greece. whileft they feemed to forbeare the Countrey. But concerning those places, whereto Philap, or others, might lay claime, there was fet down an Order fo perplexed, as would neceffarily require to have the Romans Judges of their controversies, when they should arife. And hereof good use will be shortly made: when want of employment elsewhere, shall cause a more Lordly Inquisition to be held, upon the affaires of Macedon

Cn. Manlius, the other Confull, had at the same time warre in Asia, with the Gallo-Greeks and others. His Armie was the same that had followed L. Scipio; of whose victorie, his acts were the confummation. He visited those Countries on the hither side of Taurus, that had scarce heard of the Romans; to whom they were abandoned by Amiochus. Among these there were some petty Lords, or Tyrants, some free Cities, & some that were together at Warres, without regard of the great alteration that hapned in Asia. From every of these hee got somewhat; and by their quarrells found occasion to visite those Provinces, into which he should else have wanted an errand. He was even loaden with booty, when, having fetcht a compasse about Asia, he came at length upon the Gallo- Greeks. These had long domineered over the Countrie: though of late times, it 20 was rather the fame & terror of their fore-passed acts, than any present vertue of theirs, which held them up in reputation. Of the Romans they had lately such triall, when they ferved under King Antiochus, as made them to acknowledge themselves farre the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safetie, that they dwelt upon the River Halys, in an In-land Countrie, where those enemies were not very like to fearch them out. But when fuch hopes failed; and when fome Princes of their owne Nation; that had beene friends of Eumenes, exhorted the rest to yeeld: then was no counfaile thought fo good, as to forfake their houses and Countrey, and, with all that they could carry or drive, to betake themselves unto the high mountaines of Olympus and Margana. These mountaines were exceeding hard of ascent, 30 though none should undertake the custodie. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time; as also the naturall strength being helpt, by such fortification as promised greatest assurance: it was thought, that the Consult would either forbeare the attempt of forcing them, or eafily be repelled, and that finally, when he had stayed there a while, winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this availed not. For whereas the Gallo-Greeks had beene carelesse of furnishing themselves with casting weapons, as if stones would have served well enough for that purpose: the Romans, who came farre otherwise appointed, sound greater advantage in the difference of Armes, than impediment in disadvantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did eafily prevaile against casters of stones; especially being such as were these Gallo-Greeks, 40 neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor having prepared their stones before-hand, but catching up what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than those of a fit fize. Finally, the Barbarians, wanting defensive Armes, could not hold out against the Arrowes and weapons of the Roman light armature: but were driven from a piece of ground, which they had undertaken to make good, up into their Campe on the top of the mountaine; and being forced out of their Campe, had none other way left, than to cast themselves headlong downe the steepe rockes. Few of the men escaped alive : all their wives, children, and goods became a prey unto the Romans. In the very like manner, were the rest of that Nation overcome soone after, at the other mountaine: onely more of them faved themselves by flight, as having fairer way at 50 their backes.

These warres being ended: Fulvius and Manlius were appointed by the Senate cach of them to retaine as Proconfull, his Province for another yeere. Fulvius, in his fecond yeer, did little or nothing. Manlius gave peace to those whom he had vanquished; as likewife to Ariarathes the Cappadocian, and fome others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselves for feare of the Roman armes. He drew from them all, what profit he could: and laid upon them fuch conditions, as he though expedient. He also did finish the league of peace with Antiochus; whereto hee swore, and received the Kings oath by Embassadours, whom he sent for that pur pose. Finally, having set in order the matters of Asia, he tooke his way toward the Hellespont, loaden with spoile, as carrying with him (befides other treasures) all that the Gallo-Greeks had in so many yeers extorted, from the wealthy Provinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Army of Manlius returne home, rich in money alone, or cattell, or things of needfull use, which the Roman Souldier had beene wont to take as the onely good purchase; but furnished with fumptuous houshold-stuffe, and slaves of price, excellent Cookes, and Musicians for banquets, and in a word, with the feedes of that luxurie, which finally over-grew and choked the Roman vertue.

The Country of Thrace lay between Hellespont & the Kingdome of Macedon, which way Manlius was to take his journey homeward. L. Scipio had found no impediment among the Thracians: either for that he passed through them, without any such booty as might provoke them; or perhaps rather, because Philip of Macedon had taken order, that the Barbarians should not stirre. But when Manlius came along with a huge traine Liv. lib. 30, of baggage; the Thracians could not fo wel contain themselves. Neither was it thought, that Philip tooke it otherwise than very pleasantly, to have this Roman Army robbed, & well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angry seeing how little himselfe was regarded, and what great rewards were given to Eumenes. For he understood, and afterwards gave the Romans to understand, that Eumenes could not have abidden in his owne King-20 dome, if the people of Kome had not made warre in Asia: whereas contrariwise, Antiochus had offered unto himselfe three thousand talents, and fiftie ships of warre, to take part with him and the Atolians, promifing moreover to restore unto him all the Greeke Cities, that had been taken from him by the Romans. Such being the difference between him and Eumenes, when the warre began: he thought it no even dealing of the Romans, after their victory, to give away not onely the halfe of Afia, but Chersennesus, & Lysimachia in Europe, to Eumenes; whereas upon himselfe they bestowed not any one Towne. It agreed not indeed with his Nobility to goe to Rome and begge Provinces in the Senate, as Eumenes and the Rhodians had lately done. He had entertained lovingly the two Scipio's, whom he thought the most honourable men in Rome; and was grown into neer 30 acquaintance with Publius, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby he made himselfe acquainted with the warres in Spaine and Africke. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the Romans a due respect of him. But Eumenes tooke a surer way. For the Scipio's had not the disposing of that which they wonne from Antiochus: as neither indeed had Manlius, nor the ten Delegates affifting him : but the Senate of Rome. by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When Philip therefore faw these upstart Kings of Pergamus, whom he accounted as base companions, advanced fo highly, and made greater than himselfe; yea himselfe unregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wish, that he had not so hastily declared himselfe against Antiochus, or rather that he had joyned with Antiochus and the Ætoleans, by whom he might have beene freed from his infolent Masters. But what great argument of fuch discontentedness the Macedonian had, we shall very shortly be urged to discourse more at large. At the present it was believed, that the Thacians were by him feton, to affaile the Romans passing through their Country. They knew all advantages; & they fell, unexpected, upon the carriages, that were bestowed in the midst of the Armie; whereof part had already passed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet fo farre advanced. There was enough to get, and

the Thracians withdrew themselves; not without as much of the bootie, as was to their 50 full content. And of fuch trouble there was more, though leffe dangerous, before the Armie could get out of Thrace into Macedon. Through the Kingdome they had a faire march into Epiriu; and so to Apollonia, which was their handle of Greece.

enough to leave behinde: though both the getting and the faving, did cost many lives,

as well of the Barbarians, as of the Romans. They fought untill it grew night and then

To Manlius, and to Fulvius, when each of them returned to the Citie, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: especially to Manlius, whom some of the ten Delegates, appointed to affift him, did very bitterly taxe, as an unworthy commander. Touching the rest of their accusation; it sufficeth that he made good answer, and was approved by the chiefe of the Senate. One clause is worthy of more particular confideration. Reprehending his defire to have hindred the peace with Antiochus;

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Liv.lib. 38.

they faid, That with much ado he was kept from leading his Army over Taurus, and adventuring upon the calamity threatned by Sibyls verses, unto those that should passe the fatall bounds. What calamity or overthrow this was, wherewith Sibyls prophecie threatned the Roman Captaine or Armie, that should passe over Taurus, I doe not conceive. Pomper was the first, that marched with an Armie beyond those limits: though the victories of Lucullus had opened unto him the way, & had before-hand won, in a fort, the Countries on the other fide of the Mount; which Lucullus gave to one of Antiochus his race. though Pompey occupied them for the Romans. But we finde not, that either Lucullus or Pompey suffered any losse, in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by Sibyl. Indeed the accomplishment of this prophecie, fell out necre about one time, with the re- 10 stitution of Ptolomy King of Egypt, that was forbidden unto the Romans by the same Sibyl. It may therefore seeme to have had referenceunto the same things, that were denounced, as like to happen upon the reduction of the Egyptian King. Whether the Oracles of Sibyl had in them any truth , and were not , as Tullie noteth , fowed at randome in the large field of Time, there to take root, and get credit by event . I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of Prolomy to his Kingdome by Gabinius the Roman, should have any way betokened the comming of our Saviour: as fome both ancient and moderne Christian Writers have beene well pleased to interpret sibyl in that prophecie. Of the Sibylline predictions, I have sometimes thought reverently: though not knowing what they were (as I thinke few men know) yet following 20 the common beliefe and good authority. But observation of the shamefull Idolatry, that upon all occasions was advanced in Rome by the bookes of Sibyl, had well prevailed upon my credulity, and made me suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the judgement of Enfebine: when that learned and excellent worke of Master Casaubon upon Annal, Barataio. the Annales of Cardinall Baronius, did altogether free me from mine errour; making it apparent, That not only those prophecies of Sibyl, wherein Christ so plainly was shewed, but even the bookes of Hermes, which have borne fuch reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at first entertained (whosoever devised them) by the undiscreet zeale of such, as delighted in seeing the Christian Religion strengthened with forrein proofs. And in the same ranke, I thinke, we ought to place that notable History, to reported by Eusebius from no meane Authors, Of the honour which was done to Simon Magus in Rome; namely, of an Altar to him erected, with an infeription, Simone Deo Sansto, that is, To Simon the holy god. For what can be more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publique, should have beene quite omitted by Tacztus, by Suctionius, by Dion, and by all which wrote of those times? Philosophers and Poets would not have fuffered the matter to escape in filence, had it beene true; neither can it be thought that Seneca, who then lived and flourished, would have abstained from speaking any word of an Argument so samous. Wherefore I am perswaded, that this inscription, Simoni Deo Santto, was, by some bad Critiscime, taken amisse in place of Semoni Sango: a title source hundred yeeres older than the time of Si- 40 mon Magus. For the goods of one Virravius a Rebell, had many ages before beene confectated Semoni Sangu, that is, To the Spirit or Demi-god Sangus, in whose Chappell they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old Roman letters, or by some spoile that Time had wrought upon them; it might easily come to passe, that the words should be misse-read, Simons Santto, and that some Christian who had heard of Simon Magus, but not of Sangus, thereupon should frame the conjecture, which now patieth for a true History . Such conjectures, being entertained without examination, finde credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more Historicall, than was conceived by the Authour. But it cannot be fafe, to let our faith (which ought to fland firme upon a fure foundation) leane over-hardly on a well painted, yet 50 rotten post-Now concerning the Triumph of Cn. Manlius, it may be numbred among a few of

the richest, which ever the Citie beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treasurie, was made the last payment of those monies which the common-wealth had borrowed from private men, in the second Punick War. So long was it, that Rome had still some feeling of Hannibal: which being palt, there was remaining neither care, nor memoric, of any danger. This Triumph of Manliur was deferred by him, even fo long as he well could: for that he thought it not fafe, to make his entrance into the Citie, untill CHAP.5. S.9. of the Historie of the World. the heat of an Inquisition, then raging therein, should be allayed. The two Scipio's were called one after other, into judgement, by two Tribunes of the people; men, onely by this accusation, knowne to Posterity. P. Scipio the African, with whom they began, could not endure that fuch unworthy men should question him, of purloyning from the Common Treasury, or of being hired with bribes by Antiochus, to make an ill bargaine for his Countrey. When therefore his day of answer came; he appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great traine of his friends and Clients, with which he passed through the middest of the Assembly, and offered himfelse to speake. Having audience, he told the people, That upon they same day of the To yeer he had fought a great battaile with Hannibal, and finished the Punick War by a fignall victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit feafon to brabble at the Law; but intended to visite the Capitoll, & there give thankes to Jupiter, and the rest of the gods, by whose grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well & happily discharged the most weighty businesse of the Common-weale. And hereto he invited with him all the Citizens : requesting them, That if ever since the seventeenth yeer of his life, untill he now grewold, the honourable places by them conferred upon him , had prevented the capacity of his age & yet his deserts had exceeded the greatnesse of those honourable places: then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their City might still be like to him. These words were heard with great approbation: fo as all the people, even the Officers of the 20 court, followed Scipio, leaving the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their owne flaves and a Crier, by whom ridiculously they cited him to judgement, untill for very fhame, as not knowing what elfe to doe, they granted him, unrequefted, a further day. After this, when the African perceived that the Tribunes would not let fall their fuit. but enforce him to fubmit himselfe to a disgracefull triall: he willingly relinquished the City, and his unthankefull Romans, that could fuffer him to undergoe fo much indignity. The rest of his time he spent at Liternum: quietly with a few of his inward friends, and without any defire of feeing Rome againe. How many yeers he lived, or whether he lived one whole yeere, in this voluntary banishment; it is uncertaine. The report of his dving in the fame yeere, with Hannibal and Philopæmen, as also of his private behaviour 30 at Liternum, render it probable, that he out-lived the Tribuneship of his accusers; who meant to have drawn him back to his answer, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. Howfoever it was; the same Tribunes went more sharply to work with L. Scipio the Assatique. They propounded a Decree unto the people, touching mony received of Antiochus, and not brought into the common Treasury; that the Senate should give charge unto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and judicially determine thereof. In favour of this Decree, an Oration was made by Cato, the supposed author of these contentions, & instigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect, vertue; temperate, valiant, and of fingular industrie; frugall also, both of the publique, and of his owne; so as in this kinde he was even faultie : for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he uno mercifull and unconfcionable, in feeking to increase his owne wealth, by such means as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice, which being poisoned with envie, troubled both himselfe and the whole City, whilest he lived. His meane birth caused him to hate the Nobility, especially those that were in chiefe estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at fuch as were of his own ranke, men raifed by defert, if their advancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when Glabrio, whose Lieutenant he had beene at Thermopyla, was his Competitor for the Cenforship, and likely to carry it, he tooke an Oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious perjurie. That he had not brought into the common Treasury some vessels of gold and filver, gotten in the 50 Campe of Antiochus. Now the hatred which he bare unto the Scipio's, grew partly (befides his generall fpight at the Nobility) from his owne first rising, wherein he was countenanced by Fabius Maximus, who brooked not the African; partly from some checke, that was given unto himselfe, in the African voyage, by P. Scipio, whose Treasurer he then was. For when Cato did utter his diflike of the Confuls bad husbandry (judging Magnificence to be no better) in fome peremptory maner; Scipio plainly told him, That he had no need of fuch double diligence in his Treasurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lyes he published, or for want of judgement, thinking unworthily of the vertue that

was farre above him, Cato filled Rome with untrue reports against his Generall; whose

noble deedes confuted fufficiently the author of fuch false tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded northought upon by the Scipio's, whileft it was nourished by their enemy, brake out upon advantage, especially against L. Scipio: his brother being dead, or out of the way. A fevere inquiry and judgement being appointed of purpose against Scipio, matters were so carried, that he was soone condemned in a sum of money. far exceeding his ability to pay. For non payment, his body should have beene laid up in prison: but from this rigour of the Law he was freed by Tiberius Gracchus, the same Tribune who had caused the suite against the African to be let fall. In his estate, which was confiscated to the use of the Citie, when there neither appeared any signe of his having beene beholding to Antiochis, nor was found fo much as what he had beene con- 10 demned to pay; then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of the People. But for this was L. Scipio no whit the better. His kinred, friends. and Clients, made fuch a Collection for him, as would have fet him in better estate than

before, if he had accepted it. He tooke no more than fuch of his owne goods, as were of necessary use, being redeemed for him by his neerest friends.

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And thus began the civill warre of the Tongue, in the Roman pleadings: which had either not beene, or not beene much regardable, untill now, fince the Punicke Warre. Security of danger from abroad; and some want of sufficient employment, were especiall helpes to the kindling of this fire; which first caught hold upon that great Worthy, to whose vertue Rame was indebted, for changing into so great security her extreme dan-20 ger. But these factious contentions did no long while containe themselves within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude, in fuch quarrelfome businesse, grew to perfection, they that found themselves over-matched by their adversaries at this kinde of weapon, began to make opposition, first, with clubs & stones, afterward with swords; and finally proceeded from frayes & murders in the streets unto battaile in the open field. Cornelia, daughter of Scipio the African, a Lady of rare vertue that in honour of her two fons was more commonly named Mother of the Gracchi. faw those her two sons, whilest they were but yong, slaughtered in Rome, together with fome of their friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not revenged by order of Law, but rather approved by the Senate. At these times the Senatours began to 30 take upon them authority, more than was to them belonging. They conferred upon the Confuls all the whole power of the City, under this forme, Let the Confuls provide , that the Commonweale receive no detriment. By this decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen enemy to the State, they thought to have wonne a great advantage over the multitude. But after the death of C. Gracchus, and of Saurninus a popular man, whom by fuch authority they did put out of the way; it was not long ere Marius, a famous Captaine of theirs, was fo condemned, who by force of armes returned into the Citie, and murdered all the principall Senators: whereupon began the civill warres; which giving unto Sylla, who prevailed therein, means to make himselfe absolute Lord of Rome, taught Cafar, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obtaine the like soveraign power, when by the 40 like Decree of the Senate he was provoked. It is true, that never any Confull had finally cause to rejoyce, of his having put in execution such authority to him committed by the Senate. But as the furie of the multitude, in passing their Lawes, by hurling of stones, and other violence, made the Citie stand in need of a Soveraigne Lord: so the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as enemies those that would not submit themselves, when they were over-topped by voyces in the House, did compell Casar, or give him at least pretence, to right himselfe by armes: wherewith prevailing against his adversaries, he tooke fuch order, that neither Senate nor people, should thenceforth be able to doe him wrong. So by intestine discord, the Romans confuming all or most of their principall Citizens, lost their owne freedome, and became subjects unto the arbitrary government of 50 one : fuffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their insolent rule, wherein they tooke upon them as the highest Lords on earth, to doe even what they lifled. Yet had not Rome indeed attained hitherto unto complear greatneffe, not beleeved of her felfe as if she had, whilest a King sate crowned on the Throne of Alexander, continuing and upholding the reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this confummation of her honour was thought upon betimes. How it was effected, the fequel will discover.

CHAP. VI.

The fecond Macedonian Warre.

S. I.
The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were associates of the Romans , when the warre with Antiochus was finished. The Romans quarrell with Philip. They deale infolently with the Acheans. The Macedonian, being unreadie for warre, obtaines peace at Rome, by his fon Demetrius; of whom thencefoorth he becomes jealous.



FTER the overthrow of Antiochus, although Philip of Macedon, Eumenes King of Pergamus, the Commonweale of the Achaans. and all other the States of Greece, were governed by the same Laws and Magistrates, as they formerly had been, before the arrivall of the Romans inthose parts: yet in very truth (the publique declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute vassals to the People of Rome. For of those five Prerogatives belonging to a Monarch, or

unto Soveraign power, in whomfoever it rest; namely, To make Laws, To crease Magifrates, To arbitrate Peace and Warre, To beate Monie, & to reserve (as the French callie) le dernier Resort, or the last Appeales, the Romans had affumed foure; and the greatest of them fo absolutely, that is, The Appeale, or last resort, as every petty injurie offered to each other by the forenamed Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the Roman Embassadours, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senators themselves within Rome; from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Common-weales, declined, He or they were beaten, and inforced to obedience, or had their Estates and Regalities utterly dissolved. Neverthelesse it is true, that they had their owne Lawes, and Officers of their owne ordaining: yet fo, as neither the Lawes were of force, when the Romans interpoled their will to the contrary, neither was their election of Magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especiall

regard unto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of servitude the severall Estates of Greece did bowvery gently : ejther as being thankefull for their deliverance from a yoke more sensibly grievous; or , as being skilfull in the Art of flattery, and therein taking delight, fince therein confifted their chiefe hope of thriving; or, as being more fearefull of displeasing the strongest, than mindfull of their owne honour. But Eumenes living further off, & being most obsequious ao unto the Romans, was not, of long time, questioned about any of his doings : his conformity unto them in matter of war & peace, together with the diversion of their thoughts another way, giving him leave to use his owne even as he lifted, untill they should otherwife dispose of him. Neither was it a little availeable to him , that his Kingdome bordered upon the Nations, by them not throughly subdued. For upon the same reason (as well as upon his owne high deferts) were they very loving unto Mafaniffa, and to his House untill Caribage was ruined, and their Dominion settled in Africke : as likewife afterwards to the Kings of Mauritania, Cappadocia, and others: holding people in fubie-Ction unto themselves, by the Ministery of Kings; especially of such Kings, as were usefull and obsequious unto them.

Now the Macedonian was of a more noble temper; & shewed himselfe not forgetfull of his owne former greatnesse, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his Kingdome. But fuch magnanimity was none otherwise confirmed by the Romans, than as want of due revorence to their estate, and a valuation of himselfe against them : which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not indure. Wherefore notwith landing that he had lately given passage to their Armies through his Country, prepared the wayes for them. and furnished them both with victuals, and other things needfull to transport them over the Hallefrom into Afia, against Ansiochan; yet upon the complaint of Eumenes, and the States of The die and Thrace, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of Enus and

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Maronea, with all Pieces and Places demanded by any of his neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, even from the Romans themselves.

These townes of Anus and Maronea had beene part of Lysimachus his Kingdome: who from Thrace Northwards, and to the Northwest, extended his dominion very far. He is thought to have made himself Lord of Transylvania: in which Province it is said. * That innumerable Medals of gold have beene found, in the age of our Grand-Fathers. each of them weighing two or three Crownes, and stamped with his Image on the one fide, on the other fide with Victorie. Of all these Lordships, the possession, or rather the title (for he lived not to settle his estate in Europe) fell to Seleucus Nicator by right of war, 19 wherein he vanquished and slew Lysimachus: as also, by the like right, Ptolomy Ceraunus thought them his owne, when he had murdered Seleucus. But the inundation of the Gaules, which the Kingdome of Macedon could not fustaine, did shortly and easily wash away from that crowne, together with the more part of Thrace, all those heapes of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by Antigonus the fonce of Demetrius, and his fucceffors: though not much; for they were otherwise bufied. The furie of the Gaules being over-past, those Countries which lately had beene oppressed by them, recovered their liberty; and not onely held it, but learned, some of them, especially the Dardanians and wilde Thracians, to finde their advantages, and make use of them, even upon Macedon. Against the mischiefs commonly done by these, King Philip did provide the most convenient remedies: by shutting up the wayes, whereby the Dardanians might enter into his Kingdome; and by occupying Lysimachia, with some other townes in Thrace, which he fortified, as Bulwarkes of his owne Countrey. against the Barbarians. Now, although it behooved him thus to doe, for the defence of his owneestate : yet forasmuch as these Townes were, in a manner, at absolute libertie, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of justice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the Ætolians, of wrongfull usurpation and oppression, in his having occupied Lysimachia. Hereto hee made a good answer. That his Garrison did only fave it from the Thracians: who, as soone as he thence withdrew his men, did feize upon the Towne, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might have faid, 30 touching Enus and Maronea That they were places unable to defend themselves, and Gates, by which the Barbarians might have entrance into his Kingdome. But this Plea had not availed him, in the disputation about Lysimachia: & in the present question, the Romans were not without their owne title; fince Antiochus had gotten all the Country thereabout, whilest Philip was busied in his former warre: and since they, by their vi-Ctory, had gotten unto themselves all the title, which Antiochus thereto could pretend. Wherefore he only submitted his right unto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it unto their disposition, Whether Enus & Maronea should be set at liberty : whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed upon Eumenes; who begged them, as an appendix to Lysimachia and Chersonness, that were already his by their gift. What they would 40 determine, he might eafily perceive, by the demeanor of their Embassadors towards him: who fitting as Judges betweene him and all that made complaint upon him, gave fentence against him in every controversie. Neverthelesse, he sent Embassadours to Rome, there to maintaine his right unto these Townes; wherein he thought, that equity (if it might prevaile) was wholly on his fide. For he had holpen their Confuls in the warre against Antiochus and the Ætolians: wherein whatsoever he had gotten for himselfe, was now taken from him by their Embaffadours and would they now deprive him of those two Towns, lying so fitly for the guard of his Kingdome, which he had gotten to himselfe out of the ruines of Antiochus, like as out of his owne ruines Antiochus had gotten in those quarters a great deale more? By such allegations either he was likely to pre-50 vaile, or at leastwife to gaine time, wherein he might bethinke himselfe what he had to doe. It was not long ere he had word from Rome, That the Senate were no more equal to him, than had beene their Embaffadors. Wherefore, confidering how infolently the Maronites had behaved themselves, in pleading against him for their liberty, he tooke counsell of his owne passions; and (as by nature he was very cruell) gave order to Onomastus, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, to handle these Maronnes in such fort, as they might have little joy of the liberty by them to earneftly defired. Onomastus employed Callander, one of the Kings men dwelling in Maronea, and willed him to let in the Thra-

cians by night, that they might fack the Towne, and use all cruelties of War. This years done: but fo ill taken by the Roman Embaffadors, who had better notice, than could have beene feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more firicity, than became his Majefty, to an accompt. He would have removed the blame from himselfe, and layed it even upon the Maronites: affirming, that they, in heat of their Factions, being fome inclinable to him, other fome to Eumenes, had fallen into fuch ourrage, that they had cut one anothers throates. And hereof he willed the Embaffadors to enquire among the Maranites themselves: as well knowing that they who furvived, were either his owne friends; or fo terrefied and ama-10 zed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not utter an offensive word. But he found the Romans more severe, and more throughly informed in the businesse, than to rest contented with such an answer. He was plainely told. That if he would discharge himselfe of the crime objected; he must send O somastus and Cassander to Rome, there to be examined as the Senare should thinke fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his fpirits, and faid, that Collander should be at their difposition: but concerning Onomastus, who had not been at Maronea, nor neare to it, he requested them not to presse him; fince it stood not with his honour so lightly to give away his friends. As for Callander, because he should tell no tales; Hee tooke order to have him poyfoned by the way. By this we fee, that the doctrine, which Machia-20 vel taught unto Casar Bargia, to imploy men in mischievous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they have performed the mischiefe, was not of his owne invention. All ages have given us examples of this goodly policie, the latter having beene apt schollers in this lesson to the more ancient: as the reigne of Henry the eighth, here in England, can beare good witnesse; and therein especially the Lord Cremwell, who perished by the same unjust Law that himselse had devised, for the taking away of another

Such actions of *Philip* made an unpleasant noise at *Rome*, and were like to have brought upon him the Warre which he feared, before he was ready to entertaine it. Wherefore he employed his younger son *Demetrius* as Embassador unto the Senate: giving him in-30 structions, how to make answerto all complaints, and withall to deliver his own grievances in such wise, that if ought were amisse, yet might it appeare that he had been strongly urged to take such courses. The summe of his Embassage was, to pacific the *Romans*, and make all even for the present. *Demetrius* himselfe was known to be very acceptable unto the Senate; as having been well approved by them, when he was Hostage in *Rome*: and therefore seemed the more likely to prevaile somewhat; were it onely in regard that

would be borne unto his person.

Whilest this businesse with the Macedonian hung in suspence, and whilest he, by his readinesse to make submission, seemed likely to divert from himselfe some other way the Roman armes: the same Embassadors, that had beene Judges betweene him and his 40 neighbours, made their progresse through the rest of Greece; and tooke notice of the controversies which they found betweene some Estates in the Countrey. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished Lacadamonians against the Acheans. It was objected unto the Acheans, That they had committed a gricvous flaughter upon many Citizens of Lacedamon: That unto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing downe the walles of the City: as also further, in changing the Lawes, and abrogating the famous Institutions of Lycurgus. Hereto Lycortas, then Pretor of the Achains, made answer, That these banished Lacedamonians, who now tooke upon them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them; were notoriously known to be the men, who had themselves committed that murder, whereof shamelesly they 50 laid the blame upon others: the Achaans having onely called those unto judgement, that were supposed to bee chiefe Authors of a Rebellion against both them and the Remans : and these Plaintifes having slaine them, upon private, though just harred, as they were comming to make answer for themselves. Concerning their throwing downe the Walls of Lacedemon, he faid it was most agreeable to Lycurgus his Ordinance: who, having perswaded his Citizens to defend their Towne and liberty by their proper vertue, did inhibite unto them all kindes of fortifications: as the Rerraits and Nests either of Cowards, or (whereof Lacedamon had wosuld experience) of Tytants and Elsurpers. Further he shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built these walls

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and hemmed in the Spartans, had also quite abolished Lycurgus his ordinances; and governed the City by their owne lawleffe Will. As for the Acheans; they communicated their owne Lawes, which they held for the best, or else would soone change them and take better, unto the Lacedemonians; whom they found without Lawes, or any tolerable forme of policie. For conclusion, Lycortas plainely told App. Claudius, the chiefe of the Embaffadors, That hee and his Countrimen held it ftrange, being friends and faithfull Allies of the Romans, to fee themselves thus constrained, to answer and give account of their actions, as vaffals and flaves unto the people of Rome. For if they were indeed at liberty: why might not the Achaans as well require to be fatisfied about that which the Romans had done at Capua, as the Romans did busie themselves, to take ac- 16 count how things went at Lacedamon? for if the Romans would stand upon their greatnesse; and intimate as they began, that the liberty of their friends was nothing worth. longer than should please themselves to ratifie it: then must the Acheans have recourse unto those Agreements, that were confirmed by oath, and which without perjury could not be violated; as reverencing, and indeed fearing the Remans, but much more, the immortall gods. To this bold answer of Lycortas, Appius found little to reply. Yet taking state upon him; he pronounced more like a Master than a Judge, That if the A. cheans would not be ruled by faire meanes, and earne thankes whilest they might; they should be compelled with a mischiefe, to doe what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the Achaens, which 20 ground to heare the Lordly words of Appius. Yet feare prevailed above indignation: and it was permitted unto the Romans to doe as they lifted. Hereupon the Embaffadors restored some banished and condemned men: but the Roman Senate, verv foone after, did make voyd all judgements of death or banishment, that had beene laydby the Acheans, upon any Citizen of Lacedamon; as likewise they made it a matter of disputation, whether or no the Citie and Territory of Lacedamon should be suffered to continue a member of the Achaan Common-wealth; or, taken from them, and made as it had been an Estate by it selfe. By bringing such a matter into question, the Romans well declared. That they held it to depend upon their owne will, how much or how little any of their Confederates should be suffered enjoy: though by con- 20 tributing Spartato the Councell of Achaia, they discovered no lesse, as to them seemed, the love which they bare unto the Achaians, than the power which they had over them.

Into such flavery had the *Greeks*, and all Kings and Common-weales whatsoever, bordering upon any part of the Mediterran Seas, reduced themselves; by calling in the *Romans* to their succour. They wanted not the good counsell and perswasions of many wise and temperate men among them; they had also the examples of the *Italians, Spaniards*, *Ganies*, and *Africans*, all subdued by the *Romans*; and, by seeking Patronage, made meere Vassas, of Estate and Policy so prevaile with them, but their private passions, and neighbouring hatred, which hath evermore bought revenge at the price of self-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enjoyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into most base and fearefull servility.

All this made well for Philip of Macedon: who though he saw the Greekes very sarre from daring to stirre against those, by whom both he and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (sew of them excepted, whom the Romans by freeing from his subjection, had made his implacable enemies) in hearty affection all the Countrey would be his, whensoever he should take Armes, as shortly he was like to doe. Young Demetrius, comming home from Rome, brought with him the defired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indignity soone following. Hee had beene lovingly used at Rome, and heard with great favour in the Senate. There, being consounded with the multitude of objections, whereto his youth, unskilfull in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make answer: it was permitted unto him, to reade such briefe notes as hee had received from his Father, and out of those the Senate were contented to gather satisfaction; more for Demetrius his owne sake, as they then said, and wrote into Macedon, than for any goodnesse in the desence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his saults at the intreaty of his sonne, together with some insolence of his sonne, growing (as appeared) from this favour of the Romans; did increase in Philip

his harred anto Rome, and breed in him a jestoufie of his too forward fonne. To fet him forward in these passions, there came daily new Embassadors from Rome, some bringing one commandement, some another; and some requiring him to fulfill those things. which had been imposed upon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that observed his countenance: and when he had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge, that he had done things unwillingly, and would be obedient no longer than he needs must. With these Embassadors yong Demetrius was converfant : rather perhaps out of simplicity, and for that they made much of himsthan for any ambitious respect; yet a great deale more than was pleasing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all Macedon, That Perfeus, the elder fon of the King, should not fice ceed unto his father; but that the Diademe should be conferred upon Demetrine, if not by fome other pretence, yet by meere favour of the Remans. This offended not onely Perleus, but Philip himselfe: who suspected his younger son, as more Roman than his owner and accordingly mif-construed all his doings. But ere we proceed unto the bitter fruits of this jealousie; it will not be amisse to speak of some memorable accidents that were in the meane time.

6. I I.

20 The death of Philopoemen, Hannibal, and Scipio. That the Militarie profession is of all other the most unhappy: notwithstanding some examples, which may seeme to prove the contrary.

HE Romans wanting other matter of quarrell in the Continent of Greece, had of late beene so peremptory with the Acheans, that they seemed norunlikely to take part against them, in any controversie that should be moved. Hereuvon the Messen ans, who against their will were annexed unto the Ashean Commonwealth, having long beene of a contrary Faction therero; grew bold to withdraw themfelves from that Society, with purpose to set up againe an Estate of their owne, seveto red from communion with any other. This was the device of some that were powerfull intheir City; who finding the multitude onely inclinable to their purpole, and not overstrongly affected in the businesse; were carefull to seeke occasion of reducing things to such passe, that all their Citizens might be entangled in a necessity of standing out, and of not returning to the Achean League. And hereupon they began to doe some acts of hostility; whereby it was probable that bloud should bee drawne. and either fide fo farre exasperated, that little hope of agreement would be left. Upon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; Philopamen, then Prator of the Achaens, levied such forces as he could inhaste, and went against them. Many principall Gentlemen of the Achaans, especially of the Megalopalitans, were soon in a rea-40 diness to wait upon him. Besides these, which were all, or for the most part. Horse, he had fome Auxiliaries out of Thrace and Crete, that usually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with Dinocrates, Captaine of the Messenians, whom he charged, and forced to runne. But whileft his horsemen were too earnest in following the chale; there arrived by chance a supply of five hundred from Messene, which gave new courage unto those that fled. So the Enemies beganne to make head againe : and with the helpe of those, who very seasonably came to their aide, compelled Philopamens Horsemen to turne backe. Philopæmen himselse had long beene sicke of an Ague, and was then very weake: yet the greatnesse of his courage would not suffer him to be negligent of their fafery, which had so willingly adventured themselves under his conduct. He tooke up 50 on him to make the Retrait : and fuffering his Horsemen to passe along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about against the Messenians, whom the reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrefie from approaching over-neare to him. But it fell out unhappily, that being caft to ground by a fall off his Horfe, and being withall in very weake plight of body, he was unable to get up againe. So the Enemies came upon him, and tooke him; yet scarce beleeved their fortune to be so good, although their eyes were wimesses. The first messenger that brought these newes to Messene, was so farre from being beleeved, that he was hardly thought to be in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the Citie ranne forth to meete Ttttt 2

him, and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible. They caused him to be brought into the Theater, that there they might fatisfie themselves with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his mis-fortune : and in commemoration both of his vertue, and of the fingular benefits by him done unto them, especially in delivering them from Nabis the Tyrant; beganto manifest their good will for his deliverie. Contrariwise, Dinocrates and his faction were defirous hastily to take away his life: because they held him a man implacable, and one that would never leave any difgrace, or injury, done to him, unrevenged. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a strong Vault under ground, that had been made for the custody of their Treasure. So thither they let him downe fast bound, and with an en- 10 gine laid an heavie stone upon the mouth of the Vault. There he had not stayed long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the Citie was let downe unto him, with a cup of poyson, which Philopamen took in his hand : and afking no more than whether the Horfmen were escaped, and particularly whether Lycor. two was safe; when he heard an answer to his minde, he said it was well: and so with a chearfull countenance, dranke his last draught. He was seventy yeares old, and weakned with long ficknesse, whereby the poyson wrought the sooner, and easily tooke away his life. The Acheans, when they miffed him in their flight, were marvellously offended with themselves, for that they had been more mindefull to preserve their owne lives, than to looke unto the fafety of so excellent a Commander. Whilest they were 20 devising what to doe in such a case: they got advertisement of his being taken. All A. chain was by this report vehemently afflicted: fo as Embaffadors were forthwith dispatched unto Messene, craving his enlargement : and yet preparation made withall, to obtaine it by force, in case that faire meanes would not serve. Lycortas was chosen Generall of the Army against Messene: who comming thither, and laying siege to the Towne, enforced it in short space to yeeld. Then Dinocrates knowing what he was to expect, laid hands upon himselfe, and made an end of his owne life. The rest of those that had been partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds upon the affect of Philopamen that were carried home in folemne pompe to Megalopolis: where they were all of them flaine at his funerall, as facrifices to his Chost whom they had offended. 20 2. Martius, a Roman Embassador, was then in Greece; vvhence, upon one occasion or other, the Roman Embassadors were seldome absent. He vyould have entermedled in this businesse of Messens, had not Lycortas made short worke, and left him nothing todoe.

About the same time was T. Quintim Flaminius sent Embassador to Prusias King of Bithynia: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the War against Eumenes, as to entreat him that he would deliver Hannibal, the most spightfull enemy in all the world unto the Senate and People of Rome, into his hands. Prufias (therein unworthy of the Crowne he wore) did readily condescend : or rather (as Livie thinkes) to gratifie the Romans, he determined either to kill Hannibal, or to deliver him alive to Flaminius. For 40 upon the first conference betweene the King and Flaminius, a troupe of Souldiers were directed to guard and environ the lodging where Hannibal lay. That famous Captaine having found cause before this to suspect the faith of Prusias, had devised some secret sallies under-ground to fave himselse from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedy: which he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing over him, as to fave himselfe from their torture and mercilesse hands; who, as he well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When therefore he faw no yvay to escape, nor counsell to refort unto, he tooke the poyson into his hand, which he alwayes preferved for a fure Antidote against the sharpest diseases of ad- co verse fortune; which being ready to swallow downe, he uttered these words: I will now (faidhe) deliver the Romans of that feare which hath fo many years possess them, that feare, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victory of Flaminius, over me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall never be numbred among the rest of his heroicall deeds: No it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the world, how farretheancient Roman vertue is degenerate and corrupted. For such was the noblenesse of their forefathers; as when Pyrrhus invaded them in Italy, and was ready to give them battell at their owne dores, they gave him knowledge of the treason intended against him by poyfon : whereas these of a later race, have employed Flaminius, a man who hath heretofore beene one of their Confuls to practife with Prufias, contrary to the bonour of a King, contrary to his Faith given and contrary to the Laws of Hofpitality to flaughter or deliver up his own Quelt. He then curling the person of Prusias, and all his, and desiring the immortall gods to revenge his infidelity, dranke off the poylon, and dved.

In this year alfo(as good Authors have reported) to accompanie Philopamen and Hannibal, died Scipio the African: these being all of them, as great Captains as ever the World had s but not more famous than unfortunate. Certainly, for Hannibal, whose Tragedy we have now finished, had he beene Prince of the Carthaginians, and one who by his authoto rity might have commanded fuch supplies, as the War which he undertooke, required; it is probable, that he had torn up the Roman Empire by the roots. But he was fo ffrongly crost by a cowardly and envious Faction at home; as his proper vertue, wanting publike force to fultaine it, did laftly diffolve it felfe in his owne, and in the Common milery

of his Countrey and Common-weale.

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Hence it comes, to wit, from the envie of our equals, and jealousie of our Masters, be they Kings or Common-weales, that there is no profession more unprosperous than that of men of Warre, and great Captaines, being no Kings. For belides the envie and jealoufie of men, the fpoyles, rapes, famine, flaughter of the innocent, vaftation, and burnings, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, are so hatefull to God, as with 20 good reason did Monluc the Marshall of France confesse. That, were not the mercies of God infinite and without restriction it were in vaine for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them : seeing the cruelties by them permitted and committed were also infinite. Howfoever, this is true. That the victories which are obtained by many of the greatest Commanders are commonly either ascribed to those that serve under them to Fortune. or the cowardife of the Nation against whom they serve. For the most of others, whose vertues have raised them above the levell of their inferiours, and have surmounted their envie: yet have they beene rewarded in the end, either with differee, banishment, or death. Among the Romans, we finde many examples hereof; as Coriolanus, M. Zivius, L. Emilius, and this our Scipie, whom we have lately buried. Among the Greekes 30 we reade of not many, that escaped these rewards. Yea, long before these times, it was a Legacie that David bequeathed unto his victorious Captaine Joah. With this fare Alexander feasted Parmenie, Philosas, and others; and prepared it for Antipater and Cassander. Hereto Valentinian the Emperour invited Atius: who, after many other victories, overthrew Attlia of the Hunnes, in the greatest battell for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that ever was strucken in the World; for there fell of those that fought, beside run-awayes, an hundred and fourescore thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told unto the Emperour by Proximus, That in killing of Etius, he had cut off his owne right hand with his left: for it was not long after, that Maximus (by whose perswasion Valentinian slew Atius) murdered the Emperor, which hee never durst attempt, Etims living. And, besides the losse of that Emperour, it is true. That with Atims, the glory of the Welterne Empire was rather diffolved, than obscured. The same unworthy destiny or a farre worse, had Bellisarius, whose undertakings and victories were fo difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torne out of his head by Justinian : and hee died a blinde beggar. Narses also, to the great prejudice of Christian Religion, was disgrac'd by Justine. That rule of Cate against Scipio, hath been well observed in every age since then; to wit, That the Common-weale cannot be accounted free, which flanderh in awe of any one many. And hence have the Turkes drawing another Principle, and indeed, a Turkish order That every warlike Prince frould tattler deftroy his greatest men of Warre, than 50 suffer his owne glory to be obscured by them. Forthis cause did Bajazes the second dispatch Bassa Acomas; Selim, strangle Bassa Mustaphas and most of those Princes bring to ruine the most of their Villers. Of the Spanish Nation, the great Gonfalve, who drave the French out of Naples and Ferdinando Correle, who conquered Mexico; were crowned with pertles not with Lawrell. The Earles of Egmond and Born had no heads left them to weare garlands on. And that the great Captaines of all Nations have beene paid with this copper Coine; there are examples mote than too many. On the contrary, it may be faid. That many have acquired the State of Punces, Kings, and Emperours, by their great ability in matter of Warre. This I confesse. Yet must it be had withall Ttttt 3

in consideration, that these high places have been given or offered unto very sew, as rewards of their military vertue; though many have usurped them, by the helpe and favour of those Armies which they commanded Neither is it unregardable, That the Tvrants which have oppressed the liberty of free Cities: and the Lievtenants of Kingsor Emperours, which have traiteroufly cast downe their Masters, and stepped up into their feats; were not all of them good men of Warre: but have used the advantage of some commotion, or many of them by base and cowardly practices, have obtained those dignities, which undefervedly were ascribed to their personall worth. So that the number of those that have purchased absolute greatnesse by the greatnesse of their warlike vertues is farre more in feeming than in deed. Phocas was a Souldier, and by helpe of the ro Souldiers he got the Empire from his Lord Mauritius: but he was a coward; and with a barbarous cruelty, seldome found in any other than Cowards, he slew first the children of Mauritius, a Prince that never had done him wrong, before his face, and after them Mauritius himselfe. This his bloudy aspiring was but as a debi, which was paid unto himagaine by Heraclius: who tooke from him the imperial Crowne, unjuftly gotten; and fer it on his owne head. Leonius laid hold upon the Emperour Justine, out off his nose and earcs, and sent him into banishment : but Gods vengeance rewarded him with the lame punishment, by the hands of Tiberius; to whose charge he had left his owne men of Warre, Justine, having recovered forces, lighted on Tiberiue, and barbed him after the fame fashion. Philippieus commanding the forces of Justine, murdered both the 20 Emperour and his sonne. Anastasius, the vassall of this new Tyrant, surprised his Mafer Philippism, and thrust out both his eyes, But with Anastasius, Theodosius dealt more gently: for having wrested the Scepter out of his hands, he enforced him to become a Prieft. It were an endlesse and a needlesse worke totell, how Leo rewarded this Theodolling; how many others, have beene repayed with their owne cruelty, by men alike ambitious and cruell; or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of Captaines to make themselves Kings, have by Gods justice miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinary, and perhaps the best way of thriving by the practice of Armes, is to take what may be gotten by the spoyle of Enemies, and the liberality of those Princes and Cities, in whose service one hath well deserved. But scarce one of athousand 30 have prospered by this course. For that observation, made by Salomon, of unthankfulneffe in this kinds, bath been found belonging to all Counstics and Ages: A little Citie, and few mouin it, and a great King came against it, and campassed it about, and builded Fores, against it Andthere was found a poore and wifeman therein, and he delivered the Citreby by wifedome, , but noneremembred this poore man. Great Monarchs are unwilling to pay great thankes, left thereby they should acknowledge themselves to have beene indebted for great benefits; which the unwifer fort of them think to favour of some impotency in themselves. But in this respect they are often times cousened and abused; which proves that weakeneffe to be in them indeed, whereof they so gladly shun the opinion. Contrariwile, free Estates are bountifull in giving thankes; yet so, as those thanks are 40 not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Captaines have made, by enriching themselves with the spoyle of the Enemy, they are very inquisitive to fearch into it, and to strip the well-deservers out of their gettings : yea most injuriously to rob them of their owne, upon a falle supposition: that even they whose hands are most cleane from such offences, have purloyned somewhat from the common Treafurie. Hereof Incednor to produce examples that of the two Scipio being to lately thing late soveraignes time, whough for the Warres, which for her owne fafetypille

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was confirmed to undertake, her Majeffy had no leffecause to use the service of Mathial was confirmed to undertake, her Majelly had notetlecaute to the tervice of Mathial men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predecessor many years had: yet here? 50 ding to the definy of that projection. I do not remember that any of hers, the Lord Admiral excepted, her eldelt, and most projectous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honolited for any terrice by them performed. And that her Majelty had many advised valiant and faithfull men, the projective of her assured well witnesse; who in all her does hever received dilbonom, by the cowardize or insidelity of any Commander, by her selfectionen and imployed.

To as all her old Captaines by Land dick pooremen, as Malbey, Randol, Drewie, Rende Wilford, Landon, Pellam Gilpert Constable, Bourchier, Burkley, Birgham, and others:

to those of a later and more dangerous imployment, whereof Norrice and Vere were the most famous, and who have done as great honour to our Nation (for the means they had) as ever any did: those (I fay) with many other brave Colonels, have left behind them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many travels and wounds) nor title nor estate to their posteritie. As for the L. Thomas Burrough, and Peregrine Berry, L. willoughby of Eresby, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the worldtheir Titles and Estates.

That her Majestic in the advancement of her Men of warre did sooner believe other men than her felfe, a disease unto which many wise Princes, besides her felse, have been fubject; I fay that fuch a confidence, although it may feem altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in some fort accuse her of weakenesse. And exceeding ftrange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the Actors are so unprosperous and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that those which are neerest the person of Princes (which Martiall men feldome are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnific a profession far more noble than their own, seeing therein they should onely mind their Masters of the wrong they didunto others in giving leffe honor and reward to men of far greater deferving and of far greater use than themselves.

But his Majestie hath already paid the greatest part of that debt. For besides the relieving by Penfions all the poorer fort, hee hath honoured more Martiall menthan all the

Kings of England have done for this hundred yeers.

He hath given a Coronetto the Lord Thomas Howard for his chargeable and remarkable fervice, as well in the yeere 1588 as at Caliz, the Ilands, and in our owne Sea : having first commanded as a Captain, twice Admirall of a Squadron, and twice Admirall in chiefe. His Majestie hath changed the Baronies of Montjoy and Burley into Earldomes; and created Sidney Vicount, Knolles, Ruffel, Carew, Danvers, Arundel of Warder, Gerald, and Chichester, Barons, for their governments and services in the Netherlands, France, Ireland, and elsewhere.

6. III.

Philip, making provision for war against the Romans, deals hardly with many of his own subjeds . His negotiation with the Baftarna. His cruelty. He suspecteth his son Demetrius. Demerrius accused by his brother Perseus; and shortly after slain by his fathers appointment. Philip repentesh him of his fons death, whom he finderh to have bin innocent: and intending to revenge it on Perseus, he dieth.

Mintius Martius the Roman Embaffador, who travelled up and downe, feeking what worke might be found about Greece, had received instruction from the Senate, to use the most of his diligence in looking into the Estate of Macedon; At his returne home, that he might not seeme to have discovered nothing, he fold the Fathers, That Philip had done what soever they enjoyeed him; yet so, asit might appear, that fuch his obedience would last no longer, than meere necessity should enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and fayings of that King did wholly tend unto rebellion, about which he was deviling. Now it was so indeed, that Philip much repented him of his faithfull obsequiousnesset to the Romans, and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their owne hands; with fafety of their honour, if they could finde convenient means; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparent) by what meanes foever. He was in an ill cale: as having beene already vanquished by them; having loft exceedingly both in strength and reputation; having subjects that abhorredto heare of Warre with Rome; and having neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto, urged, would adventure to take his part: yet he provided as well as he could devise, against the necessity which he daily feared. Such of his owne people as dwelt in the maritime Townes, and gave him cause to suspect that they would doe but bad service against the Romans, he compelled to forsake their dwellings, and removed them alkinto Emaibia. The Cities and Country, whence these were transplanted, hee filled with a multitude of Thracians, whose faith he thought a great deale more affured

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against those enemies that were terrible to the Macedonians. Further, he devised upon alluring the Baltarne, a strong and hardie Nation, that dwelt beyond the river of Dan nabens, to abandon their feat, and come to him with all their multitude: who befides other great rewards, would helpe them to root out the Dardanians, and take possession of their Country. These were like to doe him notable service against the Romans; being not onely flout fighting men, but fuch, as being planted in those quarters by him, would beare refrect unto him alone. The least benefit that could be hoped by their arrivall. must be the utter extirpation of the Dardanians; a People alwayes troublesome to the Kingdome of Macedon, when soever they found advantage. Neither was it judged any hard matter, to perswade those Bastarna, by hope of spoyle, and other incitements, to unto a more desperate Expedition, through Illyria, and the Countries upon the driaticke Sea, into Italie it selfe. It was not knowne who should withstand them upon the way: rather it was thought, that the Scordifer, and peradventure some others. through whose Countries they were to passe, would accompanie them against the Remans, were it onely in hope of spoyle. Now to facilitate the remove of these Bastarne. from their own habitations, into the Land of the Dardanians, upon the border of Macedon; a long and tedious journey unto them, that carried with them their wives and children: Philip with gifts did purchase the good will of some Thracian Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to passe. And thus hee fought meanes to strengthen himselfe, with helpe of the wilde Nations, which neither knew the Ro, 20 mans, nor were knowne unto them; fince he was not like to finde affiftance from any civill Nation, about the whole compasse of the Mediterranean Seas. But these devices were long ere they tooke effect: fo as the Baftarne came not before fuch time as he was dead; his death being the overthrow of that purpose. In the meane time he neglected not the trayning of his mento war, and the exercise of them in some small Expeditions, against those wild people that bordered upon him, and stood worst affected toward him.

But these his counsels and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell upon him, both in his Kingdome, and in his owne house. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much against their wils to forsake their ancient 30 dwellings, and betake themselves to such new habitations, as he in his discretion thought meeter for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained it selfe within words: he having done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long lived: which also he did unwillingly, being himselfe over-ruled by necessitie, that seemed apparent. This evill therefore would foone have beene determined, had not his cruell and vindicative nature made it worfe. He could not pardon words proceeding from just forrow: but imputed all to traiterous malice; and accordingly fought revenge where it was needlesse. In his rage he caused many to die: among whom were some eminent men; and few or none of them deservedly. This increased the hatred of the 40 people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more generall, when the King in a barbarous and base furie, mistrusting all alike whom hee had injured, thought himselfe unlike to be safe, untill hee should have massacred all the children of those parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his unmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragicall than perhaps he could have defired, gave men cause to thinke (as they could not in reason thinke otherwise) that, not without vengeance powred on him from Heaven, hee felt the like miserie in his owne children. It is hard to fay what the Romans intended, in the extraordinary favour which they shewed unto Demetrius, the Kings younger sonne. It may well be (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissenti- 50 on betweene the brethren, but onely to cherish the vertue and towardlinesse of Demetrius; like as we find it in their Histories. But their notable favour towards this young Prince, and his mutuall respect of them, bred extreme jealousie in the fathers head. If any custome of the Romans, the manner of their life, the fashion of their apparell, or the unfightly contriving and building (as then it was) of the Towne of Rome, were jested at in ordinary discourse and table-take, Demerring was sure to be presently on fire, defending and praising them, even in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conversation with their Embassadours, as often as they came, gave his father

cause to thinke, that he was no fit partaker of any counsell held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his devices with his elder fon Perfeus: who fearing fo much left his brother should step betweene him and the succession, converted wholly unto his destruction, that grace which he had with his father. Perseus was then thirty yeeres olds of a stirring spirit, though much defective in valour. Demetrius was younger by five veeres, more open and unwarie in his actions, yet thought old and crafty enough, to entertaine more dangerous practices, than his free speeches discovered. The jealous head of the King having entertained fuch suspitions, that were much increased by the cunning practice of his elder sonne, a slight occasion made the fire breake out, that had long layne smothered. A Muster, and ceremonious lustration of the Armie, was wont 10 to be made at certaine times with great folemnitie. The manner of it at the prefent was thus: They cleft in twaine a bitch, and threw the head and fore-part, with the entrailes. on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Armie was to passe. This done, the armes of all the Kings of Macedon, from the very first originall, were borne before the Armie. Then followed the King betweene his two fonnes: after him came his owne band, and they of his guard; whom all the rest of the Macedonians followed. Having performed other ceremonies, the Armie was divided into two parts: which, under the Kingstwo sonnes, charged each other in manner of a true fight. using poles, and the like, in stead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this prefent skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the victory: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captaines did over-earnestly seeke each to get the upper hand, as a betokening of their good fuccesse in a greater triall. Some fmall hurt there was done, and wounds given, even with those stakes, untill Perseus his fide at length recoyled. Perseus himselfe was forry for this, as it had been some bad prefage: but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good use. They were of the craftier fort: who, perceiving which way the Kings fayour bent, and how all the courses of Demetrius led unto his owne ruine, addressed their services to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they faid, that this victory of Demetrins would affoord matter of complaint against him; as if the heate of his ambition had carried him 30 beyond the rules of that folemne passime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his owne companions, and each of them had spies in the others lodging, to observe what was faid and done. One of Perfeus his Intelligencers behaved himfelfe fo indifcreetly, thathe was taken & well beaten by three or four of Demetrius his men, who turned him out of doores. After some store of wine, Demetrius told his companions, that he would goe visit his brother, and see what cheare he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting fuch of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet hee would leave none of his traine behinde, but forced them all to beare him company. They, fearing to be ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselves secretly to prevent all danger. Yet was there fuch good espiall kept, that this their comming armed was forthwith made knowne to Perfeus: who thereupon tumultuously locked up his doores, as if he stood in feare to be affaulted in his house. Demerrius wondred to see himselfe excluded, and fared very angerly with his brother. But Perfeus bidding him be gone as an enemie, and one whose murdrous purpose was detected, sent him away with entertainment no berter than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the King. The elder brother accused the younger unto the father of them both. Much there was alledged. & in effect the fame that hath bin here recited, fave that by misconstruction all was made worfe. But the maine point of the accufation, and which did aggravate all the reft, was, That Demerriss had undertaken this murder, and would perhaps also dare to undertake a greater, upon confidence of the Romans; by whom he knew that he should be defen-50 ded and borne out. For Perfess made shew, as if the Romans did hate him; because he bore a due respect unto his father, and was forry to see him spoyled, and daily robbed of fomewhat by them. And for this cause he faid it was, that they did animate his brother against him: as also that they sought how to winne unto Demetrius the love of the Macedonians. For proofe hereof he cited a letter, sent of late from Time Quining to the king himselfe: whereof the contents were, That he had done wisely in sending Demetring to Rome; and that hee should yet further doe well to fend him thither againe, accompanied with a greater and more honourable traine of Macedonian Lords. Hence he enforced. That this counfell was given by Titui, of purpose to shake the allegiance of those, that CHAP. 6. S.3.

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should wait upon his brother to Rome; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King become fervants to this yong Traytor Demetrius. Hereto Demetrius made anfwer by rehearing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as he remembred them, and had conceived of them: bitterly reprehending Perfew, that converred matters of Pastime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation. whereby he fought his innocent brothers death. As for the love which the Romans did beare him, he faid that it grew, if not by his owne vertue, at leastwife from their opinion thereof: fo as by any impious practice, he were more like to lofe it wholly, than to increase it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not such passions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; besides those that are common to all Plaintiffes and De-10 fendants, before ordinary Judges. The King pronounced like a father, though a jealous father. That he would conclude nothing upon the excesse or error, what soever it were of one day and night, nor upon one houres audience of the matter, but upon better objervation of their lives, manners, and whole carriage of themselves both in word and deed. And herein he may feeme to have dealt both juftly and compaffionately. But from this time forward he gave himself over wholly to Perseus : using so little conference with his vonger fon that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the Romans, he liked neither to have him present, nor neere unto him. Above all, he had especialicare, to learne out what had passed between Demerring and T. Quinting, or any other of the Roman great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadors to Rome, Philocles and Apolles; men whom he thought no way interessed in the quarrels between the brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they faw the more in grace. The fe brought home with them a letter, faid to be written by Tum (whose feale they had counterfeited) unto the King. The contents whereof were, Adeprecation for the young Prince; with an intimation as by way of granting it, That his youthful and ambitious defires, had caused him to enter into practices unjustifiable, against his elder brother; which yet should never take effect: for that Tim himselfe would not be author or abettor of any impious device. This maner of excuse did forcibly perswade the King to thinke his fon a dangerous Traytor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one Didas, to whom he gave Demetrius in cultodie, made shew as if he had pittied the estate of the un- 30 happy Prince; and so wrung out of him his secret intentions, which he shortly discovered unto Philip It was the purpose of Demetrine to Aye secretly to Rome; where he might hope not only to live in fafety, from his father and brother, but ingreater likelihood, than he could finde at home, of bettering such claime as he had in reversion unto the Crowne of Macedon. Whatfoever his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falshood of Didas; who, playing on both hands, offered unto the Prince his helpe for making the escape, and in the meane while revealed the whole mater to the King. So Philip resolved to put his son to death, without surther expence of time. It was thought behovefull to make him away privily, for feare left the Romans should take the matter to heart. and hold it as a proofe fufficient, at least, of the Kings despight against them, if not of his 40 meaning to renew the war. Didas therefore was commanded to rid the unhappy Prince out of his life. This accurled Minister of his Kings unadviled sentence, first gave povfon to Demetrius: which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was defired. Hereupon he sent a couple of Ruffians, to finish the tragedie: who villainously accomplithed their work, by Imothering that Prince, in whole life confifted the greatest hope of Macedon.

In all the race of Anigonus there had not beene found a King, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his owne bloud. The houses of Lysmachen and Cassander fell either with themselves, or even upon their heeles; by intestine discord and jealousies, grounded on defire of loveraigne rule, or feare of lofing it. By the like unnaturall ha- 50 tred had almost bin cut off the lines of Prolomie and of Selenew: which though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grievously distempered. Contrariwife it was worthy of extraordinary note how that upftart family of the Kings of Pergamus had raifed it lelfe to marvellous greatnesse, in very short space, from the condition of meere flavery: whereof a principall cause was, the brotherly love maintained by them, with fingular commendation of their piety. Neither was Philip ignorant of these examples; but is said to have propounded the last of them to his owne children, as a patterne for them to imitate. Certainely he had reason so to doe : not

more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith King Anigonas his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minority. But he was himselse of an unmercifull nature; and therefore unmeet to be a good perswader unto kindly affection. The murders by him done upon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the fatiating of his bloud-thirsty appetite, he delightfully had committed upon many innocents, both frangers, and subjects of his owne; did now procure vengeance downe from Heaven that rewarded him with a draught of his owne Poyson. After the death of his sonnes he too late began to examine the crimes that had been objected; and to weigh them in a more equall ballance. Then found he nothing that could give him fatisfaction, or by 10 good probabilitie induce him to thinke, that malice had not bin contriver of the whole processe. His onely remaining fon Perfess could so ill dissemble the pleasure which hee tooke, in being freed from all danger of competition, as there might eafily be perceived in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remove of those dangers which he had lately pretended. The Romans were now no leffe to bee feared than at other times, when he, as having accomplished the most of his defires, left off his usuall trouble of minde, and carefulnesse of making provision against them. He was more diligently courted, than in former times, by those that well understood the difference betweene a rifing and a fetting Sunne. As for old Philip, he was left in a manner desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousnesse of such expectation. This bred in the King a deepe melancholy; and filled his head with fufpitious imaginations; the like whereof he had never beene flow to apprehend. He was much vexed: and so much the more, for that he knew neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complaine. One honourable man, a Coufin of his, named Antigonus. continued fortue to Philip, that he grew thereby hatefull to Perfew: and thus becomming subject unto the same jealous impressions which troubled the King, became also partaker of his fecrets. This Counfellor, when he found that the anger conceived against Perfew would not vent it selfe, and give ease to the King, untill the truth were known whether Demetrius were guilty or no of the treason objected; as also that Philos 30 cles and Apelles, (the Embassadours which had brought from Rome that Epistle of Flaminius, that served as the greatest evidence against Demetrim) were suspected of forgery in the businesse: made diligent inquirie after the truth. In thus doing, he found one xychus, a man most likely to have understood what false dealing was used by those Embasfadors. Him heapprehended, brought to the Court, and prefented unto the King: faying. That this fellow knew all, and must therefore be made to utter what he knew. Xyehne for feare of torture, uttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himself. that he had beene employed by the Embassadors in that wicked piece of businesse. No marvell, if the Fathers passions were extreme, when he understood that by the unnatural practice of one fonne, he had fo wretchedly cast away another, farre more vertuous and To innocent. He raged exceedingly against himselfe, and withall against the Authors of the mischiefe. Upon the first newes of this discoverie, Apelles fled away, and got into Italies Philocles was taken: and either for a fmuch as he could not denie it when Xychus confronted him, yeelded himselfe guilty; or else was put to torture. Persens was now growne stronger, than that he should need to flye the Countrie: yet not so stout as to adventure himselfe into his fathers presence. He kept on the borders of the Kingdome towards Thrace, whilest his father wintred at Demetrias. Philip therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his ungracious sonne, tooke a resolution, to aliene the Kingdome from him, and confer it upon Anigonus. But his weake body, and excessive griefe of minde, fo disabled him in the travell thereto belonging, that ere he could bring his purpose to 50 effect, he was constrained to yeeld to nature. He had reigned about two and forty yeeres: alwaies full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexing him felfe with continual! warres; of which that with the Romans was most unhappy, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wife Prince would have defired, of bringing forth together both honour and profit. But for all the evill that befell him, he might thanke his own perverse condition: since his Uncle, King Antigonus, had left unto him an estate, so great, and fo well fettled, as made it eafie for him, to accomplish any moderate defires, if he had not abhorred all good counsell. Wherefore he was justly punished by feeling the difference between the imaginary happinesse of a Tyrant, which he affected, and 614

the life of a King, whereof he little cared to performe the dutie. His death, even whileft yet it was onely drawing neere, was fore-fignified unto Perfem, by Caligenes the Physician; who also concealed it a while from those that were about the Court. So Perfem came thicher on the sudden, and tooke possession of the Kingdome: which in fine he no leffe improvidently lost, than he had wickedly gotten.

6. IV.

How the Bastarne fell upon Dardania. The behavior of Perseus in the beginning of his reign.

Some wars of the Romans: and how they suffered Masanissa cruelly to oppresse the Cartha- 10
ginians. They quarrell with Perseus. They allow not their Confederates to make war without their leave obtained. The Treason of Callicrates, whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome, than in sormer times. Further quarrels to Perseus. He seeks friendship
of the Acheums, and is withstood by Callicrates. The Romans discover their intent of marring upon him.

Mmediately upon the death of Philip, came the Bastarna into Thrace: where order had beene taken, long before, both for the free paffage, and for the indemnitie of The Countrey. This compact was friendly observed, as long as no other was knowne than that Philip did live to recompence all that should be done, or sustained, for his service. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in Macedon; and not heard withall, that he took any care what became of the enterprize: then was all dasht and confounded. The Thracians would no longer affoord fo good markets unto thesestrangers, as formerly they had done. On the other fide, the Bastarna would not be contented with reason, but became their owne carvers. Thus each part having lost the rich hopes reposed in Philip, grew carefull of thriving in the present; with little regard of rightor wrong. Within a while they fell to blowes; and the Bastarna had the upper hand, so as they chased the Thracians out of the plaine Countries. But the victors made little use of their good fortune. For whether by reason of some overthrow, received by them in asfaulting a place of strength; or whether because of extreme bad weather, which is said to 30 have afflicted them as it were miraculously: all of them returned home, save thirty thoufand, which pierced on into Dardania. How these thirty thousand sped in their voyage, I doe not finde. It feems that by the carelesse using of some victories, they drew losse upon themselves; and finally tooke that occasion, to follow their companions backe into their own Country.

As for Persenthe thought it not expedient, in the noveltie of his reigne, to embroile himselfe in a war so dangerous, as that with the Romans was likely to prove. Wherefore he wholly gave his minde to the fettling of his Estate, which well done, he might afterwards accommodate himfelfe, as the condition of his affairs should require, either for war or peace. To prevent all danger of rebellion, he quickly took away the life of Anii- 40 gonus. To win love of his people, he fate personally to heare their causes in judgement, (though herein he was so over-diligent and curious, that one might have perceived this his vertue of justice to be no better than fained) as also he gratified them with many delightfull spectacles, magnificently by him set forth. Above all, he had care to avoid all neceffity of war with Rome: and therefore made it his first work, to fend Embassadors thither, to renew the league; which he obtained, and was by the Senate faluted King, and friend unto the State. Neither was he negligent in seeking to plirchase good will of the Greeks, and other his neighbours: but was rather herein so excessively bountifull, that it may seeme a wonder how in few yeers, to his utter ruine, he became so griping and tenacious, His feare was indeed the mastring passion, which over-ruled him, and changed him 50 into so many shapes, as made it hard to discern which of his other qualities were naturally his own. For proofe of this, there is requifite no more, than the relation of his actions past and following.

The Romans continued, as they had long, butie in warres against the Spaniards and Ligarians; people often vanquished, and as often breaking forth into new rebellion. They also conquered Ifria; subdued the rebelling Sardinians; and had some quarrels, though to little effect, with the Illyrians and others. Over the Carthaginians they bore (as ever fince the victory) a heavie hand scaliffered Masanifa to take from them what he

listed. The Carthaginians, like obedient Vassals to Rome, were affraid, though in defence of their owne, to take Armes: from which they were bound by an Article of peace, except it were with leave of the Romans. Masanisa therfore had great advantage over them, and was not ignorant how to use it. He could get possession by force, of whatsoever he defired, ere their complaining Embassals could be at Rome: and then were the Romans not hardly entreated to leave things as they found them.

So had he once dealt before, in taking from them the Country of Emporia: and for did he use them againe and againe; with pretence of title, where he had any; otherwise, without it. Gala the Father of Mafanisla had wonne some land from the Carthaginians; which afterward Syphax wanne from Gala, and within a while, restored to the right ow-10 ners for love of his Wife Sophonisba, and of Afdrubal his Father-in-law. This did Ma-(aniffarake from them by force: and by the Romans (to whose judgement the case was referred) was permitted quietly to hold it. The Carthaginians had now good experience, how beneficiall it was for their Estate, to use all manner of submissive obedience to Rome. They had scarcely digested this injury, when Masanissa came upon them againe, and tooke from them above feventy Townes and Castles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embaffadors, they made lamentable complaint unto the Roman Senate. They shewed how grievously they were oppressed by reason of two Articles in their League: That they should not make Warre out of their owne Lands; nor with any Confederates of the Romans. Now although it were fo that they might lawfully withstand the violence of Majanista, invading their Countrey, howsoever he was pleased to call it his: yet since he was Confederate with the Romans, they durst not presume to beare desensive armes against him, but suffered themselves to be eaten up, for feare of incurring the Romans indignation. Wherefore they intreated, that either they might have fairer justice; or be suffered to defend their owne by strong hand; or at least if right must wholly give place to favour, That the Romans yet would be pleased to determine, how farre forth Malanilla should be allowed to proceed in these outrages. If none of these petitions could be obtained, then defired they, that the Romans would let them understand, wherein they had offended fince the time that Scipio gave them 30 peace; and vouchfafe to inflict on them such punishment as they themselves in honour should thinke meet: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to suffer at once what should be appointed by such Judges; than continually to live in feare, and none otherwise draw breath, than at the mercy of this Numidian Hangman. And herewithall the Embaffadors threw themselves prostrate on the ground, weeping, in hope to move compassion.

Here may we behold the fruits of their envie to that valiant house of the Barchines; of their irrefolution in profecuting a war so important, as Hannibal made for them in Italy: and of their half-penny-worthing in matter of expence, when they had adventured their whole estate in the purchase of a great Empire. Now are they servants, even to the servants of those men, whose fathers they have often chased, slain, taken & fold as bond slaves in the streets of Carthage, and in all cities of Africk and Greece. Now have they enough of that Roman peace, which Hanno fo often and fo earneftly defired. Onely thy want peace with Masanissa, once their mercenary, and now their master, or rather their tormentor; out of whose cruell hands, they be seech their masters to take the office of correcting them. In such case are they, and adore the Romans, whom they see flourishing in such prosperity as might have beene their owne. But the Romans had farre better entreated Varro who lost the battell at Canna; than Hannibal that wan it was used by the Carthaginians they had freely bestowed, every man of them, all his private riches upon the Commonwealth; and employed their labours for the publike, without craving recompence: as al-To they had not thought it much, though being in extreme want, to fet out an Armie into Spaine, at what time the enemy lay under their owne walles. These were no Carthaginian vertues : and therefore the Carthaginians, having fought against their betters, must patiently endure the miseries belonging to the vanquished. Their pitifull behaviour bred peradventure some commiseration; yet their teares may seeme to have beene mistrusted, as proceeding no lesse from envie to the Romans, than from any feeling of their owne calamity. They thought themselves able to fight with Masanifa: which estimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into comparisons with Rome. Wherefore they obtained no such leave as they sought, Vvvvv

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of defending their owne right by armes: but contrariwife, when without leave obtained they prefumed fo farre, the deftruction of Carthage was thought an eafie punishment of that offence. At the prefent, they received a gentle answer; though they had otherwife little amends. Guluffa the fonne of Mafaniffa was then in Rome; and had not as ver craved audience. He therefore was called before the Senate; where he was demanded the reason of his comming; and had related unto him the complaint made by the Cariba. ginians against his father. He answered, That his Father not being throughly aware of any Embaffadors thither fent from Carthage, had therefore not given him inftructions how to deale in that businesse. Onely it was knowne, that the Carthaginians had held Councell divers nights, in the Temple of Afailapius: whereupon he himselfe was 10 dispatched away to Rome, there to intreat the Senate, that these common enemies of the Romans, and of his Father, might not be overmuch trufted; especially against his Father. whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the people of Rome. This answer gavelittle satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replyed, that for Masanissa his fake, they had done, and would doe, what foever was reafonable; but that it flood nor with their justice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the Carthaginians those Lands, which by the covenants of the League, were granted unto them freely to enjoy. With this milde rebuke they difmiffed Guluffa; bestowing on him friendly presents (as alfo they did on the Carthaginians) and willed him to tell his Father, that he should doe well to fend Embaffadors, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when the Macedonian Warre was even ready to begin: at which time the Romans were not willing too much to offend, either the Carthaginians (for feare of urging them unfeafonably to rebellion) or Majanifa, at whose hands they expected no little helpe. So were they aided both by the Carthaginians, and Majanisa by the Carthaginians, partly for feare partly for hope of better ulage in the future; by Majaniffa, in way of thankfulnesse. though if it had happened (which was unlikely) that they should be vanguished; he made none other account, than that all Africk round about him, and Carthage therewithall, should be his owne.

In the midft of all these cares, the Romans had not been unmindfull of Persew. They vifited him daily with Embaffadors; that is, with honourable spies to observe his behavi- 30 our. These he entertained kindely at first, untill (which fell out ere long) he perceived whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in Dardania: neither would they take any fatisfaction, untill the Bastarna were thence gone; though he protested that he had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no leffe ill contented with good offices, by him done, to fundry of his neighbours, than with those wrongs, which (they said) that he did unto other some. Where he did harm to any they called it, making War upon their friends: Where he did good; they called fuch his bounty, feeking friends to take his part againft them. The Dolopians, his fubjects, (upon what occasion it is uncertaine) rebelled, and with exquisite torments flew Euphranor, whom he had appointed their Governour. It feemes that Euphra- 40 nor had played the Tyrantamong them. For they were a people without strength to refift the Macedonian: and therefore unlikely to have prefumed to farre, unleste either they had been extremely provoked; or elfe were fecretly animated by the Romans. Whatfoever it was that bred this courage in them: Perfeue did foone allay it, and reclaime them by strong hand. But the Romans took very angerly this presumption of the King:even as if he had invaded some Country of their Italian Confederates, and not corrected his owne rebels at home. Faine they would have had him to draw in the fame yoke with the Carthaginians; whereunto had he humbled once his necke, they could themselves have done the part of Masanissathough Eumenes, or some other fit for that purpose, had beene wanting. And to this effect, they told him. That the Conditions of the League between 50 them were fuch as made it unlawfull, both to his Father heretofore, and now to him, to take armes without their licence first obtained.

To the fame passethey would also faine have reduced the Greeks, and generally all their adherents, even such as had entred into league with them upon equal termes: whom usually they rewarded with a frowne, whensoever they presumed to right themselves by force of Armes, without seeking first the Oracle at Rome. Hereof the Acheans had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength, made them otherwhiles bold to be their owne carvers, and whose hope of extraordinary favour at Rome caused

them the more willingly to refer their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to have chastised the Messenians by War; T. Quintins rebuked them, as too arrogant in taking fuch a worke in hand, without his authority : yet by his authority he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended. even with Lordly threats, when they tooke upon them to carry any bufineffe of imporrance by their owne power, without standing unto the good grace of the Romans. Who nevertheleffe upon fubmiffion, were aptenough to do them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute liberty, as by which they were not like to thrive; especially in usurping the practice of Arms, which belonged only to the To Imperiall City. In learning this hard leffon, they were fuch untoward schollers, that they needed, and not long after felt, very sharpe correction. Yet was there no small part of blame to be imputed unto their Masters. For the Roman Senate, being desirous to humble the Achaens, refused not only to give them such aide as they requested, and as they challenged by the tenour of the League betweene them; but further, with a carelesse insolencie, rejected this honest and reasonable petition, That the Enemy might not be supplyed from Italy with victuals or armes. Herewith not content, the Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affaires of Greece, pronounced openly, That if the Argives, Lacedamonians. or Corinthians would revolt from the Acheans; they themselves would thinke it a businesse no way concerning them.

of the History of the World.

This was presently after the death of Philopamen: at what time it was believed, that the Common-wealth of Achaia was like to fall into much distresse; were it not upheld by countenance of the Romans. All this notwithstanding; when Lycortas Prætor of the Acheans had utterly subdued the Messenians farre sooner than was expected; and when as not only no towne rebelled from the Acheans, but many entred into their corporation: then did the Romans with an ill-favoured grace, tell the fame Embaffadors, to whose petition they had made such bad answer (and who as yet were not gone out of the Citie,) That they had streightly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to Messene. Thus thinking, by a fained gravity, to have served their owne turnes; they manifested their condition; both to set on the weaker against the stronger and more 30 suspected 3 and also to assume unto themselves a Soveraigne power, in directing all matters of Warre, which diffemblingly they would have feemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their Confederates: not permitting any of them to make Warre, whether offensive or defensive; though it were against meere strangers; without interposing the authority of the Senate and People of Rome : unlesse peradventure, fometimes they winked at fuch violence, as did helpe towards the accomplishment of their owne fecret malice. Now these Roman Arts, howsoever many (for gainefull or timerous respects) would seeme to understand them; yet were generally displeasing unto all men endued with free spirits. Only the Athenians, once the most turbulent Citie in Greece, having neither subjects of their owne that might rebell, nor power wherewith to bring any into subjection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practife their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations. were much delighted in flattering the most mighty. So they kept themselves in grace with the Romans, remained free from all trouble, untill the Warre of Mithridates : being men unfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the Roman victories, and Pardon-cravers for the vanquished. Such were the Athenians become. As for those other Common-weales and Kingdomes that with over-nice diligence, strove to preserve their Liberties and Lands, from consuming by peice-meale: they were to be devoured whole, and swallowed up at once. Especially the Macedonian, as the most unpliant, and wherein many of the Greekes began to have af-50 fiance, was necessarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow, than to breake.

Neither Perfess nor the Komans were ignorant, how the Greeks at this time flood affected. Perfeus, by reason of his neere neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce betweene them and his subjects, could not want good information of all that might concerne him, in their affaires. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which Philopamen had long fince forerold, of the miserable subjection, whereinto Greece was likely to be reduced, by the Roman Patronage. Indeed they not onely perceived the approaching danger, but as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, felt

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themselves grieved with the present subjection, whereto already they were become obnoxious. Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publike to fall out with the Romans; yet all of them had the care, to choose among themselves none other Magistrates, than such as affected the good of their Country, and would for no ambition, or other servile respect, be flatterers of the greatnesse which kept all in feare Thus it feemed likely, that all domesticall conspiracies would soone be at an end; when honestie, and love of the Common-weale, became the fairest way to preferment. Of this carefull provision for the safety of Greece, the Romans were not throughly advertised: either because things were diligently concealed from their Embassadours, whom all men knew to be little better than Spies; or because little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by fuch Traitors (of whom every Citie in Greece had too many) as were men unregarded among their owne people, and therefore more like to speake maliciously than truely; or perhaps because the Embassadours themselves, being all Senators, and capable of the greatest Office or charge, had no will to finde our other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their owne defires of employment. But it is hard to conceale that which many know, from those that are feared or flattered by many. The Acheans being to fend Embassadors to Rome, that should both excuse them, as touching fome point wherein they refused to obey the Senate; and informe the Senate better in the same businesse; chose one Callicrates, among others, to goe in that Embassage. By their making choice of fuch a man, one may perceive the advantage, which mischievous ad wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vile defires, have against the plaine fort of honest men, that least earnestly thrust themselves into the troublesome bufinesse of the weale publike. For this Callicrates was in such wise transported with ambition, that he chose much rather to betray his Country, than to let any other be of more authoritie than himselfe therein. Wherefore in stead of well discharging his credence and alledging what was meeteft in justification of his people, heuttered a quite contrary tale; and strongly encouraged the Romans, to oppresse both the Acheans, and all the rest of Greece, with a far more heavie hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to look unto the fettling of their authority, among his froward Countrimen; if they meant not wholly to forgoe it. For now there was taken up a custome, to stand upon points of confederacy, and lawes : as if these were principally to be had in regard; any injunction from Rome notwithstanding.

Hencegrew it, that the Acheans, both now, and at other times, did what best pleafed themselves, and answered the Romans with excuses: as if it were enough to say, That by some condition of League, or by force of some Law, they were discharged, or hindered, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not be so, if hee, and some other of his opinion, might have their wills: who ceased not to affirme, That no Columes, or Monuments erected, nor no folemne oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the observance of Confederacie or statute, ought to be of force, when the Romans willed the contrary. But it was even the fault of the Romans themselves, that themultitude refused to give eare unto such perswasions. For howsoever in popular Estates, the sound of libertie used to be more plausible, than any discourse tending against it: yet if they which undertooke the maintenance of an argument, seeming never so bad, were sure by their so doing, to procure their owne good; the number of them would increase apace, & they become the prevalent faction. It was therefore frange how the Fathers could so neglect the advancement of those, that sought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the Roman majesty. More wisely, though with seditious and rebellious purpose, did the Greeks: who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, upon men otherwise of little account or defert; only for having uttered some brave words against the Romans. The Fathers hearing these and the like reasons, wherewith he 50 exhorted them to handle roughly those that were obstinate, and by cherishing their friends, to make their partie strong; resolved to follow this good counsell, in every point; yearo depresse all those that held with the right, and to set up their owne followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not only dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the Acheans, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the present unto all Cities of Greece, requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of Lacedamon) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalfe of Callicrates, they advised all men to be fuch,

and so affected, as he was, in their severall common-weales. With this dispatch, Callicrates returned home a joyfull man: having brought his Country into the way of ruine, but himselfe into the way of preferment. Neverthelesse he forbore to vaunt himselfe of his eloquence used in the Senate. Onely he so reported his Embassage, that all ment became fearefull of the danger, where with he threatned those that should presume to oppose the Romans. By such arts he obtained to be made Prætor of the Acheans: in which Magistracie, as in all his courses following, he omitted nothing, that might serve to manifest his ready obsequiousnesse unto those whom he had made his Patrons.

Now as the Romans by threatning termes wan many flatterers, and loft as many true friends: fo Perseus on the other side, thinking by liberall gifts, and hopefull promises, to 10 affure unto himselfe those that ill could brooke his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honester than his enemies had. Thus were all the Cities of Greece distracted with factions: some holding with the Romans, some with the Macedonian. and some few, respecting onely the good of the Estates wherein they lived. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignitie not fufferable. That a King, no better than their vaffall, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of his trespasses: whereof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall affoord them just occasion to make warre upon him. Perfess having finished his businesse among the Dologians, made a journey to Apollo his Temple at Delphi. He took his Army along with him : yet went, and returned in such peaceable and friendly wife, that no place was the worse for his journy, but the good affection towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, he dealt himselfe; to such as lay further off, he sent Embassadors or letters: praying them, That the memory of all wrongs what soever, done by his father, might be buried with his father; fince his owne meaning was to hold friendship fincerely with all his neighbours. The Romans perhaps could have beene pleased better, if he had behaved himselfe after a contrary fashion, and done some acts of hostilitie in his passage. Yet as if he ought not to havetaken fuch a journy, without their licence; this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heap of his faults. He laboured greatly to recover the 30 love of the Acheans: which his father had fo lost, that by a solemn decree, they forbade any Macedonian to enter their territories. It was jealousie perhaps, no lesse than harred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree . For how soever Philip had by many vile acts, especially by the death of the two Aratz, given them cause to abhorre him: yet in the publike administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, been to them so beneficiall, that not without much adoe, and at length, without any generall consent. they refolved to forfake him. Where fore it was needfull, even for prefervation of concord among them, to use all circumspection, that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a country towards him so doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his meffages, they might make themselves suspected by 40 their new friends. But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of Warre, and when all danger of innovation was past, was uncivill, if not inhumane; as nourishing deadly harred without leaving means of reconciliation. And hereof the Acheans reaped no good fruit. For although they were not, in like fort, forbidden the kingdome of Macedon: yet understanding what would be due to them, if they should adventure thither, none of them durst set foot therein. Hence it came to passe, that their bondmen, knowing a fafe harbour, out of which their mafters could not fetch them, ranne daily away in great numbers: exceedingly to the loffe of fuch, as made of their flaves very profitable use. But *Perfew* tooke hold upon this occasion: as firly serving to pacific those, whose enmity faine he would have changed into love. He therefore apprehended all so these fugitives, to send them home againe: and wrote unto the Acheans, That as for good will unto them, he had taken paines to reftore back their fervants, fo should they doe very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not run away again. His meaning was readily understood, and his letters kindly accepted by the greater partibeing openly rehearfed by the Prætor before the Councel. But Callierates took the matter very angerly; and bade them be advised what they did: for that this was none other, than a plaine device, to make them depart from the friendship of the Romans. Herewithall he tooke upon him, fomewhat liberally, to make the Acheans beforehand acquainted with the Warre, that was comming upon Perfews from Rome. Hee VVVVV3

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told them how Philip had made preparations for the fame Warre; how Demetrius had beene made away, because of his good affection to the Romans; and how Perfeus had fince his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly, Herehearfed all those matters, which were afterwards alledged by the Romans; the invasion of the Bastarna, upon the Dardanians; the Kings journy against the Dolopians; his vovage to Delphi, and finally, his peaceable behaviour, which was (he faid) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherefore he advised them to expect the event of things, and not over-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the Macedomans. Hereto good answer was made by the Pretors brother: That Callicrates was too earnest in so light a matter; and that, being neither one of the Kings Cabbinet, nor of the Roman Se- 10 nate, he made himselfe too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to sollow. For it was well known, that Perfew had renewed his League with the Romans : that he was by them faluted King, and friend to the Estate; and that he had lovingly entertained their Embassadors: This being so: why might not the Achains, as well as the Atolians, The salians, Epirots, and all the Greeks, hold with him such correspondence, as common humanity required ? Neverthelesse Callicrates was growne a man so terrible. by his Roman acquaintance, that they durft not over-stiffely gainesay him. Therefore the matter was referred unto further deliberation and answer made the whilest, That fince the King had onely fent a letter without an Embassador, they knew nor how to resolve. Better it was to say thus, than that they were affraid to do as they thought most 26 reasonable and convenient. But when Perseus herewith not contented, would needes urge them further, and fend Embassadors: then were they faine, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to give audience: which was proofe fufficient (to one that could understand) of the condition wherein they lived. For harkening to this advice of Callicrates; they were soone after highly commended by a Roman Embassador: whereby it became apparent, that the Romans intended War upon the Macedonian; hough hitherto no cause of War was given.

How Eumenes King of Pergamus was bufied with Pharnaces, the Rhodians, and others. His 30 hatred to the Macedonian: whom he accuseth to the Roman Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemnes his enemies the Rhodians, with the causes thereof. The unusuall fournesse of the Macedonian Embassadors. Perseus his attempt upon Eumenes. The brotherly love between Eumenes and Attalus. Perfeus his device to poyfon fome of the Roman Senators: whereupon they decree war against him, and fend him defiance. Other things concerning the justice of this War.

" Umenes King of Pergamus had beene troubled about these times, by the Kings Pharnaces and Mithridates, his neighbours. Hee had taken the right course; in making first his complaint to the Romans: by whom he was animated with 40 comfortable words, and promife, That they, by their authority, would end the businesse to his content. But in conclusion, by the helpe of the Kings, Prusias and Ariarathes, he ended the War himselfe; and brought his Enemies to seeke and accept peace, on fuch conditions as pleased him to give them. After this, being at good leisure; he began to consider how the affaires of Macedon stood under Perseus. His hatred to Perseus, was very great: and therefore he was glad to understand, that the hatred of the Romans, to the same his Enemy, was as great, and withall notorious. Now, besides his ancient and hereditarie quarrell with the Macedonian; it vexed him exceedingly, That his own honours (whereof the Greekes, prodigall in that kind, had heaped immoderate store on his father and him) began to waxe every where stale: whilst Perseus, either by his cur- 50 rying favour, or by the envie borne to the Romans, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despight of this indignity, He stirred up the Lycians against the Rhodians his old friends: and in helping these rebels was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open Warre. But small pleasure found he in these poore and indirect courses of revenge. The Lycians could not be faved by his Patronage, from severe and cruell chastisement, given to them by the Rhodians. This rendered him contemptible: as like wife, his acts of hostility, little different from robberies, made him hatefull to those which loved him before. As for his honours in the Cities of Greece; they not onely continued

falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the Achaans, as too unmeasured. misbeseeming them to give, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deservings. All this (which he needed not to have regarded, had he not beene too vainely Livilly 42) ambitious) befell him; especially for his being over-serviceable to the Romans, and for his malice to that noble Kingdome; which if it fell, the liberty of Greece was not like to stand. Now for the redresse hereof, he thought it vaine to strive any longer with bounty; against such an Adversary, as by hopefull promises alone, without any great performance, had over-topped him in the generall favour. And therefore he refolved even to overturn the foundations of this popularitie, by inducing the Romans utterly to take 10 away from the eyes of men this Idol, the Macedonian Kingdome, which all so vainely worshipped. Neither would it prove a difficult matter, to perswade those that were already defirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for fetting forward their wishes & perhaps to be recompenced with some piece of the kingdome, as he had bin rewarded.

forthe like fervice, when Antiochin was vanquished.

To this end he made a fecond voyage to Rome: where though hee had little to fav. which they knew not before, yet his words were heard with fuch attention, as if they had contained fome strange noveltie, and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turne the ballance, that before was equall. The death of Demetrin, the expedition of the Bastarna into Dardania, that of Perseus himselfe against the Dolopians, 20 and to Delphi, the great estimation of the Macedonian in Greece, his intermeddling in bufinesse of his neighbours, his riches and his great provisions, were all the material points of Eumenes his discourse. Only he descended unto particulars, having searched into all (as he professed) like unto a Spie. Hee said, that Persew had thirty thousand soot, and five thousand Horse, of his owne, money in a readinesse to entertaine ten thousand Mercenaries for ten yeeres, armes to furnish a number thrice as great; The Thracians his friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him Souldiers as many as hee should require: and that he prepared victuals for ten yeeres, because he would not be driven, either to live upon spoyle, or to take from his owne Subjects. Herewithall he prayed them to confider, that King Seleucus, the sonne and successour of Antiochusthe Great, had given 30 his daughter Laodice in marriage to Perfew ; Perfew not wooing, but Seleucus offering the match; That King Prusias of Bubynia, by earnest fuite, had gotten to wife the sister of Persew, and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassages from all quarters. Neither spared he to tell them, (though seeming loth to utter it plainely) That even the envie to their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to heare of amitie with Philip, were now growne marvelloufly well affected to his fonne. All this, and fome facts of Persew, which might either be denied or justified, (as that he had procured the death of some which were friends to the Romans, and that he had expelled Abrypolis the Illyrian, who invaded Macedon, out of his kingdome, or Lordship) Eumenes failed not to amplifie unto the most; saying that he thought it his duty to forewarne them: fince it would be to himselfe a great shame, if Perseus got the start of him, and were in Italie making war upon the Romans, ere Eumenes could come thirher to

tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to believe that the Romans stood in feare of Persens, less the should fet upon them in *Italie*. Nevertheleffe, for a fmuch as they loved not to make war without faire pretence, not onely of wrong done to them or their affociates but of further hurt intended: great thankes were given to Eumenes, who had every way furnished them with fuch goodly colour, to beautific their intendment. Now though it were fo that he told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his comming, made all feeme greater. For if upon any relation made by their 50 owne Embassadours, or upon tales devised by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against Perseus, ere he had committed any open act of hostility against them; their injustice and oppression would have been most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done were fo notorious, and the danger threatning them fo terrible, that fuch a Prince as Eumenes came out of his owne Kingdome, as farre as from Afia, to bid them looke to themselves; who could blame them, if they tooke the speediest order to obtain their owne right and securitie? Toward this justification of the warre, and magnifying the neceffitie that enforced them thereto, their more than usuall curiofitie, in concealing what Eumenes had uttered in the Senate, when they could not but understand that his errand

Liv.lib.41.

was well knowne; helped not a little. The Macedonian and Rhodian Embassadours were at Rome, provided of answers to the words, which they knew before-hand that he would fpeake; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of him, or of some about him, seemes to have disclosed all: when the wearinesse of the Fathers, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearfull apprehension; against which, it behoved their wisedome to neglect no possible remedy. Wherefore carelesse audience was given to the Rhodian Embassadours; who accused Eumenes, as one more troublesome to Asia, than Anisochus had ever beene, and a provoker of the Lycians to rebellion. The Rhodians had with great pompe conveighed by fea unto Perfem, his bride Laodice; which friendly office, as the Macedonian bountifully required, so the Romans de- 10 Polleg. 60. 2061 spightfully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the Lycians, as already vanquished, were fettling themselves in their obedience to the people of Rhodes. Embassadors came from Rome with strange newes, which gave new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced. That it stood not with the manner of the Romans, to alien quite from their owne protection any people or Nation by them vanquished: and that the Lycians were by them affigned unto those of Rhodes, not as meere vaffals, but as dependants and affociates. For proofe hereof, they referred themselves unto the commentaries of the ten Embassadours; whom they had sent to dispose of things in Asia, after the victory against King Antiochus. Hereat Eumenes, Masanisa, the Atolians, and all other Kings or Estates that were beholding to Rome for increasing the number of their subjects, had cause to 20 finde themselves agrieved, if they well considered the matter: since by force of this or the like decree, those their subjects might easily be made their fellowes, when soever it should please the Senate: though it were so, that all men knew the present meaning of the Senate, which was only to plague the Rhodians for their good will to Perfem, by fetting them and the Lycians together by the eares. The Fathers could therefore see no reason to dislike Eumenes, upon this complaint made by the Rhodian Embassadors; which indeed more neerely touched themselves. Rather they honoured the King so much the more: for that others (as they would needs take it) conspired against him, because of his love to Rome.

But the Macedonian Embassage they heard not so carelesly as angrily: though perad-30 venture it well contented them to finde cause of anger. For whereas at other times all care had beene taken, to pacific them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That King Perfeus defired much to give them fatisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might favour of hostilitie; but that, if his travell in this kinde proved vaine, then would he be ready to defend himselfe by armes, and stand to the chance of warre, which often falls out contrary to expectation. These bigge words may feeme to have proceeded from the vehemencie of Harpalm, that was chiefe of the Embassadors; rather than from instruction given by the King, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why Persew himselfe might, at this time, thinke to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to do by any sub- 40 mission. For the eyes of all Greece being now cast upon him, as on the greatest hope of deliverance from the Roman fervitude; it was not expedient, that he should lessen, or perhaps utterly cut off, the generall expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by discovering his too much weaknesse of spirit, unanswerable to a worke of fuch importance. Wherefore he, or his Embassador for him, was bold to fet a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subject (in appearance) to fortune; which might have been his had he known how to use it.

Now that this bravery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the Kings own heat, it appeares by his daring to adventure foone after, on a practice that more justly might anger the Romans, and give them fairer shew of reason to make warre 50 upon him. It was known that Eumenes, in returning home, would take Delihi in his way, and there doe facrifice to Apollo. Perfeus deadly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, refolved to way-lay him, and by making there of him a facrifice, to rid his owne hands of a most mischievous enemy. So there were appointed three or foure stout rushians to doe the murder: who placing themselves behind a broken mudwall, on the side of a very narrow path leading up from the Sea to the Temple, did thence affault the King; whom they forely bruifed with great stones, and left for dead. They might have finished their work; fuch was the opportunitie of the place which they had chosen; but scare of

being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all fure, slee in such haste, that they killed one of their owne companions, who could not hold pace with them, because he should not discover them. Eumenes was conveighed away to the little Ile of Agina where he was cured; being all the while kept fo fecretly, that the fame of his death was current in Afia. Hence it came, that his brother Analus took upon him as King, and either tooke or would have taken to wife (supposing it belike a matter of State) Stratonica the daughter of king Ariarathes, whom he then thought the widow of Eumenes. It may wel be numbred among the rare examples of brotherly love, That when the king returned alive home, Attalus going forth to meet him and doe his dutie, as informer times, recei-10 ved none other check than, that he should forbeare to marie with the Queene juntill he were well assured of the Kings death. More than this, Eumenes never spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, unto the same brother, both his wife and kingdome. As likewise Attalus forbore to attempt any thing to the prejudice of the king his brother : though the Romans (with whom he continued and grew in especiall favour, when Eumenes fell into

their hatred) were in good readinesse, to have transferred the kingdome from his brother to him. By fuch concord of brethren was the kingdome of Pergamas raised and upheld: as might also that of Macedon have been, if Demetrin had lived and employed his grace

with the Romans, to the benefit Perfew.

It is likely that Perfeus was very glad, when he understood that his ministers had bothaccomplished his will, and had faved all from discoverie. But as he was deceived in the maine point, and heard shortly after, that Eumenes lived; so was he beguiled in that other hope, of the concealement; which he vainly esteemed the lesse materiall. For he had written to one Praxo, a Gentlewoman of Delphi, to entertain the men whom he fent about this businesse: and she, being apprehended by C. Valerim, a Roman Embassadour. then attending upon the matters of Greece, was carried to Rome. Thus all came to light. Valerius also brought with him to Rome, out of Greece, one Rammius, a Citizen of Brundulium: who comming newly from the Court of Macedon, loaden with a dangerous fecret, had prefently fought out the Embassador, and thereof discharged himselfe. Brundufium was the ordinary Port for ships passing between Italy and Greece. There had Ram-30 mins a faire house; wherein he gave entertainment, being a wealthy man, to Embassadors. and other honourable personages, both Romans and Macedonians, journying to and fro. By occasion of such his hospitality, he was commended to Persem, and invited into Maceden with friendly letters; as one, whose many courtesies to his Embassadors, the King was studious to requite. At his comming he was much made of; and shortly with more familiaritie than he expected or defired, made partaker of the Kings fecrets. The fumme of all was, That he must needs doe a turne, in giving to such of the Romans as the King should hereafter name, a poylon of rare quality, fure in operation, yet norto be perceived either in the taking or afterward. He durft not refuse to accept this employment: for feare left the vertue of this medicine should be tryed upon himselfe. But being once at liberty, he discovered all. Rammius was but one man, and one whom the King had never seene before, nor was like to see againe : and therefore, besides that the Kings deniall ought to be as good as such a fellowes affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did Perfew, in time shortly following, answer for himselfe; and in like fort concerning the attempt upon Eumenes: denying to have had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withall professing, That such objections were not to be made unto a King, to prove the rightfulnesse of making warre upon him; but rather unto a subject pleading for his life in judgement. But how loever the Romans neglected the getting of stronger proofe (which might have beene easie) than any that we finde by them produced: yet the base and cowardly temper of Perseus was very sutable to these practices. Neither did the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcufable. And as for his Royall Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for fuch private offences, it gave him no priviledge: they judging him to have offended in the nature of a King. Herein furely they wanted not good reason. For if he might not lawfully make warre upon Eumenes their confederate, that is, if hee might not send men to waste the kingdome of Pergamu, or to besiege the Townes: might he send Ruffianstomurder the King! If it were no lesse breach of the league to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the fword, was it lawfull for him to doe it by poyfon: Wherefore they prefently decreed warre against him; and sent Embassadours

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6. VI.

dours to denounce it unto him, unlesse he would yeeld to make such amends as they should require. He seemed at this time to have beene so consident in the generall favour of Greece, and other comfortable appearances, that if he defired not war, yet he did nor fear it: or at least he thought by shew of courage, to make his enemies more calm. He caufed the Embassadours to dance attendance, till being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them back, and bade them doe their errand. They made a tedious rehearfall of all matters, which they had long bin collecting against him, and wherewith Eumenes had charged him: adding thereto, that he had entertained long and fecret conference in the Ile of Samothrace, with Embaffadours fent to him out of Afia, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which they peremptorily required satisfaction; as was their maner when they intended to give defiance. Better they might have stood upon the evidence, brought against him by Rammius and Praxo. For if those accusations could be verified. then wanted they not good ground whereon to build : of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to be strong, wel-beloved, and well friended. Perseus answered for the present in a rage; calling the Romans, greedy, proud, insolent, and underminers of him by their daily Embassadors that were no better than meere spies. Finally. he promifed to give them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the league made between them and his father, and renewed by himfelfindeed only for fear: but wished them to descend to more equal conditions: whereupon he, for his part, would advise as they might also doe for theirs.

Polyb.Legat.9.

Livlib.33.

In the form of the league between Philip and the Romans, as it is fet down by Polybius, we find no condition, binding the Macedonian to any inconvenience in the future; excepting those which he immediately performed. But Livie inserts a clause, whereby he was expresly forbidden to make any war abroad, without leave of the Romans. It is most likely that all the Roman confederates were included in this peace: whereby every one of the neighbours round about Macedon, entring shortly into league with Rome, did so bind the Kings hands, that he could no more make war abroad, than if he had bin restrained by plain covenant. And thus might that feem an article of the peace, which never was agreed upon, but only was inferred by confequence. Now if the Romans would urge this point further, and fay, that the Macedonian might not beare defensive arms, without their per-mission: then had Perfeus very just reason to find himselfe aggrieved. For since they had allowed his father, without controle, to make war in Thrace, (whileft they themselves were unacquainted with the Thracians) and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why should they now interpret the bargaine after another fashion? Was it now become unlawfull for him to chastise his own Rebels, or to repay an Illyrian that invaded Macedon? By fuch allegations he maintained the right of his cause, in very milde fort : when it was too late. At the present by disclaiming the league as unjust, he ministred occasion unto the Embassadors, to give him defiance. Having heard the worst of their meffage, he commanded them to be gone out of his Kingdome in three dayes. But either he should have bin lesse vehement, or more constant in his resolution. For if his heart could serve him to undertake the war, he should couragiously have managed it, and have fallen to worke immediately, while it the Enemie was unprepared; not have lost opportunitie, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

The Romans folicit the Greeks, to joyn with them in the war against Perseus. How the Greeks Good affected in that war. The timorousnesse of Perseus. Martius a Roman Embassador deludes him with hope of peace. His forces. He takes the field and wins part of The [aly. The forces of Licinius the Roman Conful : and what a siftants the Romans had in this war. Of Tempe in Thessaly; and what advantages the Macedonian had, or might have had; but loft by his feare. Perseus braves the Romans, fights with them, knowes not how to use his vi-Borie, sues for peace, and is denied it by the vanquished. Perseus having the worse in a skirmilb, for fakes all the Countrey lying without Tempe. The Beotians rebell against the Romans and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders unfortunate in the war against Perseus. They vexe the Greeks their friends ; for whose ease the Senate makes provision, having heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.

O long had the Romans beene feeking occasion to take in hand this Macedonian war, that well they might have beene ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behinde hand in provisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the warre: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together feemed more than sufficient. This opportunitie of inaking their cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were unprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or having reason to beleeve, that their owne strength was such as would prevaile in the end; they hastily embraced the faire occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their unreadinesse a small helpe, towards examining the disposition of the Greekes and others; who must afterwards dearely pay for any backwardnesse found in their good will. There was not indeed any cause to seare, that all of the Greekes or other Eastern people should conspire together, and take part with the Macedonian: such was the diffention betweene their feverall Estates; howsoever the generalitie of them 30 were inclined the same way. Neverthelesse Embassadours were sent to deale with them all; and to crave their helpe against Perseus, or rather to demand it, in no lesse ample manner, than hereto fore they had yeelded it against Philip and Annochus, in warres pretending the liberty of Greece. The Embassadors used as gentle words for fashions fake. as if they had flood in doubt that their request might happen to be denied. But the Greeks were now growne well acquainted with fuch Roman courtefie: and understood that not only fuch as made refufall, but even they who might feeme to have granted half unwillingly, were like to heare other manner of words, when once this bufineffe was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their helpe to the Romans: the * Acheans and Rhodians, which were chiefe among them, being rather * Polyb. Leg. 72. o doubtfull, even when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had 73.0.80 halted in some part of their dutie. It is strange, that men could be so earnest to set up the fide, whereof they gladly would have feen the ruine. The vulgar fort was every where addicted to Perfew; of the Nobles and Rulers, if somewere vehemently Roman, they wanted not opposers, that were wholly Macedonian; yea, the wifest and most honest, who regarded only the benefit of their Country, wished better to Perseus than to the Romans. And of this number Polybius the chiefe of Historians was one: who though He * judged the victory of Perseus, like to prove hurtfull unto Greece, yet wished he * Pol.Leg. 77. the Romans ill to thrive, that so the Greekes might recover perfect liberty: for his endevours in which course, he was at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed here-50 after. This confidered, it appeares, that an extraordinary feare, and not only reverence of the Imperiall City, made the Achaans, and other Estates of Greece, thus conformable to the Romans. The occasion of this their feare, may be justly imputed unto the timorous demeanour of Perfeus himselse. He had undertaken a warre, whereof the benefit should redound, not only to his own Kingdome, but unto all that were oppressed by the Romans. Yet no fooner were forme few companies brought over-fea, to make a countenance of meaning fomwhat against him, than he began to speak the enemy faire,

and fue for Peace at Rome. Since therefore it was known, that every small thing would ferve to terrefie him; and confequently, that it should at all times be in the Romans power,

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by giving him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take revenge at leifure upon those which had affifted him: little cause was there why any should adventure to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his armie; taking by force or composition some few Townes, and soliciting all to joyne with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, he sought all meanes of pacification: and to that end, made humble suit unto the Roman Embassadours. Q. Marrius, the chiefe of those Embassadours, and a man of more finenesse in cunning than was usuall among the Romans, made shew of inclination to the Kings desire; and gave out such comfortable words, that the King entreated, and obtained a meeting at the River Peneus. There did Martius very gently rebuke the King, and charge him with those crimes that are before 10 mentioned. Whereto though Perseus made none other answer, than the same which they could have made for him, yet the Embassadours, and especially Marium, tooke it in good part, as therewith fatisfied: and advised him to give the like fatisfaction to the Senate. That this might conveniently be done, a truce was agreed upon. Thus had Martin his defire; which was, to make the King lofe time. For Perfens had all things then in readinesse, and might have done much, ere the Roman Armie could have beene in Greece. But by the interposition of this truce, he no way increased his forces; hee fuffered a most convenient season, of winning upon the enemy, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leifure and vaine hope. Yet was he pleased herewith, as it had bin with some victory: publishing a copie of the disputation between him and the Romans, whereby he gave men to understand, how much he had the better, and what great hopethere was of peace. He fent Embaffadors also to the Rhodians, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not onely to let them know how much he was Superiour in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take upon them, as Moderators, to compound the differences betweene him and the Romans, if perhaps, notwithstanding the goodnesse of his cause, he should be denied peace. These were poore helpes. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing upon point of Honour, was no better than meere vanity: his owne fafety being the utmost of his ambition. This his fearefulnesse might feeme excufable, and the blame thereof to appertaine unto the Greekes; who deceived his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a necessitie, that was partly 30 their owne: had it not bin his office, who tooke upon him as their Champion, to give fuch a manly beginning to the warre, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more aversefrom him; and were carefull, not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The Rhodians, among whom he had many frout partizans, defired him not to crave any thing at their hands, in which they might feem to doe against the good liking of the Romans. The Bastians alfo, who hadentred of late into a ftrict focietie with the Macedonian; renounced it now, and made the like with the Romans: to whom further, in a fort, they yeelded themselves as vassals. Neither was Martin contented to accept their submission under a generall forme; but caused their severall Townes to make covenant apart, each for it selfe; to 40 theend, that being thus distracted into many little Common-weales, they might not (were they never so desirous to rebell) have such force to doe hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, under the Citie of Thebes. This work, of separating the Baorians from Thebes their head, was more than Agefilam could effect, or Epaminondus would suffer, then when all Greece followed the Lacedemonians. So far more availeable to Thebes, being destitute of help from abroad, was the vertue of Epaminondas and a few brave Citizens, than was the societie with King Persem, against a number not so great as followed the Laced amonians.

Marrium brought this to effect, whileft the King sate still, as being bound by the truce: and having done this, he returned to the Citie; where vaunting what he had wrought by 50 his craft, he was commended, and (though some reproved it as dishonest) employed againe by the Senate, with commission to deale as he should thinke expedient. Touching the Embassadours which Perseu had sent, andience was given to them, for that they should not plainly see how their Master was deluded: but neither excuse, nor intreatie, would serve their turne; the Senate being resolved before-hand what to doe. It was enough that they were admitted into the City, and had thirty daies respite allowed them to depart out of staly: whereas they, who came last on the same errand, did their message without the walls, in the Temple of Bellona (the usuall place of giving audience to

open enemies, or to such Commanders, as might not, by reason of some custome, enter the Citie) and had onely the short warning of eleven dayes, to be gone out of Iraly. Neither did this poore courtesse serve alone to hide the crast of Martins, as if he had meant none other than good earnest: but it was a likely meane, both to keepe a long while from Perseas the knowledge of his businesse, and to stagger his resolution, when hee should need it most firme.

And accordingly it fell out. For Licinius the Romane Confull, was at Apollonia, in a manner as foon, as the Macedonian Embassadors were with their King at Pella. Which, though it were enough to have rouzed Perfeus, and have made him lay afide all coward-10 ly hope of getting pardon, yet was hee content to deliberate a while. Whether it were not better to offer himselfe tributary to the Romans, & to redeeme their good will with fome part of his Kingdome, that fo he might enjoy the rest, than to put all at once to hazzard. But finally, the stoutest counsell prevailed; which also was the wifest, and so would have proved, had it beene floutly and wifely followed. He now beganne, as if the warre had not begunne untill now to doe what should have bin done long afore. He caused all his forces to be drawne together; and appointed their Rendevous at Citium, a Towns in Macedon. All being in readinesse, he did royall facrifice, with an hundred beafts, to I know not what Minerva, that was peculiarly honoured in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers, and those of his guard set forward to Citium. His army 20 he found confifting of nine and thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, whereof about twelve thousand foor, and a thousand horse, were strangers, of fundry nations, most part Thracians; the rest his owne Macedonians. These he animated with lively speeches; laying before them the glory of their ancestours, the infolencie of the Romans, the goodnesse of his cause, the greatnesse of his provisions, and the many advantages which they had of the Enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him cherefully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all cities of Macedon there came likewife meffengers, offering to helpe him with money and victualls, according to their feverall abilities. He gave them thankes: but answered. That his own provisions would abundantly suffice, willing them only to furnish him with carts, for his

Out of his owne Kingdome he issued forth into Thessal : knowing that the Romans were to passe through that Countrey, in their journey towards him. Some Townes of Thessal opened their gates unto him, without making offer to desend themselves; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he wan by force. Of these last was Myla; a Towne thought impregnable, & therefore, not more stouly than proudly desended by the inhabitants, who gave contumelious language to the assalants. It was taken by reason of a sally; which the Townesmen rashly made, and being driven backe, received the Macedonians, that entered pell mell with them at the gate. All cruelty of war was practised here: to the greater terrour of the obstinate. So Velatic and Connus; townes of much importance, especially Connus, which stood in the streights of Ossala leading into Tempe) yeelded at the sirft. Having well fortisted this passage, the King marched onwards to Sycurium, a towne seated on the foot of mount Ossa; where

he rested a while, expecting newes of the Enemy.

Licinius the Confull brought with him onely two Roman Legions: being promifed other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. Eumenes and Audus his brother came to him in Thessaly, with source thousand foot, and a thousand horse. This ther also came, from every part of Greece, such aide as the severall Estates could afford, or thought expedient to fend: which from the most of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad; Masanissa sent thither his some Misagenes, with a thousand foot, as ma-50 ny horse, and two and twenty Elephants. Ariaraihes the Cappadocian, by reason of his affinitie with Eumenes, was friend to the Romans, and had fent to Rome his young fonne, there to be brought up: yet he did little or nothing in this warre; perhaps because Eumenes himselfe beganne within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise advised than he had beene in the beginning. Prusias was content to be a looker on : as being allied to Perfeus, and yet fearing the Romanes. Antiochus and Ptolomy (though Prolony was then young, and under Tutors) had businesse of their owne; the Syrian meaning to invade the Egyptian: yet each of them promifed helpe to the Romanes, which they cared not to perform. Gentius the Illyrian was inclinable to the Macedonian, Xxxxx

yet made good countenance to the Romans, for feare. It was a pretty tricke, wherewith M. Lucreius, the Roman Admirals brother, served him, for this his counterfeit good wil. This King had foure and fiftie ships, riding in the haveh of Dyrrachium, uncertaine to what purpose: all which Lucreius tooke away, after a very kind fort; making shew to beleeve, That for none other end than to serve the Romans, their good friend Gentius had sent thither this sleet. But what soever Genius thought in the beginning; he foolishly lost both his Kingdome and himselfe, in the end of this war; by offering, rather than giving, his helpe to Perseus.

With none other company than what he brought over the sea, Licinius came into Thessalie: so tyred with a painefull journey, through the mountainous Countrey of A- 10 thamania, which stood in his way from Epirm; that if Perfeus had been ready, attending his descent into the Plaines, the Romans must needs have taken a great overthrow. He refreshed himselfe and his wearied army, by the river Peneus; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender helpe, that could enable him to deale with Perseus. Therefore he resolved, to abide where he then was, and keepe his trenches, untill his numbers were fufficiently increased: contenting himselfe in the meane while to have gotten quiet entrance into the Countrey. The land of Theffaly, in which these two armies lay, was better affected to the Romans. than any part of Greece besides: as having been freed by them from a more heavie yoke of bondage to the Macedonian, when there was little hope or expectation of such a benefit. It was generally rich, fruitfull, and abounding in all things needfull to mans life. In the midft of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautifull valley of Tempe, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was oftenufed at large, to fignifie the most pleasant and goodly places. This valley of it selfe was not great: but adding to it those huge mountaines Off a and Olympus (famous in Poesse) with their Spurres or Branches. by which it was on all fides enclosed; it occupied the better part of Thessal, And this way were the Romans to enter into Macedon; unleffe they would make an hungry journey, thorow the country of the Daffarettans, as in the former warre with Philip, they had long, in vaine, attempted to doe. Perseus therefore had no small advantage, by being mafter of the streights leading into Tempe: though farre greater he might have had, if by to mis-spending of time he had not lost it. For if in defending the ragged passages of these mountaines, he were able to put the Romans often to the worfe; yea to winne upon them (for a while) every yeere more than other, both in frength and reputation: questionlesse he might have done farre greater things, had he feized upon the streights of Aou, which his father once kept, and defended all the Country behinde the mountaines of Pindus. Surely not without extreme difficulty, must the Romans have either travelled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no reliefe to bee found; or else have committed their armies, and all things thereto needfull, unto the mercie of Seas that were very dangerous; if they would have fought other way into Macedon, than through the heart of Greece: upon neither of which courses 40 they once devised, notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present warre. It may perhaps bee faid, that the Greekes, and others, whom the King must have left on his backe, would have made him unable to defend any places too far from his owne home. But they were all, excepting the Thessalians, better affected now to him, than they had bin to his father in the former warre. The Etolians, upon whom the Athamanians depended, grew into suspicion with the Romans (as we shall finde anon) even as foone as they met with Perfeus. The Bactians, how politikely foever Marius had wrought with them, adventured themselves desperately in the Macedomian quarrell: what would they have done, if he at first had done his best ? The Rhodians, Illyrians, yea and Eumenes himselfe, after a while began to waver, when they saw so things goe better with Perfeus, than they had expected. So that if in stead of discouraging his friends, by fuing basely for peace; he had raised their hopes, by any brave performance in the beginning; and increased the number of his wel-willers, yea and bought downe with money (as he might have done) fome of his enemies, and among them; Eumenes, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head: then might the Romans perhaps have bin compelled to forfake their imperious patronage over Greece; and to render the liberty, by them given, entire; which otherwife was but imaginary. Such benefit of this war, fince it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason have bin expected

expected at first, from greater advantages. But as a fearefull companie running from their enemies, till some river stay their slight; are there compelled by meere desperation to doe such acts, as done, while the battell lasted, would have won the victory: so fell it out with Perseus. In seeking to avoid the danger of that warre, whereof he should have sought the honour; he lest his friends that would have stood by him, and gave them cause to provide for their owne safety: yet being overtaken by necessitie, he chose rather to set his backeto the mountaines of Tempe, & defend himself with his proper forces; than to be driven into such miserie, as was inevitable, if he gave a little further ground. What was performed by him or the Romans, all the while that hee kept his footing in Thessa sheet it is hard to shew particularly, for that the history of those things is much perished.

To lie, it is hard to shew particularly, for that the history of those things is much perished. Wherefore we must be contented with the summe. The Conful having no defire to fight, untill fuch time as all his forces were arrived; kept within his trenches, & lay still encamped by the River of Penew, about three miles from Lariffa. That which perswaded the Consul to protract the time, did contrariwise incite the King, to put the matter unto a hasty triall. Wherefore he invited the Romanes into the field; by wasting the land of the Pherwans their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignity; he grew bold to adventure even unto their trenches: out of which if they iffued, it was likely, that his advantage in horse would make the victory his owne. At his comming they were troubled; for that it was sudden: yet no way terre-20 fied; as knowing themselves to be safely lodged. They sent out a few of King Eumenes his horse, and with them some light armed soot, to entertaine skirmish. The Captaine, and some other of these were slaine: but no matter of importance done; for that neither Licinius, nor Eumenes, found it reasonable to hazzard battell. Thus day after day, a while together, Perseus continued offering battaile: which they still refused. Hereby his boldnesse much increased; and much more his reputation; to the griefe of those who being so farre come to make a Conquest, could ill digest the shame, that fell upon them by their enduring these bravadoes. The Towne of Sycurium, where Persens then lay, was twelve miles from the Romanes: neither was there any convenient watering in that long march, which used to take up foure hours of the morning; but he 30 was faine to bring water along with him in caris, that his men might not be both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. For remedy of these inconveniences, he found out a lodging, feven miles neerer to the enemy: whom he visited the next day by the Sunne rifing. His comming at fuch an unufuall houre, filled the Campe with tumult? in so much as though he brought with him onely his horse and light armature, that were unfit to affaile the trenches, yet the Confull thought it necessary, and resolved to give checke to his pride. Wherefore hee fent forth his brother C. Licinius, King Eumenes, Attalus, and many brave Captaines, with all his power of horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light armature, to trie their fortune: he himselfe remaining in the Campe, with his Legions in readinesse. The honour of this morning, was the Macedonian Kings; for he obtained the victory in a manner entire (though the Thessalians made

a good retrait) with little losse of his owne. But he discovered his weakenesse ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly doe, to counsale given by one of his owne temper. For whereas the Romans were in great feare less the should assault their campe; and to that purpose, upon the first newes of his successe, his Phalanx was brought unto him by the Captaines, though unsent for: he neverthelesse tooke it for sound advice, which indeed was timorous and base, To worke warily, and moderate his victory; by which meanes it was said, that either he should get honest conditions of peace, or at leastwise many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it beene greater, and had he wonne the Roman Campe, his friends would have beene the more, and the bolder. But over-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: and in suing for it, even when he had the victory, what else did he, than proclaime unto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keep him from yeelding to the Romans, when so yer they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the love of his victory would ad-

neither good nor bad fortune should keep him from yeelding to the Romans, when soever they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the joy of his victory would admit none of these consideratious. He had slaine of the Roman horse two hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number. Of their foot hee had slaine about two thousand: loosing of his owne no more than twenty horse and forty foot. The Romane Campe, after this disaster, was full of heavinesse and feare: it being much doubted that

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the enemy would fet upon it. Eumenes gave counfaile to dislodge by night, and remove to a furer place beyond the River Penew. The Confull, though ashamed to professe by fo doing, in what feare he stood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the losse past. than by standing on proud termes, to draw upon himselfe a greater calamity. So hee passed the River in the dead of the night, and encamped more strongly on the further fide. The £10lians were forely blamed for this loffe: as if rather a traiterous meaning. than any true feare, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the Greeks followed them. Five of them that were men of especiall marke, had beene observed to be the first which turned their backes: an observation likely to cost them deare, at a time of better leifure. As for the Theffalians, their vertue was honoured with reward : fo as the Greeks 10 might learne, by examples of either kinde, that if they would shunne indignation, or incurre favour, then must they adventure no lesse for their Lords the Romans, than gladly they would doe for their owne liberty. Thus fared it with the Confull and his Armie. Perseus came the next day to correct the former dayes errour; which how great it was he not untill then found. The Ramanes were gotten into a place of fafety; whither they could never have attained, if the King had either pressed his victory, or given better heed to them that night: his light armature alone being sufficient to have routed them whilest they were conveying themselves to the other side of Peneus. But it was vaine to tell what might have beene done, fince there was no remedy. The Romans were beaten, even the flower of their City, the Gentlemen of Rome; out 20 of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generalls themselves, Prætors, Confuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea, they were beaten fo shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather up the spoiles of them without refistance, as yeelding themselves overcome. With such brave words did the King set out the glory of his action; dividing the spoiles among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to have made his honor found. He came neerer to the Romans, and encamped at Mopfelus, a place in the mid-way betweene Tempe and Lariffa: as if it were his meaning to presse them somewhat harder. Neverthelesse he was easily perfuaded to use the occasion, which he seemed to have, of obtaining peace. Therefore he fent unto the Confull, and offered to yeeld unto the fame 30 Conditions, wherein his Father had beene bound to the Romans; if the warre might fo take end. It were needleffe here agains to shew the folly of this his course. Towards the accomplishment of this defired peace there was in the Conful no greater power than to grant a truce, whileft Embaffadours might goe to Rome: it refting in the Senate and People to approve the conditions and ratifie the league. And of such a truce granted by Marrius, he had lately found no small discommoditie redounding. But Licinius dealt plainly, and returned answer, That other hope of peace there was none; fave that Perfeus would yeeld both his Kingdome and person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of Licinius to be fo resolute in adversitie. On the other fide, it argued a very faint heart in Perfew, that having received an answer so peremptory, 40 he ftill perfifted, making vaine offersof greater tribute. Finding that the peace, which he fo much defixed, could not be purchased with money, the King withdrew himselfe backe to Sycurium. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whose forces were well repaired by the comming of Misagenes the son of Masanisa, with the aide before mentione d. This distance betweenethe King and them, caused the Romans to waxe the more bold in making their harvest: about which business they ranged over all the fields. Their careleffe demeanour gave him hope to doe fome notable exploit: which he attempted, both upon their Campe, and upon those that were abroad. The Campe he thought to have fired on the fudden: but the alarme being taken in good feafon, he failed in the enterprize. As for the forragers; he had a good hand upon them, if he could have with-50 drawne it, and given over in time. But whilest he strove to force a guard, he was visited by the Conful; by whom either in a skirmish of horse, or (for the report is divers) in a great battell, he was overcome. This misadventure, whether great or small, caused Per-Jeus, after a few dayes, to fall backe into Macedon; as being naturally given to feare danger, even where none was; whereby what loffe he felt, will appeare hereafter. He left all behinde him, fave onely Tempe, weakely guarded and confequently an eafie prey to the Romanes.

After the Kings departure, Licinius went straight unto Connus; hoping to have taken

it, and so to have gotten entrance into Tempe. But finding the worke too hard, he returned backe unto the Perrabians and others; from whom he won some townes, & among the rest, Lariffa. There were fundry townes thereabout, bearing the same name of Larissa: so that this which the Consult tooke, may seeme not to have belonged unto the Theffalians; unlesse, perhaps, after his victory, Perfeus did greater Acts than we finde recorded, and got some part of Thessaly.

Of matters happening in Greece at this time, it is hard to give a precise account; for that the histories of them are greatly defective. One may thinke it strange, that the Baotians, whom a Roman Embassadour could terrefie, and bring altogether to his owne will, To should not be afraid of a Roman Armie, then on foot in Greece, and a Navie on their coast. But more strange it is, that the Thebans, from whom their dependants were taken by the Art of Martius, were more true to Rome, than other petty townes, which by that same distraction of the Bæstians, became within themselves more absolute, than formerly they had beene. The causes hereof were to have beene sought among the changes, happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now loft. Some of them rebelled, and were throughly punished by Lucretius the Roman Admirall: who got fo much by spoiling them, that he would have brought others to rebell in like fort, if by extreme oppression he could have driven them so farre. Neither was Licinius the Consull undiligent in the same kinde. What his doings were, after such 20 time as he was at leisure from Perseus, I finde no where mentioned. Onely this is said in

generall; That in the warre which he made, he cruelly and coverously demeaned Lindings

After the same fashion dealt they, that commanded in the yeere following; Hostilius the Confull, and Horsensius the Admirall, or Prætor of the Fleet. Hostilius shewed more of his industrie, in picking quarrels with the confederates of Rome, than in profecuting the war against the Macedonian. For concerning the Roman warre upon his Kingdome, after that the Confull had fought paffage in vaine over certaine mountaines, Perfew feemed, in a maner, free from it. He was troubled indeed on that fide which look-Polyb. Light 702 ed towards Illyria, by Ap. Clauding, whom the Confull fent thicker with an Armie of 30 foure thousand, and who, by levies made upon the Confederates, doubled this his Armie. But Claudius thinking to have taken uscana, a border towne of Illyria, by treason, came thither in such carelesse order, that the inhabitants which had made shew of treafon, with purpose onely to traine him into danger; fallied forth upon him, overthrew him, and chased him so farre, that hardly he escaped with the fourth part of his company. Yet this towne of uscana shortly after became Romane: which howsoever it happened, Perseuvery soone recovered it, and many other places therewithall: Corys a Thracsan King, securing him on the one fide of Macedon; and Cephalus an Epirot, revolted from the Romans, on the other. Perseu likewise made a painefull journey into Eto. lia: where he was promised to be admitted into Stratus, that was the strongest Citie in that Region. Of this hope though he were disappointed by those of the Romane faction, yet in his returne home, he tooke in Aperancia; and shortly heard good newes, that Ap. Claudius was againe throughly beaten by Clevas, one of his Lievtenants. Such fuccesse had the Macedonian war under Hostilius. The same Consull offended much the Greeks, by the strict inquisition which his Embassadours made into mens affection towards Rome. For these Embassadours travellinig thorow all the Cities of Peloponnesus, gave out speeches tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who sought not by might and maine to advance their businesse, than of those which were of the Macedonian faction. Their meaning was, to have accused by name, in the Parliament of Polyb. Leg. 74. Achaia, Lycortas that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the steps of Philopæ-50 men; & together with him, his fon Polybius, who foon after was Generall of the Achean horse, but more notable by that excellent historie which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honourably discharged. The summe of the accusati-

on should have beene; That these were not heartie friends unto the Romans, but such as abstained from raising troubles, more for lacke of opportunitie than for any love to the common quiet. But fince no colour of truth could be found, that might give countenance to such a tale; it was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, & give gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the Liolians: They demanded hostages; and found some in the Councell that approved the motion: as also among

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the Acarnanians, there were that entreated to have Roman garrisons bestowed in their townes. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions tooke effect. They of the Roman faction, accused not only such as were inclinable to the Macedonian, but also the good Patriots; making it no leffe than a matter of treason, to be a Grecian in Greece. On the contrary fide, there wanted not some, who roundly told these pick-thankes of their base flattery; rating them openly, in such fort, that one of them hardly escaped being froned, even in presence of the Embassadours. Thus was all full of accusations, and excuses: among which the Embassadours carried themselves, as men that could believe none ill; though it were well enough knowne what they thought. The best was, that an order from the Senate was brought into Greece, and published, to this effect: That it 10 should be free for all men, to refuse obedience to any Roman Magistrate, imposing any burthen for the present warre, unlesse it were such, as the Senare had likewise thought meete. Of this decree the whole Country was glad : for it was, or feemed, a good remedy of many inconveniences. But they that standing on priviledge hereof, refused to fulfill every commandement, were numbred among the Patriots; which in the end of this warre, proved little better, if not worse, than to have beene Traitors. The Senate was driven to set downe this order; by reason of the many & vehement complaints brought to Rome, concerning the wrongs done by Roman Magistrates, and especially by the Admirals, Lucretius and Hortenfius. Lucretius was condemned in a great fum of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the Romans, in that they lo-20 ved not to have their subjects oppressed. Hortensius being still in office, had warning to

Among the great number of Embassages that came to Rome about this time, either to seek redresses of injuries, or to offer their services: it is note-worthy, that from Alabanda, a towne of the lesser Asia, there was presented unto the Senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of statterie. These Alabanders brought three hundred horsemens targets, and a crowne of gold, to bestow upon Jupicer in the Capitol. But having a desire to gratiste the Romans with some exquisite token of their dutiful obedience, wherein they would be singular; and being not able to reach unto any great performance: they built a Temple, unto the Towne Rome, & appointed anniversary games to be celebrated 30 among them, in honour of that goddesse. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of Alexander, Anigonus, Ptolomy, & the like vaine men, that would be thought gods; or at the shamelesse shattery of such as bestowed upon men, and not the most vertue us of men, divine honours; when he sees a towne of houses, wherein powerfull men dwell, worshipped as a goddesse; and receiving (without scorne of the givers, or shame of the Present) the title of Deitie, at the gift of such a rascall Citie as Alabanda?

6. VII.

Q.Martius the Roman Conful, with extreme difficulty and danger, enters into Tempe. The 40 cowardize of Perseus in abandoning Tempe. The towne of Dium quitted by Martius; repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill successe. Their affaires in hard estate. Martius a cunning and a bad man. Polybius sent Embassadour to Martius from the Achaens. Polybius his honest wisedome beneficiall to the Achaens. King Eumenes growes averse from the Romans. Perseus negotiates with Antiochus, and Eumenes. His salse dealing with Gentius king of Ilyria; whom he draws into the Romane warre. He sends Embass adours to the Rhodians; who vainely take upon them to be arbitrators betweene him and the Romanis. Perseus loseth a mightie succour of the Bassana, by his wretched parsimonic.

Fter two yeeres of the Macedonian warre, things were further out of tune in Greece, than when the warre began; which had beene thought likely to reforme all those Countries, and bring them to what passe the Romans desired; as it did in the end. Persons had hitherto the better, and was stronger now, than when he lived in peace. He had enlarged his borders on the Illyrian side; his friends, in all parts of Greece, tooke courage daily; and his reputation grew such, as caused those that were before wholly Roman, to suspect what the issue of the warre might prove, and thereupon to become wise for themselves. Contrariwise, Licinius, & Hossilius the Consuls, had one after

the other spent their time in vaine, seeking way into Macedon; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conquest, by many losses received. The Roman Admiralls had so demeaned themselves, that many Townes, even of the best affected to Rome, kept them out by force. Generally, the feare was great on the Roman fide; and the Armie much leffened, not onely by casualties of warre, but by the facilitie of the Tribunes or Colonels, or elfe of the Conful himfelfe (for they laid the blame one upon the other) in licenfing the fouldiers to depart. Quimius Martius the new Conful, who fucceeded unto Hostilus, was to amend all this: which neverthelesse was more than he knew how to doe 5 though he brought with him a strong supply of men. He began hotly to set the 10 warre on foot, which a long time had flept. And he began the right way : not feeking to force the streights that were furely guarded, but taking pains to climbethe mountains which were thought able to forbid all paffage over them, without helpe or need of any custodie. The King heard of his approach; and being uncertaine what way he meant to take, distributed his owne forces, to the defence of all places which might give entrance, or permit afcent. But the Conful proceeded in his journey: with hope, either not to be discovered by the Enemie, or to breake through all opposition, or at leastwise, to fight on as convenient ground, as they should have that lay to stop him, and at length. if all failed, to make a late retreat. He sent before him foure thousand of his most extedit foot to difcover the waies. Two daies was this company troubled, in overcomming 20 the difficultie of no more than fifteene miles : after which they had fight of the Enemie, that lay to denie their paffage. They occupied therefore a fafe peece of ground; and fent backe word to the Confull, where they were, intreating him to haften unto them: which he did. The Macedonians were not a whit diffnayed at his arrivall; but met him, and fought with him, two or three dayes together; each returning to their owne Campe at night, with little loffe on either fide. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountaine, which gave scarcely roome unto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to be employed: all the rest were beholders. In this case, it was impossible to get forwards: yet a shame to returne. Wherefore Marrine tooke the onely course remaining and indeed the best: Part of his men hee left with 30 Popilius, to attend upon the Macedonians: whilest hee, with the rest, fercht a compaffe about, and fought out waves that never had beene troden. Herein he found extreme difficultie: which notwithstanding hee overcame. Besides the troubles conmonly incident to fuch journeyes, through places unfit for habitation: he was compelled, by labour of hand, to make pathes where none were, yea, where Nature might feeme to have intended, that none should bee. So steepe hee found the descent of the mountaines, in this way which he tooke: that of feven miles, which they travelled the first day, his men were compelled, for the more part, to rowle themselves downe, as not daring to trust their feet. Neither was this the worst. For they met with rockes, that flood one over another, so upright, and cumbersome to get downe; that their 40 Elephants were affraid of the giddy prospect, and casting their governours, made a terrible noise, which affrighted the horses, and bred great confusion. Having therefore gone, or wallowed, four miles of this grievous journey othere was nothing more defired by the fouldiers, than that they might be fuffered to creepe backe againe, the fame way which they had come. But shift was made to let downe the Elephants, by a kinde of bridges, like into falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was joyned to the edge of the eliffe; the other fuftained by two long postes, fastened in the ground below. Upon these two postes, or poles, (which indeed, not being very strong, since it was intended that they should bee either cut or broken) were fastned two rafters, anfwerable in length to the distance, betweene the higher and the lower fall: so as the 50 end of one bridge might reach to the beginning of another. These were covered with plankes and turle; that they might feeme continent with the ground; fo to make the beaftes adventurous to goe upon them. If there were a plaine of any good extent from the foot of a rocke, to the next downefall; then might the bridge be shorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, upon one of thefe; the polts upholding the frame were cut afunder; thereby caufing him to finke downe unto the next bridge; whence hee was conveyed in like manner, to the third, and onward full to the verie bottome. Thus went they downe fliding, some on their feet, others on their buttocks, till they came to an even valley. By this it appeares how throughly provided the

Romans used to be in their journeyes, of things needfull in all occasions: as also what inestimable paines they tooke in this descent, about the conveyance of themselves and all their carriages downe the mountaines. The next day they rested; staying for Popilius and his company, who hardly or perhaps never, should have overtaken them, if the Enemie had followed, and set upon him from alost. The third and fourth dayes journeyes were like unto the first save that custome, and the neernesse to their wayes end without meeting enemy, caused them the better to endure the labour.

Perfeus could not be ignorant of the Romans comming towards him: fince they fought with his men upon the paffage, three daies together; he lying fo nigh, that he might welneere have heard the noise. Yet was he so possessed with feare; that he neither stirred is to helpe his owne men, or to hinder the Confull, nor made any provision for that which might fall out; but as one void of counfaile, fate hearkening after the event. Foure onely passages there were, leading into Tempe: the first by Connus; which the Romans were unable to force: the second and third were the same which Martius had attempted in vaine, and another like unto it: the last, by the City of Dium out of Macedon. All these were sufficiently guarded and whosoever would seeke any other way. must be faine to take such paines as Martius had undergone. The entrance by Dium was fairer than any of the rest: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his enemies could not get thither, fave through the valley it felfe, into which they must first pierce another way. Dium flood upon the foot of the huge mountaine Olympus, about a mile 20 from the fea: of which mile, the River Helicon becomming there a lake, and called Baphyras, took up the one halfe; the rest being such as might easily have been fortified. Befides all these, there was in the middest of Tempe, a passage which ten men might easily keepe: where the spurres of the mountaines, reaching farre into the valley, drew necre to the very bankes of Peneus, a goodly and deepe river which ran thorow it. Wherefore nothing had beene more easie, than to make the Consul repent him of his troublefome journey: if Perseus could have seene his owne advantages. For the Roman Armie was not onely in ill case to fight, after the vexation of that miserable travaile: but must need have either perished for want of victually, or bin inforced to returne the same way that it came, if the King had made good the streight of Dium. To have returned, 30 and climbed up with their Elephants and carriages, against those rocks, from which, with extreme labour, they could hardly get downe, it feemes a matter of impossibilitie: effectially confidering how the enemy from above their heads, would have beaten upon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken though he knew it not when they stole away from him. It may therefore be thought strange that the Romans did not rather take their journey into Macedon, from the fide of Illyria, whence that Kingdome had often beene invaded, as lying open on that part: than put themselves to the trouble of breaking into Tempe, whence, after that they were arrived, there was no meanes to escape, without forcing one of those passages, which they despaired to winne. But the cowardife of Perfeus did commend the counfell by them followed, as wife. For 40 hee no fooner heard that the Enemie was come over the mountaines into Tempe; than hee fared like one out of his witts; faying, That hee was vanquished, and had lost all without battaile. Herewithall he began to take out of Dium, what hee could carry away in haftes and straightwayes abandoned the Towne. In the same vehemencie of amazement, he sent a strait commandement to Thessalonica, that the Arsenall there should be fet on fire; and to Pella, that his treasures there should be cast into the sea: as if the Romans were like prefently to be mafters of these two Cities. Niceas, who was appointed to drowne the treasure, performed it hastily as well as he could: though soone after, his mafter grew force for the loffe; and it was all, in a manner recovered by Divers from under the water. But Andronicus, who had charge to fet fire on the Kings 50 Arfenall, deferred the execution; forefeeing that repentance might follow: and so he prevented the dammage. Whether Niceas, for his absolute and blinde obedience, or Andronicus for his carefull providence, merited the greater commendation, or more easie pardon; it rested in the King to interpret. The reward of their service, was this. Perfer growing ashamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this hastie direction; caused them both to be slaine. Also those poore men, which had fetcht his treasure out of the Sea by their diving, were payed their wages after the same fort: that so there might be no witnesse of the Kings base folly. Such end must they seare, who are

privie to dishonourable actions of great Princes. If Persens would have gone surely to worke, for the hiding of his fault; then must be so royally have behaved himselfe, that no man might believe him to be the author of any unworthy act or counsaile. But his vertue was of no such capacity. He thought it enough to lay the blame upon others. And therefore, having called Hippias away (the Captaine which had stopped the Consult on the top of the mountaine) & Ascelepiadatus, from defence of the passages, whereto they were by him appointed: he rated them openly; saying, that they had betrayed unto the Enemy the gates and bars of Macedon. Of this reproach, is they would discharge themselves, by laying it upon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they have sped to as did Nicias and Andronicus.

of the Historie of the World.

The Confull Marins had great cause to rejoyce, for that the King so hastily relinquis shed his possession of Tempe, and all the passages leading thereinto: since the Roman Army, this norwithstanding, was hardly able to subsist, for want of victuals. He took Diant without relistance; and thence went forward into Macedon: wherein having travelled about a dayes journey, and gotten one towne that yeelded, he was compelled by meere lacke of food for his men, to returne backe towards Theffaly. His fleet came to him, in this time of necessity, well appointed to have holpen him in the warre: but having left behinde, at Magnesia, the ships of burthen, which carried the provisions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lievtenants had beene carefull to occupy the Ca-20 files about Tempe, which were for faken by the Macedonians: for by those wayes onely might corne be brought into the Army. To meet the sooner with this corne, which was most desirously expected, he for sooke Dium, and went to Phila; by which foolish journey (if not worse than foolish) he lost more, than a little the longer fasting had beene worth. It is probable that his carts, with all or the most of his store, were lost among the mountaines : for otherwise it had beene madnesseto put himselfe on such an enterprise, fo flenderly provided, as that without enforcement, or fight of the Enemie, he should be faine to quit it. How soever it was: men thought him a coward, or at least a badde man of warre; fince he thus recoyled and gave off, when it most behooved him to have profecuted the action.

By understanding the folly, or cowardize of Martius; the King recollected himselfe. understood his owneerror; fought to hide it by such poore meanes as have beene shewed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repossessed the towne of Dium, which he hastily repaired, finding it dis-mantled by the Romans. This done, he encamped strongly by the River of Enipem: meaning there to stop the Enemiesproceeding all that Summer. Leffe diligence, more timely used, would have beene enough, not onely to have delivered Martius into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace: but to have given him fuch a noble victory, as might caufe the Romans to feeke a good end of the warre upon faire conditions, and not to begin againe in hafte. Yet this recovery and fortification of Dium, was to the Confullan exceeding hinderance. For lirtle or nothing could afterward be done toward the conquest in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Onely the towne of Heraclea, standing on the River of Penew, five miles from Dium, was taken by force, or rather by a tricke of climing upon mens heads. fomewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made fuch defence as it could, and was not given up for feare. After this, Martius did fet a bold face towards Dium; as if he would have taken it againe, and have driven the King further off: though his intent or hope was nothing like fo great: his chiefe care, being to provide for his wintering. He fent the Admirall to make attempt upon the Sea-Towns, Thessalonica, Cassandrea, Demetrias, and others. All these were assayed: but in vaine. The fields about Thesialonica were wasted; and some companies, that fundry times adventured forth of the Towne. 50 were still put to the worse. As for the Town it selfe; there was danger in comming neere it, either by land or fea; by reason of the engins, which shot from the walls, and reached unto the fleet. Wherefore the Admirall fetting faile from thence, ran along by Enia, and Antigonea, (landing neere to each of them, and both doing and receiving hurt) until he came to Pallene in the territory of Caffandrea. There King Eumenes joyned with him, bringing twenty shippes of Warre: and five other were sentthither from King Prusias. With this accesse of strength, the Admirall was bold to trie his fortune at Cassandrea: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately cast by Perseus, before the towne : which while the Romans were filling up, question was made, what became of the earth taken

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thence, for that it lay not upon the banke. By this occasion, it was learned, that there were arches in the town-wall filled up with that earth, & covered with one fingle row of bricke. Hence the Admirall gathered hope of making way into the town, by fapping the walls. To this worke he appointed fuch as he thought meetest: giving an alarme to the other fide of the town, thereby to shadow his attempt. The breach was soone made. But whilst the Romans were shouting for joy, & ordering themselves for the assault: the Captaines within the towne perceived what was done; and fallying forthunexpected, gave a fierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch & the wall; of whom they flew about fixe hundred, and fuffered few to escape unwounded. This disaster, and the want of good successe on that part of the town which King Eumenes assailed (a supply in To the meane while entring the towne by fea) caused the fiege to breake up. Torone was the next place which the Admirall thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards Demetrias: whereinto Enphranor, a Macedonian Captaine, was gotten before his comming, with fuch forces, as were not onely sufficient to have defended the Town, if the Admirall had layed siegeto it, but to keepe the land about it from spoile; or at least (as they did) to make the enemy pay deare for all that he there got. This Euphranor had taken his journey to Demetrias, by Melibaa; whither the Conful (that he might not be quite without worke) had fent his Lievtenant to befiege it : and by the terrour of his appearing suddenly over their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all haste, setting their Campe on fire.

Such fortune attended on the Romans; or rather, fo far was their ability short of their Enterprises; ever fince their Confull (whether dastardly, or carelesly) most unlike a good Commander, had let goe his hold of Macedon, by forfaking Dium: Yea, it is to be fuspected, that some greater harme befell them, or at least, that they were in some greater danger, than is expressed in the broken remaining Historie of this Warre. For Martius perswaded the Rhodians by Agesipolis their Embassador, who came to him at Heraclea about other businesse of lesse importance, That they should doe well to interpose Pobb. Legat. 82, themselves as mediatours, and seeke to finish the Warre. Now, although Polybius doc most probably conjecture, that this was rather a malicious device of Marious, crastily feeking to bring the Rhodians indanger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolu- 20 tion of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true feare in him, either of Perfens, or of Antiochus, who had then an armie on foot : yet fince he made shew of feare, it is like withall, that somewhat had happened, which might make his feare seeme not counterfeir. And so were the Rhodians moved to thinke of him; not onely for that the extraordinary courtefie, both of him and of the Admirall, towards their Embassadour, comming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadours of Perseus, and of Gentius the Illyrian, did fet out their businesse at Rhodes, not more with the strength of a good sleet, which the Macedonian had gotten, than with the honor of fome victory, wherein he had lately flaine great numbers of the Roman horse. Thus much we finde intimated : though 40 the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from Rome to view the estate of Marius his army. For they found the Conful wanting meat; the Admirall wanting men; and, for those few that he had, wanting both money and cloathes: and Ap. Claudius the Prætor, who lay on the frontier of Illyria, so unable to invade Masedon, that contrariwise, he was in extreme danger; so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seeme, that some blow had beene taken on the Illyrian fide, which made all to halt; or at least, that the Romans with greater losse, than is before spoken of, had beene driven from some of the Townes which they befieged.

Now although it were so, that Martius invery few of his actions, behaved himselfe like a man of warre: yet in exercise of Cunning, which one hath most aprly termed, a crooked or finister kinde of wisedome, he dealt as a crafts-master, with a restlesse working diligence. This indeed neither proved his fufficiencie, nor commended his honestie: fince thereby he effected nothing to his owne benefit; and neverthelesse, out of envic, vaine glory, or such delight as weake and busie-headed mentake, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his Countrey. At such time as Perseus, by the successe of his doings against Hostilius, had gotten much reputation, and

was thought likely to invade Theffaly; Archo, Lycorias, and other good Patriots among the Acheans, judged it expedient for their Nation to helpe the Romans, as in a time of adversity, whom in prosperity they loved not to flatter. Wherefore Archo proposed a decree, which paffed: That the Acheans should fend their whole power into Thessay, and participate with the Romans in all danger. So the Armie was levied; and Polybius, Polyb. Legat. 78. with others, sent Embassadors unito Mariaus, to certifie him thereof, and know his pleafure. Polybius found the Confull bufie in finding paffage through Tempe into Macedon. He went along with the Armie; and awaited the Confulls leifure till they came to Heraclea; where finding the time convenient, he presented the Decree, and offered the service of his Nation, wherein foever it should be commanded. Maritus tooke this very io kindely ; but faid. That he needed now no manner of helpe. Forthwith Polybiar dispatched home his companions, to fignifie thus much: tarrying himselfe behinde in the Campe. After a while, word was brought to Martins, that Ap. Claudius defired, or rather imperiously required, of the Acheans, five thousand men, to be sent him into Epirus. It was manifest , that Appears had need of these men; and that if he were strong in field, he might doe notable fervice, by distracting the forces of Perseus. But the Labyrinibian head of Marines could not allow of such plaine reason. He called unto him Polybrus, to whom he declared, that Appries had no need of fuch aide, and therefore willed him to returne home, and in any wife take order that the men might not be fent, nor the Achaans be put to fuch needleffe charges. Away went Polybius; muling, and unable to refolve, whether it were for love to the Acheans, that the Conful was fo earnest in this business; or rather for envie, and to hinder Ap. Claudius from doing any thing, fince himselfe could doe nothing. But when Polybius was to deliver his opinion in the Councell touching this matter; then found he a new doubt, that more neerely concerned his owne felfe, and those of his partie. For as he was sure to incurre the great indignation of the Confull, if he should neglect what was given him in charge; so was it manifest on the other fide, that the words by Martius uttered to him in private, would prove no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to helpe Claudins, alledging that he had no need: In this case therefore, he had recourse unto the Decree of the Se-30 nate: which exempted men from necessity of cloing what the Roman Commanders should require, unlesse by speciall order from the Senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lacke of warrant from the Senate, this demand of Appius was referred unto the advice of the Confull: by whom it was fure to bee made frustrate. Hereby the Acheans were favers, of more than an hundred and twenty Talents: though Polybius himselfe ranne into danger of Appus his displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his Countries behalfe, was afterwards rewarded by the Romans with many a long yeers im-

Whether it were by the like policie of Martius, that King Eumenes grew cold in his affection to the Romans; or whether this King began when it was too late, to fland in feare 40 left the fire, which he himselfe had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his own lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to overfway all other passions: it is hard to determine: fince they that had better means to know the truth, have not precifely affirmed any certainty. One report is, that Eumenes did not fo much as give any helpe to Martius: but comming to have joyned with him, in fuch friendly manner as hee did with the former Consuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger, that he refused to leave behinde him certaine horse of the Gallo-Greeks, being requested to have done it. If this were true; and that his brother A:talus tarrying behinde with the Conful, did the Romans good service: then is the reason apparent, of the hatred, borne afterwards by the Senate to Eumenes, & the love to Atta-30 lus. But it is more generally received; that Eumenes gave a willing eare to Perfeus his defire of accord, for meere defire of gaine. And it might well be, that coverousnessed well be, that coverousnessed according to the coverousnessed according to him on, in the course, whereinto indignation first led him. Howsover it befell; Perseus caused Eumenes to be sounded, and found him so tractable, that hee was bold to solicite him by an Embassage. The tenour of his advertisements, both to Eumenes & Antiochus, was: That there could be no perfect love betweene a King and a free Citie: that the Romans had quarrell a like to all Kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and used the helpe of one against another; that Philip was oppressed by them, with the helpe of Arralus; Antiochius, with the helpe of Philip and Eumenes; and now Perseus

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affailed, with helpe of Eumenes and Prusias. Herewith he willed Eumenes to consider. that when Macedon was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in Alia. which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to thinke better of Prusias, than of him. In like fort he admonished Antiachen, not to looke for any good conclusion of his Warre with the Egyptian, to long as the Romans could make him give over, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, he requested both of them, either to compell the Romans to surcease from their warre upon Macedon; or else to hold them as common enemies unto all Kings. Antzochus lay farre out of the Romans way : and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. Eumenes was more neerely toucht; and as he felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should 10 give answer; he began to offer a bargaine of peace for money. He thought the Romans to be no lesse weary, than Perseus was affraid. Wherefore he promised, for his owne part. That if he might have fifteen hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this war. then would be remaine a Neuter therein: and that for some greater quantitie of money (how much I finde not) he would also bring the Romans to condescend unto peace: and for affurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to give hoftages. Perfeus liked well to receive the hostages: but not to lay out the money; especially before hand, as was required. He would faine have peace with Rome, and not with Eumenes only. For procuring of this, he promifed to be at any reasonable cost: but he would lay down the money in the Temple at Samoibrace : whence it should be delivered unto Eumenes, after 20 that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Isle of Samothrace was Perseus his owne: and therefore Eumenes thought the money no neerer to him, being there, than if it remained in Pella. Besides, his labour deserved somewhat, how soever the businesse might happen to succeed: so that needs he would have part of his wages in prest. Thus the two Kings did no more, than lose time; and Eumenes grew suspected of the Romans.

After the same manner delt Perseus with King Gentius the Illyrian. He had attempted this Illyrian before; who dealt plainly, and faid, That without money he could not flirre. Hereunto Perseus loved not to hearken sthinking , that his Treasures would serve at the last cast to deliver him from all his feares. But when the Romans had gotten with- 30 in Tempe, then did his feare urge him to prodigalitie; so as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents which Gentius demanded for a recompence. So the bargaine was soone made, and pledges on both fides delivered for performance. This was openly done by Ferfeus, to the end that all his Armie might have comfort, by such accesse of strength to their partie. Presently upon the bargaine made, Embassadors were sent to Rhodes, from both Perfeus and Gentius: who defired the Rhodians, to take upon them, as arbitrators, between Perseus and the Romans, and to bring the Warre to an end. The Rhodians thinking that Marius the Confull was no leffe defirous of peace than the Macedonian, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authority, would make peace; wishing the Kings to shew themselves conformable. But the Roman Senate, hearing proud words to the 40 same effect, from the Rhodian Embaffadours; gave an answer as disdainfull, angry, and menacing, as they could devise: so as this vaine glory of the Rhodians was throughly chastifed; and more throughly should have beene, if their submission had not been as humble, as their folly was proud. Such use of Gemaus his friendship, made Perseus; without laying our one ounce of filver. Now faine he would have haftened this young and rash Illyrian to enter with all speed into the Warre: but then must the money be hastened away. Pantauchus the Macedonian Emdaffadour, who remained with Gentius, exhorted him daily to begin the Warre by land and fea, whileft the Romans were unprovided. But finding what it was that made all to ftay; he fent word to Perfeus. Hereupon ten Talents were sent to Pantauchus: who delivered it to the young King, as earnest of 50 that which followed. More followed indeed; and sealed up with the seale of the Illyrians; but carried by Macedonians, and not too fast. Before this money came into Illyria, Gentius had layed hands upon two Roman Embassadours, and cast them into prison. Which Perfeus no fooner heard, than he recalled his Treasure-bearers, and sent them with their loade to Pella; for that now the Illyrian was of necessitie to make warre with the Romans, whether he were hired thereto or not.

There came about the same time, through Illyria, to the aid of Perseus, under one Clondieus a petty King, tenne thouland horse and tenne thouland foot, of the Gaules, which

were (as Plutareb hath it) the Bastarne. These had before-hand made their bargaine. and were to receive present pay at the first. At their entry into the Kingdome, Perseus fent one to them; defiring their Captaines to come vifit him, whom he promifed to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their Generall asked, was, Whether the King had fent money to give the fouldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargaine? Hereto the meffenger had not what to answer. Why then (faid Clondicus) tell thy Mafter. That the Gaules will not stirre one foot further, untill they have gold, as was agreed, and hostages. Persem hereupon tooke counsell: if to utter his owne opinion before men so wife that they would not contradict him, were to take counfell. He made an investive 10 against the incivilitie and avarice of the Bastarna: who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Fivethouland horse of them he fayd would be as many as he should need to use; and not so many, that he should need to feare them. It had been well done, if any of his Counfellors would have told him. That there wanted not employment for the whole Armie of them. fince without any danger to the Kingdome, they might be let out, by the way of Perrabia, into Theffaly: where wasting the Country, and filling themselves with spoyle, they should make the Romans glad to forfake Tempe, even for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the King notable fervice, whether they won any victory or not. This, and a great deale more, might have beene alledged, if any man had dared to give advice freely. In conclusion, Antigonus, the same messenger that had beene with them before, was sent againe, to let them know the Kings minde. He did his errand: upon which followed a great murmure of those many thousands that had beene drawne so far to no purpose. But Clandicus asked him now againe, Whether he had brought the money along with him to pay those five thousand, whom the King would entertain. Hereto when it was perceived that Antigonia could make no better answer, than shifting excuses, the Bustarne returned prefently towards Danubins, waiting the neighbour parts of Thrace; yet fuffering this crafty messenger to escape unhurt: which was more than he could have well expected.

Thus dealt Perfem, like a carefull Treasurer, and one that would preferve his mony for the Romans, without diminishing the sum. But of this painfull Office he was very foon discharged by L. Emylius Paulus the new Conful: who in fifteen daies after his serting forth from Italy, brought the kingdome of Macedon to that end, for which God had appointed over it a king so foolish and so cowardly.

6. VIII.

Of L. Amylius Paulus the Conful. His journey. He forceth Perseus to discompe. He will not hazzard battell with any difadvantage. Of an Eclipfe of the Moone. Æmylius hie Superstition. The battell of Pydna. Perseus his flight. Heforsakes his Kingdome: which baftily yeelds to Emylius. Perseus at Samoibrace. He yeelds himself to the Roman Admirall and is fent prisoner to Amylius.

Y the Warre of Macedon, the Romans hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which, though it were not accompanied will any consecution, that either * they decreed that Province to L. Emylius Paulus, Plus in the chance of lot. between him semile without putting it, as was otherwise their manner, to the chance of lot, betweene him similar and his fellow Confull; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it upon him, than that fo worthy a man was advanced to the dignitie of a fecond Confulship. Hee 50 refused to propound unto the Senate any thing that concerned his Province; untill by Embaffadours, thither fent to view the estate of the Warre, it was perfectly understood, in what condition both the Roman forces, and the Macedonian, at the present remained. This being throughly knowne to be such, as hath been already told, the Senate appointed a strong supply, not onely to the Consul, but unto the Navie, and likewife to the Army that lay betweene Illyria and Epyrus; from which App. Claudins was removed, and L. Anicius fent thither in his place. Emylius, before his departure from Rome, making an Oration to the People, as was the custome, spake with much gravitie and authoritie. Hee requested those that thought themselves wise Yyyy

enough to manage this warre, either to accompany him into Macedon, and there affift him with their advice; or else to govern their tongues at home, and not take upon them to give directions by hearesay, and censure by idle reports: for hee told them plainely, That he would frame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his father L. Emplim, who died valiantly in the Battell of Canne, might well be living in some of their memories: which was enough to make them conforme themselves the more gladly unto the instructions given by a wise and resolute Consul.

All his businesse within the Citie being dispatched, *Emylius* was honourably attended, at his setting forth on his journy; with an especiall hope of men, that he should finish the war: though that he should finish it so soon as happily, was more than could have bin hoped or imagined. He came to *Brundusum*: whence, when the wind came faire, he set saile at break of day, and arrived safely at the Isle of *Corcyra* before night. Thence passed he to *Delphi*: where, having done facrisice to *Apollo*, after the sist hay he set forwards to the Camp, and was there in five dayes more. So are there but sive of the sisteen dayes re-

maining, in which he finished the war.

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Persentay strongly encampedat Dium; having spared no labour of menand of women to fortifie the bankes of Enipem, where it was foordable in drie weather: fo as there was little hope, or none, to force him; and consequently, as little possibility to enter that way into Macedon. One great inconvenience troubling the Romans, and much difabling 20 them to make attempt upon Dium, was lacke of fresh water. For there were ten miles between Dium and Tempe; all the way lying between the Sea shore and the foot of Olymwww. without any Brook or Spring breaking forth on that fide. But Amylius found prefent remedy for this, by digging Wells on the shore; where he found sweet Springs: as commonly there is no shore that wants them, though they rife not above the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder Mariam from taking up his lodging any neerer to the enemie, than the Towne of Heraclea, on the river of Penews, where he had watering at pleasure, but could performe no service of any worth. Yet when the Roman Campe had fuch meanes to lye close to the Macedonian, as it presently did, the passage onward being defended as hath beene shewed, seemed no lesse difficult than before. 30 Wherefore it was necessarie to search another way: which by enquirie was soone found out. There was a narrow passage over Olympus, leading into Perrabia; hard of ascent. but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a faire journey. Marisus either had not been informed hereof, or durst not attempt it; or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to make the adventure; they fearing left it would prove such a piece of worke as had beene their march over Offa into Tempe. But Paulus was a man of greater industry, courage, and abilitie to command. He had reformed, even at his first comming, many disorders in the Roman Camp: teaching the fouldiers among other good leffons, to bee obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themselves, as had been their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their Generall. And now hee appointed about five thousand 40 mentothis enterprise; whereof he committed the charge unto Scipio Emplianus and 2. Fabius Maximus, his owne fons by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a fon of Scipio the Africanthe other, by one of the Fabii. Scipio took with him fome light-armed Thracians and Cretans; but his main strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, upon the mountain confifted in a maner, wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though, at fome diffance they might doe notable fervice against those that should climbe up unto them; yet when the darknesserook away their aime, they were like to make a bad nights work, being to deale with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceale the businesse about which they went, Scipio and Fabius tooke a wrong way towards the Fleet; where victuals were provided for their journy: it being noised, that they were to run along 50 the coast of Macedon by sea, and waste the country. All the while that they were passing the mountains (which was about three daies) the Conful made flew of a meaning to fet upon Perseus where he lay, rather to divert the Kings attention from that which was his main Enterprise, than upon any hope to doe good, in seeking to get over Enipeus. The channell of Engreus, which received in Winter time a great fall of waters from the mountains, was exceeding deep and broad; and the ground of it was fuch, as though at the prefent it lay wel-neer all dry, yet it ferved not for those that were weightily armed to fight upon. Wherefore Emplays employed none fave his Velites; of whom the Kings light ar-

mature had advantage at farre distance, though the Romans were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Towers which Perfess had ray sed on his own bank, did also beat upon the Romans, and gave them to understand, that their labour was in vaine. Yet Emylius persisted as he had begun; & recontinued his assault, such as it could be the fecond day. This might have ferved to teach the Macedonians, that some greater worke was in hand: fince otherwise a good Captaine, as Amylins was known to be, would not have troubled himselfe with making such bravado's, that were somewhat costly. But Perfens looked only unto that which was before his eyes: untill his men, that came running fearfully down the Mountain, brought word into the camp, That the Romans were To following at their backes. Then was all full of tumult; and the King himfelfe no leffe (if not more) amazed than any of the rest. Order was forthwith given to dislodge; or rather without order, in all tumultuous hafte, the Campe was broken up, and a speedy retrait made to Pydna. Whether it were fosthat they which had custodie of the passage were taken fleeping or whether they were beaten by plain force, Scipio and Fabius had very good successe in their journey. It may well be, that they slept untill the Romans came formwhat neer to them; and then taking alarm, when their arrowes and flings could doe little service, were beaten at handie-strokes: so as the different relations that are cited by Plutarch out of Polybim, and an Epistle of Scipio, may each of them have beene true. Thus was an open way cleered into Macedon: which had bin effected by Martins in the yeere fore-going; but was closed up again, through his not profecuting fo rich an opportunitie.

Perfeus was in an extreme doubt what course to take, after this unhappy beginning. Some gave advice to man his Townes, and so to linger out the Warre: having beene taught by the last yeeres example, how resolute the people were in making defence. But farre worse counsell prevailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and searefull deliberations. The King resolved to put all at once to hazzard of battell: fearing belike to put himselfe into any one Towne, lest that should be first of all besieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures alwayes are jealous) not over-carefully relieved. This was even the same that Amylium, or any invader; should have desired. So a place was chosen neere unto Pydna, that served well for the Phalance, and had likewise on the sides of it some peeces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light armature. There he abode the comming of the enemie; who stayed not long behinde him. As soone as the Romans had sight of the Kings Armie; which, with greater sear than discretion, had hasted any story them for solving the Campe that was so portably well sortified, they desired any

from them, forfaking the Campe that was fo notably well fortified: they defired nothing more, than to give battellimmediately: doubting left otherwife the King should change his minde, and get further off. And to this effect Scipio brake with the Consul; praying him not to lose occasion by delay. But *Employ* told him, that he spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to have patience. The Romans were tyred with their journey; had no Campe wherein to rest themselves; nor any thing there, save only the bare ground whereon they trode. For these, and the like respects, the Consul made a stand; and shewing himselse unto the Macedonian, who did the like, in order of battell,

gave charge to have the Camp measured out and entrenched behind the Armie; where-into, at good leasure, he fell back, without any maner of trouble. After a nights rest, it was hoped, both by the Romans and the Macedonians, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their own Generall too blanse, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the King, he excused himselfe by the backwardnesse of the enemie; who advanced no further; but kept upon ground serving ill for the Phalanx: as on the other side, the Consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That evening (which followed the third of September, by the Roman account) C. Sulpieim Gallm, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former yeere beene Prætor, foretold unto the Confull, and (with his good liking) unto the Armie, an Eclipse of
the Moone, which was to be the same night: willing the fouldiers not to be troubled
therewith, for that it was naturall, and might be knowne long before it was seene. It
was the manner of the Romans, in such Eclipses, to beat Pannes of Brasse, and Basons,
as wee doe in following a swarme of Bees; thinking that thereby they did the Moone
great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of Sulpicius converted
their superstition into admiration of his deepe skill, when they saw it verified. Con-

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CHAP. 6. S. 8.

trariwife, the Macedonians howled and made a great noy fe, as long as the Eclipse lasted: rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than for that they were terrefied therewith. as with a prodigie betokening their loffe; fince their defire to fight was no whit leffened by it. I will not here stand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses doe signific, or cause any alteration in civill affaires, and matters that have small dependance on natural complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthy of observation it is, how superstition captivates the wisedome of the wisest, where the help of true religion is wanting. Emylim, though he were fufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the Moon, that it was no fupernaturall thing, nor above the reach of humane understanding, so as he should need to trouble himselfe with any devout regard thereof: yet could he not refrain from doing 10 his duty to this Moon, and congratulating with facrifice her deliverie, as foon as she shone out brightagain: for which he is commended even by Plutarch, a fage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If Sulpicius perhaps did not assist him in this foolish devotion. yet is it like, that he, being a Senatour, and one of the Councell for war, was partaker the next morning in a facrifice done to Hercules; which was no leffe foolish. For a great part of the day was vainly confumed, ere Hercules could be pleased with any Sacrifice, and vouchfafe to shew tokens of good luck in the entrailes of the beafts. At length, in the belly of the one and twentieth facrifice, was found a promise of victory to Ampleus: but with condition, That he should not give the onset. Hercules was a Greek, and partiall, as neerer in alliance to the Macedonian than to the Roman. Wherefore it had bin better to 20 call upon the new goddesse, lately canonized at Alabanda; or upon Romules, founder of their Citie, on whom the Romans had bestowed his Deitie; or (if a God of elder date were more authenticall) upon Mars the Father of Romulus, to whom belonged the guidance of militarie affairs; and who therefore would have limited his favour, with no injunctions contrarie to the rules of war.

Now concerning the Battell; Emylin was throughly perswaded, that the king meant to abide it: for that otherwise he would not have stayed at Pydna, when as, a little before. his leisure served to retire whither he listed, the Romans being surther off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Confull thought that he might wait upon advantage, without making any great hafte. Neither was it to be negle- 10 Cted that the morning Sun was full in the Romans faces: which would be much to their hinderance all the forenoon. Since therefore Perfew kept his ground, that was commodious for the Phalanx, and Amylim fent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder, there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about ten of the clock in the morning, a small occasion brought to passe that, which whereto neither of the Generals had

over-carnest desire.

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A Horse brake loose at watering, which two or three of the Roman fouldiers followed into the river, wading after him up to the knees. The Kings men key on the further bank; whence a couple of Thracians ran into the Water, to draw this horse over to their own side. These fell to blowes, as in a private quarrell; and one of the Thracians was slain. 40 His Countrimen feeing this, hasted to revenge their fellowes death, and followed those that had flaine him over the river. Hereupon company came in, to help on each part, untill the number grew such as made it past a fray, and caused both the Armies to be carefull of the event. In fine, each of the Generals placed his men in order of battell, accordingly as the maner of his country, and the Arms wherewith they served, did require. The ground was a flat levell, fave that on the fides a few hillocks were raifed here and there; whereof each part might take what advantage it could. The Macedonians were the greater numberithe Romans the better fouldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and the Conful encouraged their men with lively words: which the prefent condition could bountifully affoord. But the King, having finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew 50 himselse into Pydna: there to doe sacrifice, as he pretended, unto Hercules. It is the letle marvell, that he durst adventure battell, since he had bethought himselfe of such a stratageme, whereby to save his owne person. As for Hercules, he liked not the sacrifice of a Coward: whose unseasonable devotion could be no better than hypocrifie. For he that will pray for a good Harvest, ought also to Plow, Sowe, and Weede his Ground. When therefore the King returned to the battell, he found it no better than loft: and he, in looking to his owne safetie, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight-The

The acts of this day, such as we finde recorded, are, That the Roman Elephants could doe no manner of good; That the Macedonian Phalanx did so stoutly presse onwards. and beat off all which came before it, as Emplies was thereat much aftonished; That the Peligni rushing desperately on the Phalanx, were over-borne, many of them slaine; and the fquadrons following them so discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out averse to the Romans; and which the Consul beholding, is faid to have rent his coat-armour for griefe. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his devoyre, the victory might have beene his owne. That which turned the fortune of the battell, was the same which doubtlesse the Confull expected, even from the beginning: the difficultie or almost the impossibilitie of holding the Phalanx long in order. For whilest some of the Romans small battalions pressed hard upon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was necessarie (if the Macedonians would follow upon those which were put to the worse) that some files having open way before them, should advance themselves beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This comming so to passe, admonished the Consul what was to be done. The long pikes of the Macedonians were of littleuse, when they were charged in flanke by the Roman Targettiers; according to the direction given by Amylius, when he faw the front of the Enemies great battell become unequall, and the ranks in some places open, by reason of the unequal resistance which they found. Thus was the use of the Phalanx proved unavaileable against many small squadrons, as it had beene formerly in the battell of Cynoscephala: yea, this forme of embattailing was found unserviceable against the other, by reason, that being not every where alike distressed, it would breake of it felfe; though here were little fuch inconvenience of ground; as had beene at * Cyno- *Chap 4. \$-14.

Perseus, when hee saw his battell begin to route, turned his bridle presently, and ranne amaine towards Pella. All his horse escaped, in a manner untouched, and a great number followed him; the little harme which they had taken, witnessing the little good service which they had done. As for the poore foote, they were left to the mercy of the Enemie: who flew above twenty thouland of them; though having little cause to 30 be furious, as having lost in that battell, onely some fourescore, or fixescore men at the most. Some of the foot, escaping from the execution, overtooke the King and his company in a wood; where they fell to rayling at the horfemen, calling them cowards, traytors, and fuch other names, till at length they fell to blowes. The King was in doubt left they had ill meaning to himselfe: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by fuch as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themfelves: every one as his own occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their King, the number began within a while to leffen. For he fell to deviling upon whom he might lay the blame of that dayes misfortune, which was most due to himself: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrinke away from him, how they could. At to his comming to Pella, he found his Pages and houshold servants, ready to attend him, as they had beene wont. But of his greatmen that had escaped from the battell, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholy time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldnesse to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their unfeasonable admonitions, he stabled them both to death. After this, none whom he fent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in feare, lest they that refused to come at his call, would shortly dare some greater mischiefe, he stole out of Pella by right. Of his friends he had with him only Evander (who had been employed to kill Eumenes at Delphi) and two other. There followed him likewife about 500. Creisans, more for love of his mony than of him. To these he so gave of his plate, as much as was worth about fiftie Talents, though shortly he coozened them of some part thereof; making shew as if he would have redeemed it; but never paying the money. The third day after the battell he came to Amphipolis, where he exhorted the Townel-men to fidelitie, with teares : and his owne speech being hindered by teares, appointed Exander to speake what himselfe would have uttered. But the Amphipolitans made it their chiefe care to looke well to themselves. Upon the first same of the overthrow; they had emptied their towns of two thousand Thracians that lay there in garrison: sending them forth under colour of a gainefull employment, and shutting the gates after them. And now to be rid of the King, they plainly

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bade Evander to be gone. The King hearing this, had no minde to tarry: but embarking himselfe and the treasure which he had there, in certain vessels that he found in the river Strymon; passed over to the Isle of Samothrace: wherehe hoped to live safe, by priviledge of the religious Sanctuarietherein.

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These miserable shifts of the King make it the lesse doubtfull, how all the Kingdome fellinto the power of Amylim, within so few dayes after his victorie. Pydna, which was neerest at hand, was the last that yeelded. About fixe thousand of the fouldiers. that were of fundry Nations, fled out of the battell into that Towne; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and confent. Hippin, who had kept the paffage over Offa against Martin, with Pantauchus, who to had beene fent Embassadour to Genius the Illyrian, were the first that came in : yeelding themselves, and the Towne of Beraa, whither they had retyred out of the battell. With the like meffage came others from The flatonica, from Pella, and from all the Townes of Macedon, within two dayes: the loffe of the head bereaving the whole body of all fense and firength. Neither did they of Pydna stand out any longer, when they knew that the King had forfaken his Countrey: but opened their gates upon fuch termes, that the fack of it was granted to the Roman Armie. Emylius fent abroad into the Countrey, fuch as he thought meeteft, to take charge of other Cities: he himselfe marching towards Pella. He found in Pella no more than three hundred Talents; the same whereof Persem had lately defrauded the Illyrian. But within a very little while he shall have 20

It was soone understood, that Perseus had taken Sanctuarie in the Temple at Samothrace: his owneleters to the Confull confirming the report. He fent these letters by perfons of fuch mean condition; that his case was pittled, for that he wanted the service of better men. The scope of this writing was, to defire favour: which though he begged in termes illbefeeming a King, yet fince the inscription of his Epistle was, King Perfem to the Conful Paulus; the Conful, who had taken from him his Kingdome, and would not allow him to retaine the Title, refused to make any answer thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could be expected: whereby he craved and obtained, that fome might be fent to conferre with him about matters of his prefent 30 estate. Neverthelesse, in this conference, hee was marvellous earnest, that hee might be allowed still to retaine the name of King. And to this end it was perhaps, that hee had so carefully preserved his Treasure, unto the very last: flattering himselfe with such vaine hopes as these; That the Romans would neither violate a Sanctuarie, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him have his defire to live at ease, and to be called King. Yea, it feemes that he had indeed, even from the beginning, a defire to live in this If of Samothrace: both for that in one of his confultations about the Warre, he was dehorted by his friends, from feeking to exchange his Kingdome of Macedon, for * fuch a paltrie Iland; and for that he offered to lay up the money which Eumenes de- 40 manded, in the holy Templethat was there. But he findes it otherwise. They urge him to give place unto necessitic, and, without more adoe, to yeeld to the discretion and mercy of the people of Rome. This is fo farreagainst his minde, that the conference breakes off without effect. Presently there arrives at Samothrace Cn. Offavius the Roman Admirall, with his fleet: who affayes, as well by terrible threats, as by faire language, to draw the King out of his lurking hole; wherein, for feare of imprisonment, he had now already imprisoned himselfe. When all would not serve, a question was moved to the Samothracians: How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiving into it one that had violated the like holy priviledg of Sanctuary by attempting the murder of King Eumenes at Delphi? This went to the quick. The Samothracians, being 50 now in the power of the Romans, take this matter to heart; and fend word to the King, That Evander, who lives with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact, committed at Delphi, whereof unlesse he can cleere himselse in judgement, he must not be fuffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reverence borne to his Majestie, now past, makes them forbeare to say, that Persem himselfe is charged with the fame crime. But what will this availe, when the minister of the fact being brought into judgement, shall (as is to be feared) appeach the author e. Perseus therefore willeth Evander to have confideration of the little favour that can be expected at the Ro-

mans hand; who are like to be prefidents and overfeers of this judgement: fo as it were better to dye valiantly, fince none other hope remaines, than hope to make good an ill cause; where though he had a good plea, yet it could not helpe him. Of this motion Evander feemes to like well: and either kilshimfelfe, or hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poy fon where with to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandement. The death of this man, who had flucke to Perseus in all times of need, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to for fake him: foas none are left with him, fave his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leave him upon this occasion, will tell perillous tales, and fay, That the King hath lost the priviledge of this holy Sanctuary, by murdering Evander therein. Or if the Romans will affirme so much, who shall dare to gainefay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formalitie, and eventhat also lyable to dispute, which preferves him from captivitie; he purposeth to make an escape, and flye, with his Treasures, unto Corys his good friend, into Thrace. Organdes, a Cretian, lay at Samothrace with one thin; who eafily was perswaded to waft the King thence. With all secrecie the Kings mony, as much as could be fo conveyed, was carried aboord by night; and the King himfelfe, with his wife and * children (if rather it were not true, that he had with him onely * Phi- Plui, in nits Lip his elder fonne, who was onely by adoption his fonne, being his *brother by nature) stry! with muchadoe got out at a window by arope, and over a mudde wall. At his com-Livilians ming to the Sea-fide, he found no Oroandes there: the Cretian had played a Cretian tricke, and was gone with the money to his owne home. So it began to waxe cleare day, whileft Perfeus was fearching all along the shoare: who had stayed so long about this, that he might feare to be intercepted ere he could recover the Temple. He ranne therefore amaine towards his lodging: and thinking it not fafe to enter it the common way, left he should be taken, he hid himselfe in an obscure corner. His Pages missing him, ranne up and downe making inquirie; till Offavim made Proclamation. That all the Kings Pages, and Macedonians whatfoever, abiding with their mafter in Samothrace, should have their lives and libertie, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in Macedon, conditionally, That they should presently yeeld them-30 felves to the Romans. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise Ion, a Thessalonian, to whom

the King had given the custodie of his children, delivered them up to Ottavins. Lastly, Perfew himselfe, with his son Philip, accusing the gods of Samoibrace, that had no berter protected him, rendered himselfe, and made the Roman victory compleat. If he had not trusted in those gods of Samothrace, but employed his whole care in the defence of Macedon, without other hope of living, than of reigning therein; he might well have brought this war to an happier end. Now, by dividing his cogitations, and pursuing at once, those contrary hopes of saving his Kingdome by arms, and himselfe by flight, he is become a spectacle of misery, and one among the number of those Princes, that have bin wretched by their own default. He was presently sent away to English before whom 40 he fell to the ground so basely, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the victory over

himselfe, as gotten upon one of abject quality, and therefore the lesse to be esteemed. E. mylius used to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for having with so hostile a minde, made War upon the Romans. Hereto good answer might have been returned by one of better spirit. As for Persean, he answered all with a fearfull filence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Confull tearmed it) almost affurance; for that fuch was the mercy of the people of Rome. After these good words being invited to the Confuls Table, and respectively entreated, he was committed prisoner to

Such end had this Macedonian War, after foure yeers continuance and fuch end there-50 withall had the Kingdome of Macedon; the glory whereof, that had fometime filled all parts of the World then knowne, was now translated unto Rome.

CHAP. G. S. 10.

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* Called now

6. IX.

Gentius, King of the Illyrians, taken by the Romans.

Bout the same time, and with like celeritie, Anicius the Roman Prætor, who succeeded unto App. Claudius, had the like successe against King Genting the Illy-Fran. Genting had an Armie of fifteene thousand; with which he was at Lisson. ready to affift King Perfess as soone as the money should come, whereof he had received onely ten Talents. But Anicim arrested him on the way, fought with him overcame him, and drave him into * Scodra. This Towne was very defenfible by nature, 10 besides the help of fortification; and strongly manned with all the force of Illyria; which, affifted with the Kings presence, made it seeme unpossible to be wonne, in any nota very long time. Yet Anicius was confident in his late victory; and therefore presented his Armie before the walls, making countenance to give an affault. The Illyrians, that might eafily have defended themselves within the Towne, would needs iffue forth and fight. They were, it feemes, rather passionate than couragious: for they were beaten; and thereupon forthwith began amazedly to treat about yeelding. The King fent Embaffadours; by whom, at first, he defired truce for three dayes, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had layd violent hands on the Roman Embaffadours, to have recourse to such meditation. But he thought his owne fault pardo-20 nable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harme done by him, than the casting of those Embassadours into prison, where they were still alive. Having obtained three dayes respite, he passed up a River, within halfe a myle of the Roman Campe, into the Lake of Scodra, as it were to consult the more privately; though indeed, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother Caravantius was comming to his rescue. Finding that no fuch helpe was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to returne into Scodra. He sent messengers craving accesse unto the Prætor: beforewhom having lamented his folly past (which, excepting the dishonestie, was not so great as his folly present) he fell downe humbly, and yeelded himselfe to discretion. All the Townes of his kingdome, together with his wife, children, brother, friends, were prefently given up. 30 So this war ended in thirty daies: the People of Rome not knowing that it was begun, untill Perpenna, one of the Embassadors that had bin imprisoned, brought word from Anicaus how all had passed.

6. X.

How the Romans behaved themselves in Greece and Macedon after their victory over Perseus.

Ow began the Romans to swell with the pride of their fortune; and to looke tyrannically upon those that had beene unmannerly toward them before, whilest the War with Perseus seemed full of danger. The Rhodian Embassadors were still at Rome, when the tidings of these victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate, and bid them doe their errand againe. This they performed with a bad grace; faying, that they were fent from Rhodes to make an overture of peace; forasmuch as it was thought, that this Warre was no lesse grievous to the Romans themselves, than to the Macedonians and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalfe of the Rhodians did congratulate with the Senate and people of Rome, that it was ended much more happily than had beene expe-50 acd. Hereto the Senate made answer, That the Rhodians had sent this Embassage to Rome, not for love of Rome, but in favour of the Macedonian; whose partizans they were, and should so be taken. By these threats, and the desire of some (covetous of the charge) to have Warre proclaimed against Khodes; the Embassadours were fo affrighted, that in mourning apparrell, as humble suppliants, they went about the Citie; befeeching all men, especially the great Ones, to pardon their indifcretion, and not to profecute them with vengeance, for some foolish words. This danger of Warre from Rome being knowne at Rhodes, all that had beene

any whit averse from the Romans in the late Warre of Macedon, were either taken and condemned, or fent prisoners to Rome; excepting some that flew themselves for feares wholegoods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and leffe would have done, if old Me. Care, a man by nature vehement, had not uttered a milde fentence, and advertifed the Senate, That in decreeing war against Rhodes, they should much dishonour themselves, and make it thought, that * rather the wealth of that Citie, which they talkingue. were greedy to ranfacke, than any just cause, had moved them thereto. This confidera- and satest defended tion, together with their good deferts in the wars of Philip and Antio chem, helped well conjunationile the Rhodians: among whom, none of any marke remained alive, fave those that had not beene of the Roman Faction. All which not with standing, many yeeres passed, ere by 10 importunate fuit, they could be admitted into the focietic of the Romans: a favour which till now they had not effected; but thought themselves better without it, as equall

With the like, or greater feveritie, did the Romans make themfelves terrible in all parts of Greece. Emilius himselfe made progresse throughthe Countrey; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure: yet not forgetting to make them understand what power he had over them. More than five hundred of the chiefe Citizens in Demetrias were flaine at one time by those of the Roman saction, and with help of the Roman fouldiers. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things. when complaint was made to the Confulathe redreffe was fuch as requited not the pains of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed unto the Romans the liberty of their Countrey, he feasted like a King, with excessive cheere; yet so that he had all things very cheape in his Campe: an easie matter, since no man durst be backward in fending provisions, nor fet on them the due price. Embassadours likewise were fent from Rome; some, to give order for settling the estate of Macedon, towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate, than was usuall in such cases; and some to visit the affaires of Greece. The kingdome of Macedon was set at liberty by Empless and the Embassadors, his assistants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this liberty was fuch as the Romans used to bestow. The best part of it was, Thatthe 30 Tribute which had beene payed unto the Kings, was leffened by halfe. As for the reft, the Country was divided into four parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobility were fent captive into Italy, with their wives and children, as many as were above fifteene yeeres old. The ancient Lawes of the Countrey were abrogated; and new given by Emylius. Such mischiefe the Senate thought it better to doe, at the first alteration of things in this Province, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leave any inconvenience that should be worse in the suture. But concerning the Greekes, that were not subjects to Rome, the things done to them could deserve no bettername than meere tyranny, yea, and shamelesse perjury; were it not so, that the samiliar custome, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oathes of confederation feeme of no validitie. The Embassadours that were fent to vifit the Greekes, called before them all fuch men of note, from every quarter, as had any way discovered an unserviceable disposition towards the Romans. These they sent to Rome; where they were made fure enough. Some of these had fent letters to Perseus which fell at length into the Romans hands: and in that respect, though they were no subje ces, yet wanted there not colour for using them as traytors or at least as enemies. But fince onely two men were beheaded, for having been openly on the Macedonian fide; and fince it is confessed, that the good Patriots were no lesse afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had fold themfelves to the King: this manner of proceeding was inexcufable Tyrannie. With the Achaens these Embassadours were to deale more formally: 30 not formuch because that Common-wealth was strong, (thoughthis were to be regarded by them, having no Commission to make or denounce Warre) and like to prove untractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of figne, by letters, or otherwife, whereby any one of the Acheans could be suspiciously charged to have held correspondence with the Macedonian. It was also so, that neither Callicrates, nor any of his adherents, had bin employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their fervice to the Romans; but onely fuch as were the best Patriots. Yet would not therefore the Embaffadours neglect to use the benefit of the time: wherein, since all men trembled for feare of Rome, the feafon ferved fitly to ranke the Achaans with the reft.

CHAP. 6. S.11.

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And hereto Callicrates was very urgent: fearing, and procuring them to feare in behalfe of him and his friends, that if some sharpe order were not now taken, he and his fellower should be made to pay for their mischievous devices, ere long time passed. So the Embaffadours came among the Achaans: where one of them, in open affembly of the Na. tion, spake as Callicrates had before instructed him. He said, that some of the chiefe among them, had with money and other meanes befriended Perfess. This being fo. he defired that all such men might be condemned, whom, after sentence given, he would name unto them. After fentence given (cried out the whole affembly) what justice were this? Name them first, and let them answer; which if they cannot well doe, we will foone condemne them. Then faid the Roman boldly, that all their Prætors, as many as To had led their Armies, were guilty of this crime. If this were true, faid Xenon, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, then should I likewise have beene friend to Perseu: whereof if any man can accuse me, I shall throughly answer him, either here presently, or before the Senate at Rome. Upon these words of Xenon the Embassadour laid hold, and faid that even so it were the best way, for him and the rest to purge themfelves before the Senate at Rome. Then began he to name others, and left not untill he had cited above a thousand; willing them to appeare and answer before the Senate. This might even be termed the captivitie of Greece; wherein fo many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause, than their love unto their Country; to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure that ver- 20 tue, and regard of the publike liberty, should dwell together in any of the Greeks. At their comming to Rome, they were all cast into prison, as men already condemned by the Achaans. Many Embassages were sent from Achaia (where it is to be wondred, that any fuch honest care of these innocent men could be remaining: since honestie had bin thus punished as a vice in formany of the worthiest among them) to informe the Senate. that these men were neither condemned by the Acheans, nor yet held to be offenders. But in stead of better answer; it was pronounced; That the Senate thought it not expedient for the Countrie, that these men should returne into Achara. Neither could any solicitation of the Acheans, who never ceased to importune the Senate for their libertic, prevaile at all; untill after seventeene yeeres, fewer than thirty of them were enlarged, of whom that wife and vertuous man Polybius, the great Historian, was one. All thereft were either dead in prison, or having made offer to escape, whether upon the way before they came to Rome, or whether out of Jayle, after that they were committed thereto, fuffered death as ma-

lefactors. This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done upon the Epirots. For the Senate being defirous to preferve the Macedonian Treasure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiers, gave order, That the whole Country of Epyron should be put to facke. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by Amylius with mischievous subtiltie. Having taken leave of the Greekes, and of the Macedonians, with bidding themwell to use the liberty bestowed upon them by the people of Rome; hee 48 fent unto the Epirors for ten of the principal men out of every Citie. These he commanded to deliver up all the Gold and Silver which they had; and fent along with them, into every of their Townes, what companies of men he thought convenient, as it were to fetch the mony. But he gave fecret instructions to the Captaines, that upon a certaine day by him appointed, they should fall to facke, every one the Towne whereinto he was fent. Thus in one day were threefcore and tenne Cities, all confederate with the Romans, spoyled by the Roman souldiers; and besides other acts of hostilitie in a time of peace, a hundred and fiftie thousand of that Nation made flaves. It may be granted, that some of the Epirois deserved punishment, as having favoured Perseus. But fince they, among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence; yea, or but 50 coldly affected to the Romans, had beene already fent into Italie, there to receive their due; and fince this Nation, in generall, was not onely at the present in good obedience, but had even in this warre done good fervice to the Romans: I hold this act fo wicked. that I should not believe it, had any one Writer delivered the contrary. But the truth being manifest by consent of all, it is the lesse marvellous, that God was pleased to make Æmylius childelesse, even in the glory of his triumph, how great soever otherwise his vertues were.

In such manner dealt the Romans, after their victory, with the Greeks and Macedoni-

ans. How terrible they were to other Kingdomes abroad, it will appeare by the efficacy of an Embassage sent from them to Antiochus; whereof before we speake, we must fay somewhat of Antiochen his foregoers, of himselfe, and of his affaires about which these Embassadours came.

6. X I.

The War of Antiochus upon Egypt brought to end by the Roman Embassadours.

Ntiochus the Great, after his peace with the Romans, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his reigne and life. He died the fixe and thirtieth yeere after he had worne a Crowne, and in the seventeenth or eighteenth of Ptolomie Epiphanes: while he attempted to rob the Temple of Bel, or (accor-strakth.th. ding to Justine) of Jupiter. He left behind him three sons, Seleucus Philopator, Antiochus Int. 116.35. Epiphanes, Demetraus Soier; and one daughter, Cleopatra, whom he had given in marriage to Ptolomie Epiphanes King of Egypt. Selencus, the fourth of that name, and the cldest of Anisochus his sons; reigned in Syriatwelve yeeres, according to Eusebius, Appian, and English Chro, Sulpirus: though Josephus give him but seven. A Prince, who as he was sloathfull by Appelebell. nature, so the great losse which his father Antiochus had received, tooke from him the syr, Ant. 12.6.5 20 means of managing any great affaire. Of him, about three hundred yeers before his birth, Daniel gave this judgement, Et stabit in loco ejus vilisimus & indignus decore regio. Dan 11.24. And in his place (speaking of Antiochus, the Father of this man) Shall start up a vileperson, unworthy the honour of a King. Under this Seleucus, those things were done which are spoken of Onias the high Priest, in these words, and other to the same effect: What time as 2 Mac 32 the holy Cuy was inhabited with all Peace, because of the godlinesse of Onias the Priest, it came to passe, that even the King did honour the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifis. And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of Macchabees, of Simon of Benjamin, who by Apollonius betrayed the Treasures of the Temple : and of Heliodorus sent by the King to seize them; of his miraculous striking by God, and his recovery 30 at the prayers of Onias; of the Kings death, and of his successour Antiochus Epiphanes. It is therefore from the reigne of this King, that the books of the Macchabees take beginning. Which books feem not to be delivered by one and the fame hand. For the first book, although it touch upon Alexander the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his storie, nor of the acts of his fuccessours, til the time of Anisochus Epiphanes, the brother & succeffor of this Selencus; from whom downward to the death of Simon Macchabaus (who died in the hundred threescore & seventeenth yeere of the Greeks in Syria) that first book treateth. The Author of the second book, although he take the Storie somewhat further off, by way of a Proæme, yet he endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth yeer of the Grecian reign, and with the death of Nicanor, flain by Judas: remembring in the fourth Chapter the practice of Jason the brother of Onias, who after the death of Seleucus, pre- 1 Magical vailed with Antiochus Epiphanes, his successor, for the Priesthood. It is also held by Jan- super Ecut. 13 fenius, and other grave Writers, that it was in the time of this Onias, that Arius, King of the Spartans sent Embassadors to the Jewes, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence between them and the Greeks, Jonathan the brother and successor of Judas, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himselfe directed to the people of Sparta by Numenius and Amipater his Embassadours, whom he employed at the same time to the Senate of Rome; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which Arim had fent to Onias the high Priest, whereto Fosephus addes, that the name of the Laced amonian Embassador was Demoteles, and that the Letters had a square Volume, and

50 were fealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her clawes. Now to this Seleucus, the fourth of that name, succeeded Aniochus Epiphanes, in the bundred and seven and thirtieth yeer of the Greeks in Syria. He was the second son of the Great Antioches: and he obtained his kingdome by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also he usurped from his brothers son.

Ptolomie Philometor, his Nephew by his fifter Cleopatra, being then very young, had been about seven yeers King of Egypt.

Ptolomie Epiphanes, the Father of this King Philometor, had reigned in Egypt foure and twenty yeers, in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. Philip

CHAP. G. S.II.

of Macedon, and the great Antioches, had agreed to divide his Kingdome between them. whilest he was a childe. But they found such other businesse, ere long, with the Romans. as made them give over their unjust purpose; especially Amiochus, who gave with his daughter in marriage, unto this Prolomie, the Provinces of Colofyria, Phanice, and Judaa. which he had won by his victory over Scopas, that was generall of the Egyptian forces in those parts. Neverthelesse, Piolomie adhered to the Romans: whereby he lived in the greater fecuritie. He left behind him two fonnes; this Ptolomie Philometor, and Ptolomie Physicon, with a daughter Cleopatra. Cleopatra was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the younger, by whom she was cast off, and her daughter taken in her stead. Such were the marriages of these Egyptian Kings.

Ptolomie Philametor, so called (that is, the lover of his mother) by a bitter nick-name. because he slew her, fell into harred with his subjects, and was like to be chased our of his Kingdome, his younger brother being fer up against him. Physcon having a strong party. got possession of Alexandria; and Philometor held himself in Memphis, craving succour of King Antiochus his Unde. Hereof Antiochus was glad : who under colour to take unon him the protection of the young Prince, fought by all means possible to possesse himselse of that Kingdome. He sent Apollonius the sonne of Mnestheus Embassadour into Egypt, and under colour to affift the Kings Coronation, he gave him instructions to perfivade the governors of the young King Philometor, to deliver the king his Nephew. with the principall places of that Kingdome, into his hands, pretending an extraordina-20 ry care and defire of his Nephewes safety and well doing. And the better to answer all argument to the contrary, he prepared a forcible armie to attend him. Thus came he alongst the coast of Syria to Jappe, and from thence on the sudden he turned himselfe towards Jerufalew; where, by Jafon the Prieft, (a Chaplin fit for fuch a Patron) he was with all pompe and solemnitie received into the Citie. For though lately, in the time of Seleucus, the brother and predecessour of Epiphanes, that impious Traytor Simon of the Tribe of Renjamin, Ruler of the Temple, when he would have delivered the treasures thereof to Apollonius Governour of Calofyria and Phanicia, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from heaven; the said Apollonius being strucken by the Angell of God, and recovering agains at the prayer of Onias: yet sufficed not this example 30 to terrefie others from the like ungodly practices. Prefently upon the death of Seleucus, this Jason, the brother of Onian, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtain the Priesthood for himfelfe, offered unto the King three hundred and threefcore ralents of filver, with other repts and fummes of mony. So he got his defire, though he not long enjoy-

This naughty dealing of Jason and his being over-reached by another in the same kind, calls to mind a by-word taken up among the Achaans, when as that mischievous Callscrates, who had beene too hard for all worthy and vertuous men, was beaten at his own weapon, by one of his owne condition. It went thus:

> One firethanother burnes more forcibly, One Wolfe than other Wolves does bite more fore, One Hawke than other Hawkes more frist does the So one most mischierous of men before, Callicrates, falle knave as knave might be, Met with Menalcidas more false than be.

And even thus fell it out with Jason: who within three yeares after was betrayed, and overbidden by Menelam the brother of Simon, that for three hundred takents more obtained the Priesthood for himselfe: Jason thereupon being forced to Aye from Jerusa-50 lem, and to hide himselfe among the Ammonues.

From Jerusalem Antiochen marched into Phanicia, to augment the numbers of his men of warre, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into Egypt; with which, and with a mighty army of land-forces, He went about to reigne over Egypt, that he might have the dominion of two Realmes, and entred Egypt with a mighty company; with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Navie, and moved warre against Prolomans King of Egypt; but Prolomæus was afraid of him, and fled, and many were wounded to death. U.18,19,20, &c. He wan many frong Cives, and tooke away the spoyles of the Land of Egypt. Thus was ful-

Prophecie of Daniel. He shall enter into the quiet and plentifull Provinces, and he shall Danii.24. doe that which his Fathers have not done nor his Fathers Fathers. Never indeed had any of the Kings of Syria to great a victorie over the Egyptians, nor took from them fo great riches. For he gave a notable overthrow to the Captaines of Ptolomie, between Pelu-Hierin Dans. fium and the hill Cassius, after which he entred and fackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of Egypt, Alexandria excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that Antiochus had smitten Egypt, hee turned againe, and went up towards Israel and Machicas Jerusalem with a mightie people, and entred proudly into the Santhuarie, and took away the golden Altar, and the Candlestick for the light, and all the instruments thereof, and the table of the Shem-bread, and the Powring Vellels, and the Bolles, and the golden Basons, and the Vaile, and the Crowns, and the golden Apparrell. He took also the Silver, and the Gold, and the precious Jewels, and the secret Treasures: and when he had taken away all he departed into his owne Land, after he had murdered many men.

It was about the beginning of the Macedonian war that Antiochus took in hand this Lib.6. Egyptian businesse. At what time he first laid claime to Calosyria, justifying his title by * the same allegations which his father had made; and stiffely averring, that this Province * caps. 5.2. had not bin configned over to the Egyptian, or given in dowrie with Cleopatra. Easie it was to approve his right unto that which he had alreadie gotten, when he was in a faire polyb. Leg. 816 way to get all Egypt. The Acheans, Rhodians, Athenians, and other of the Greeks, preffed \$3.000. him, by feverall Embaffages, to forme good conclusion. But his answer was, that if the Alexandrians could be contented to receive their King his Nephew Philometor, the elder brother of the Prolomies, then should the war be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when he saw, that it was an hard piece of work to take Alexandria by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselves with intestine war, than by the terror of his arms, threatning destruction unto both of them, to put into them any desire of comming to agreement. He therefore withdrew his forces for the present; leaving the Ptolomies in very weak estate, the younger almost ruinated by his invasion; the elder hated and forfaken by his people.

But how weak foever these Egyptians were, their hatred was thought to be so strong 30 that Antiochus might leave them to the prosecution thereof, and follow, at good leisure, his other businesse at Jerusalem or elsewhere. So after the facke of Jerusalem, he rested him a whileat Antioch, and then made a journey into Cilicia, to suppresse the Rebellion of the Thracians and others in those parts, who had been given, as it were, by way of dowrie, to a Concubine of the Kings, called Antiochis. For Governour of Syria in his absence he lest one Andronicu, a man of great authoritie about him. In the meane while Menelam the brother of Simon, the same who had thrust Jason out of the Priesthood, and promifed the King three hundred talents for an In-come, committing the charge of the Priesthood to his brother Lysimachus, stole certaine vessels of gold out of the Temple: whereof he presented a part to Andronicus the Kings Lievtenant, and 40 fold the rest at Tyre, and other Cities adjoyning. This he did, as it seemeth, to advance the payment of the three hundred talents promifed; the same being now by So-Bratus eagerly demanded. Hercof when Onias the Priest (formerly dispossessed by Ja-(on) had certain knowledge, being moved with zeale, and detesting the facriledge of Menelaw, he reproved him for it; and fearing his revenge, he withdrew himselfe into a San-Chuarie at Daphne.

Daphne was a place of delight adjoyning as a fuburb to Antioch. In compasse it had about ten miles : wherein were the Temples of Apollo and Diana, with a Grove, fweet Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abused to lust &other such voluptuousnesse. Whether it were well done of Onias to commit him-50 selfe to the protection of Apollo and Diana, or to claim priviledge, from the holinesse of a ground confecrated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not stand to discourse. Onely I fay for mine owne opinion, that the inconvenience is farre leffe, to hold this booke as Apocryphal, than to judge this fearfull shift which Onias (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable or allowable, as the booke seemes to doe. As for this refuge, it could not fave the life of the poore old man: for Menelaus taking Andronicus apare, prayed him to flay Onias. So when hee came to Onias, hee counselled him Mac.24; craftily, giving him his right hand with an oath, and perfivaded him to come out of the Sandwarie; so he slew him incontinently without any regard of righteousnesse. Hercof when

z Mac.

€ Mac.3.

& Macia

Mac.1.17.

660

2 Mac,4.38.

Verfe 47.

when complaint was made to Antiochus after his return out of Cilicia, He took away Andronicus his garment of purple, and rent his cloaths & commanded him to be led throughout the Cities and in the same place where he had committed the wickednesse against Onias, he was staine as a murderer. In taking revenge of this innocent mans death, I should have thought that this wicked King had once in his life-time done Justice. But prefently after this, at the fuit of one Ptolomie, a Traytor to Ptolomie Philometor, he condemned innocent men to death, who justly complained against Menelaus, and his brother Lysimachus, for a fecond robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the veffels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his own outragious will, and not by any regard of justice: fince he revenged the death of Oniss, yet flew those that were 10 in the same cause with Onias; Who, had they told their cause, yea, before the Scythians, they should have bin heard as innocent. By reason of such his unsteadinesse, this King was commonly termed Epimanes, that is, Mad, in stead of Epiphanes, which signifieth Noble

2 Mac. 5.1.

After this, Antiochus made preparation for a second voyage into Egypt, and then were there seen throughout all the Citie of Jerusalem fortie daies long horsemen running in the aire with robes of gold, and as bands of Spear-men, and as troups of Horsmen set in array, encountring and courfing one against another. Of these prodigious signes, or rather forewarnings of God, all Hiltories have delivered us, some more, some lesse. Before the de-Marinings of Gougant Marining Vespatian, a star in the form of a sword appeared in the Hea- 20 vens directly over the Citie, after which there followed a flaughter like unto this of Epiphanes, though far greater. In the Cymbrian wars, Plinie tels us, that Armies were feen

Plin.l.2.c.57.

fighting in the ayre from the morning till the evening. In the time of Pope John the eleventh, a fountaine powred out bloud in stead of water, in or nearethe Citie of Genoa; soone after which the Citie was taken by the Saracens, with great flaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signs, Vipera hath collected made Prodig. lib.8.
Proprade Prisco ny, and very remarkeable. But this one seemeth to me most memorable, because the Experior English most notorious. All men know, that in the Emperour Nero, the Off-spring of the Cafars, as well naturall as adopted, tooke end; whereof this notable figne gave war-

Steeton Galba.

When Livia was first married to Augustu, an Eagle let fall into her armes a white hen, holding a Lawrell branch in her mouth. Livia caused this Hento be carefully nourished, and the Lawrell branch to be planted: of the Hencame a faire encrease of white Poultrie; and from the little Branch there sprang up in time a Grove of Lawrell: so that afterwards, in all triumphs, the Conquerors did use to carrie in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Grove; & after the Triumphs ended, to let it againe in the same ground: which branches were observed, when they hapned to wither, to foreshew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last year of Nero, all the broods of the white Hens died, and the whole Grove of Bayes withered at once. Moreover, the heads of all the Cafars Statues, and the Scepter placed in Augustus his hand, were stricken 40 downe with lightning. That the Jewes did not thinke such strange signs to be unworthie of regard; it appears by their calling upon God, and praying, that these tokens might

turne to good.

Now as the first voyage of Antiochim into Egypt was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein reigning: fo was his second Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder Ptolomie being left in Memphis, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended Alexandria against all the power of their Uncle; thought it the best way to seeke entrance into that royall Citie, rather by perswasion than by armes. Physicon had not yet forgotten the terrour of the former fiege : the Alexandrines though they loved not Philometor, yet loved they worse to live in scarcitie of 50 victuals (which was alreadie great among them, and like to grow extreme) fince nothing was brought in from the Countrey; and the friends of the younger brother faw no likelihood of good iffue to be hoped for without reconciliation. These good helpes, and above all these, the loving disposition of Cleopatra, who then was in Alexandria, encouraged Philometor, in his purpose. But that which made him earneftly defirous to accomplish it, was the feare wherein he stood of his Uncle. For though Antiochus was gone out of Egypt with his Armie; yet had he left behind him a ftrong Garrison in Pelusium; retaining that Citie, which was the Key of Egypt, to his

own use. This consideration wrought also with Physcon, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of Cleopatra their sister, the two brethren made

When the newes of this accord was brought to Antiochus, he was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the King Philometer his Nephew, and a meaning to subject his younger brother unto him, which he gave in answer to all Embassadours; yet he now prepared to make a sharpe warre upon them both. And to this end he presently furnished and sent out his Navie

towards Cyprus, and drew his land Armie into Cælofyria, readie to enter Egypt the 10 Spring following. When he was on his way as farre as Rhinocorura, he met with Embassadours sent from Ptolomie. Their errand was partly to yeeld thanks to Antiochus for the establishing of Philometer in his Kingdome; partly to beseech him, That he would rather be pleased to signifie what he required to have done in Egypt, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemie with so puissant an Armie. But Ansiochus returned this short answer, That he would neither call backe his Fleet, nor withdraw his Armie, upon any other condition, than that Ptolomie should surrender into his hands, together with the Citie of Pelusium, the whole Territorie thereto belonging: and that he should also abandon and leave unto him the Ile of Cyprus, with all the right that he had unto either of them, for ever. For answer unto these de-20 mands, hee fet downe a day certaine, and a fhort one. Which being come and paff,

without any accord made, the Syrian Fleet entred Wilm, and recovered as well those places which appertained to Ptolomie in Arabia, as in Egypt it selfe; for Memphis, and all about it, received Antiochus, being unable to refift him. The King having now no stop in his way to Alexandria, passed on thitherwards by easie jour-

CHAP. 6. S.II.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein Egypt stood, the Romans had notice long agoe. But they found, or were contented to finde, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a civill warre: and wherein Antiochus seemed to take part with the juster cause. Yet they gave signification, that it 30 would be much displeasing unto them, to have the Kingdome of Egypt taken from the rightfull owners. More they could not, or would not doe; being troubled with Perseus; and therefore loath to provoke Antiochus too farre. Neverthelesse, the Egyptian Kings being reconciled, and standing joyntly in need of helpe against their Uncle, who prepared and made open warreagainst them both: it was to be expected, that not only the Romans, but many of the Greeks, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, should arme in defence of their Kingdome. Rome had beene sustained with food from Egypt, in the warre of Hannibal; when Italie lying waste, had neither corn nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By helpe of the Egyptian had Aratus laid the foundation of that greatnesse, whereto the Acheans attained. And by the like helpe had Rhodes beene defended against Demetrius Poliorcetes. Neither were these friendly turnes, which that bountifull house of the Ptolomies had done for fundrie people abroad, ill followed, or feconded, by other as bad in requitall: but with continuance of surable beneficence, from time to time encreased. Wherefore the two brothers fent abroad confidently for ayde; especially to the Rhodians and Acheans, who seemed most able to give it effectually. To the Romans Physicon and Cleopatra had fent, a yeere fince: but their Embaffadours lay stillin Rome. Of the Acheans they defired in particular, that Lycortas the brave warriour might be sent unto them, as Generall of all the Auxiliaries, and his fonne Polybim, Generall of the Horse. Hereunto the Achaans readily condescended: and would immediately have made performance, if Callierates had 50 not interposed his mischievous art. He, whether seeking occasion to vaunt his obsequiousnesset othe Ramans; or much rather envying those noble Captaines whose fervice the Kings defired; withflood the common voyce; which was, That their Nation should, not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, be ayding unto the Ptolomies. For it was not now (he faid) convenient time to entangle themselves in any such businesse, as might make them the lesse able to yeeld unto the Romans what helpe foever should be required in the Macedonian warre. And in this sentence, he, with those of his faction, obstinately persisted: terrefying others with big words, as it were in behalfe of the Romans. But Polybins affirmed, that Martins

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the late Consull had fignified unto him, that the Romans were past all need of help: adding further, that a thousand foot and two hundred horse, might well be spared to the aid of their Benefactors, the Egyptian Kings, without disabling their Nation to performe any service to the Romans; for as much as the Acheans could without trouble. raise thirtie or fortieth ousand Souldiers. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken by the violence of Callierates. For when it was thought that the Decree should have passed; he brought into the Theater where the assembly was held, a Messenger with letters from Martius; whereby the Acheans were defired to conforme themselves to the Roman Senate; and to labour, as the Senate had done, by fending Embassadours to set Egypt in peace. This to was an advice against all reason. For the Senate had indeed sent Embassadours to make peace; but as in a time of greater businesse elsewhere, with such milde words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely that the Acheans should doe any good in the same kinde. Yet Polybius and his friends durst not gaine say the Roman Councell; which had force of an injunction. So the Kings were left in much diffresse; diffappointed of their expectation. But within a while was Perseus overcome: and then might the Embassadour, sent from the Roman Senate, performe as much as any Armie could

Audience had been elately given by the Senate, unto those Embassadours of Physicon and Cleopatra: which having stayed more than a whole yeare in the Citie, brought no- 20 thing of their businesse to effect untill now. The Embassadors delivered their message in the name of those that had sent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew

not) Philometor, no lesse than his brother and Sister.

In this ambassage of Ptolomie, now requesting help from Rome, appeared a notable change of his fortune, from fuch as it had beene before three or four yeares last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which began with the Macedonian Warre; either he, or Eulaus, or Lenaus (upon whom the blame was afterwards laid) which had the government of him, thought his affaires in such good estate, that not only he determined to setupon Antiochus for Cælosjria, but would have interposed himselfe betweene the Romans and Perfeus, as a competent Arbitrator; though it fell out well, that 30 his Embassadour was by a friend perswaded to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts he fell on the sudden by the rebellion of his brother and subjects, to live under protection of the same Antiochus. And now at such time as by attonement with his brother and subjects, he might have seemed to stand in noneed of such protection, he hath remaining none other help whereby to fave both his kingdom & life, than what can be obtained by their interceffion which were employed against him. This miferable condition of him, his brother and fifter, shewed it selfe, even in the habit of those Embassadours. They were poorely clad; the haire of their heads and beards overgrowne, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands branthes of Olive. Thus they entred into the Senate, and there fell, groveling and prostrate, 40 upon the floore. Their garments were not fo mean and mournfull, nor their lookes and Countenances so sad and dejected, but that their speech was than either of the other far more lamentable. For having told in what danger their King and Countrey flood; they made a pittifull and grievous complaint unto the Senate, befeeching them to have compaffion of their Estate, and of their Princes, who had alwayes remained friendly & faithfull to the Romans. They faid that the people of Rome had so much heretofore favoured this Antiochus in particular, and were of fuch account and authoritie, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleafed but to fend their Embassadours, and let Antiochus know, that the Senate was offended with his undertaking upon the King their Confederate; then would he presently raise his siege from before Alexandria, and with-draw 50 his Armie out of Egypt into Syria. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or ufed any delay; then should Prolomie and Cleopatra be shortly driven out of their Realms, and make repaire to Rome, with shamefull dishonour to the Senate and people thereof, in that, in the extreme dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchfafed to relieve

The Lords of the Senate moved with compassion, sent incontinently C. Popilius Lenus, C. Decimius and A. Hostilius, as Embassadours to determine and end the war betweene those Kings-Incommission they had first to find King Ptolomie, and then Antiochus, and

to let them both understand, that unlesse they surceased, and gave over Armes, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate and people of Rome, whom they found obstinate, or using delay. So these Romans, together with the Alexandrine Embasfadours, tooke their leave, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whilest Popilius and his fellowes were on their way toward Egypt, Antiochus had transported his Armie over Lusine, some fortie miles from Alexandria. So neer was he to the end of his journey, when the Roman Embassadours met him. After greeting and falutations at their first encounter, Antiochus offered his right hand to Popilius: but Popilius filled it with a Roll of paper; willing him to reade those Mandates of the Senate beforehedid any thing else. Antiochus did so; and having a little while considered of the businesse, he told Popilius, That he would advise with his friends, and then give the Embassadours their answer. But Popilius, according to his ordinarie blunt manner of speech, which he had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rod which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as hee might report to the Senate, before hee moved out of that Circle. The King aftonished at this so rude and violent a Commandement, after he had stayed and pawfed a while, I will be content (quoth hee) to doe what soever the Senate shall ordaine. Then Popilius gave unto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the Ro-

Thus Antiochus departed out of Egypt, without any good iffue of his costly Expedition; even in such manner as * Daniel had prophesied long before: yea, fulfilling every Danitized particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischiefe to Jerusalem after his 30.8cc. returne; like as if these things had rather bin historisied than fore-told by the Prophet. As for the Roman Embassadors, they stayed awhile, and settled the kingdome of Egypt, leaving it unto the elder brother, and appointed the younger to reign over Cyrene. This done, they departed towards Cyprus; which they felt, as it had beene, in the power of the Egyptian, having first sent away Antiochus Fleet, which had alreadie given an overthrow to the Egyptian ships.

6. X I I.

How the Romans were dreadful to all Kings. Their demeanour towards Eumenes, Prusias. Masanissa, and Cotys. The end of Perseus and his children, The instabilizie of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of Paulus, Anicius, and Octavius. With the Conclusion of the

Y this peremptorie demeanour of Popilius, in doing his Message, and by the readie obedience of King Antiochus to the will of the Senate; wee may perceive how terrible the Romans were grown, through their conquest of Macedon. The fame Popiliss had bin well contented, a year before this, to lay afide the roughnesse of his naturall condition, & to give good language to the Acheans and Ætolians, when he went Embassadour to those people of Greece, that were of far lesse power than the King Antiochus. Likewise, Antiochus had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other Embassadours which came from Rome, in such sort, as they complained not, much leffe used any menacing termes, though he performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as Antiochim.

Eumenes fent to Rome his brother Attalus, to gratulate the victorie over Perfeus, and to crave help or countenance of the Senate against the Gallo-greeks, which molested him. 50 Very welcome was Attalus, and lovingly entertained by most of the Senators: who bad him be confident, and request of the Senate his brothers kingdome for himselfe; for it should furely be given him. These hopefull promises tickled Attalus with such ambition. that he either approved, or seemed to approve the motion. But his honest nature was foon reclaymed by the faithfull counsell of strating a Physician; whom Eumenes had fent to Rome of purpose to keep his brother upright. So, when he came into the Senate, he delivered the errand about which he had bin fent; recounting his own fervices done to the Romans in the late war, "where withall he forgat not to make of his brother as good "Live Afe

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Polyb Leg. 72.

Polybabid.

mention as he could: and finally, requested; That the Townes of Anus and Maronea * Poble Les 93. might be bestowed upon himselfe. * By his omitting to sue for his brothers Kingdome, the Senate conceived opinion, that he meant to crave another day of audience for that bufine se alone. Where fore to make him understand how gracious he was, they not only granted all his defire; but in the prefents which they gave unto him (as was their custome to Embaffadors that came with an acceptable meffage) they used fingular magnificence. Neverthelesse Attalus tooke no notice of their meaning, but went his way, contented with what they had alreadic granted. This did so highly displease the Senate, that whilst he was yet in Italie, they gave order for the libertie of Anus and Maronea: thereby making uneffectuall their promise; which otherwise they could not, without shame, revoke. And as for the Gallo-greekes, which were about to invade the kingdome of Pergamu; they fent Embaffadours to them, with fuch instructions, as rather encouraged than hindred them in their purpose. The displeasure of the Senate being so manifest: Eumenes thought it worthie of his labour to make another voyage to Rome. He might well blame the follie of his second voyage thither, for this necessitie of the third since, by his malice to Perseus, he had layd open unto these ambitious Potentates the way to his owne doores. No fooner was he come into Italie, than the Senate was ready to fend him going. It was not thought expedient to use him as an enemie, that came to visit them in love: neither could they, in fo doing, have avoided the note of fingular inconstancie: and to entertaine him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, 20 as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no King should be suffered to come to Rome; and by vertue thereof sent him home, without expence of much farther complement.

Prusias King of Bithynia had beene at Rome somewhat before; where he was welcommed after a better falhion. He had learned to behave himself as humbly as the proud Romans could expect or defire. For entring into the Senate, he lay down, and kiffed the threshold, called the Fathers his gods and saviours: as also he used to weare a Cap, after the manner of flaves newly manumifed, professing himselfe an enfranchised bondman of the People of Rome. He was indeed naturally a flave, and one that by fuch abject flattery kept himselse safe; though doing otherwise greater mischiefe than any wherewith Per- 20 few had beene charged. His errand was, besides matter of complement, to commend unto the Senate the care of his fon Nicomedes, whom he brought with him to Rome, there to receive education. Further petition he made, to have fome Towns added to his kingdom: whereto because the grant would have bin unjust, he received a cold answer. But concerning the Wardship of his fon, it was undertaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleasure lately done to Egipt, in freeing it from Antiochus, willed him thereby to consider, what effectuall protection the Romans gave unto the children of Kings, that were to

their patronage commended.

But above all other Kings, Masanissa held his credit with the Romans good. His quarrels were endlesse with the Carthaginians: which made the friendship of the Romans to 40 him the more affired. In all controversies they gave judgement on his side: and whereas he had invaded the Countrey of Emporia, holding the Lands, but unable to win the Towns: the Romans (though at first they could finde no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppression) compelled finally the Carthaginians both to let goe all their hold, and to pay five hundred Talents to the Numidian, for having hindered him of his due fo long. Now indeed had Rome good leafure to devise upon the ruine of Carthage: after which, the race of Masaniffa himselfe was shortly by them rooted up. But hereof the old King never dreamed. He fent to Rome one of his fons, to congratulate the victorie over Perseu : and offered to come thither himselfe, there to sacrifice for joy unto 7upiter in the Capitol. His good will was lovingly accepted; his for rewarded; and he en- 50

Cotysthe Thracian fent Embassadours to excuse himselfe touching the aide by him given to Perfew, for that the Macedonian had him bound by hostages; and to intreat, That his fonne, which was taken with the children of Perfew, might be fet at libertie, for convenient ransome. His excuse was not taken; since hee had voluntarily obliged himselfe to Persem, by giving hostages without necessitie: Yet was his sonne given backe to him ransome-free; with admonition, to carry himselfe better toward the

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Romanes in time following. His Kingdome lay betweene Macedon and some barbarous Nations; in which respect, it was good to hold him in faire termes.

As for those unhappie Kings Perseus and Gentius, they were led through Rome, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of Amylius and Anicius. Perseus had often made suit to Emylius, that he might not be put to such disgrace: but he still received one fcornefull answer, That it lay in his owne power to prevent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himselse. And surely, had he not hoped for greater mercie than he found, he would rather have fought his death in Macedon, than have bin beholding to the courtesie of his insolent enemies for a wretched life. The issue of the Roman clemencie, 10 whereof Emylius had given him hope, was no better than this: After that he, and his fellow King, had beene led in chaines through the streets, before the Chariots of their triumphing Victors, they were committed to prison, wherein they remained without hope of releafe. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turaed his Chariot up towards the Capitol, there to doe facrifice, he should command the captives to be had away to prison, and there put to death: so as the honour of the Vanquisher, and miserie of those that were overcome, might be both together at the utmost. This last sentence of death was remitted unto Perfeus: yet so, that he had little joy of his life; but either famished himselse, or (for it is diversly reported) was kept watching perforce by those that had him in custodie; and so died for want of sleepe. Of his sons, two died; it is uncertaine how. The youngest called Alexander (only in name like unto the Great, though destined fometimes perhaps by his father, unto the fortunes of the Great) became a Joyner, or Turner, or, at his best preferment, a Scribe under the Roman Officers. In such povertie ended the Royall House of Macedon: and it ended on the sudden; though some eight-

med too narrow. If Perfeus had knowne it before, that his owne fon should one day be compelled to earne his living by handie-work, in a painfull Occupation; it is like, that he would not, as in a wantonnesse of Soveraigntie, have commanded those poor men to be slain, which had recovered his treasures out of the sea, by their skill in the feat of diving. He would rather have beene very gentle, and would have confidered, that the greatest oppressors and the most undertroden wretches, are all subject unto the One high Power, governing all alike with absolute command. But such is our unhappinesse; in stead of that blessed counsel, Doe as ye would be done unto, a sentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicitie; we entertaine that arrogant thought, I will be like to the most High: that is, I will doe what shall please my selfe. One hath said truely:

fcore yeares after the death of that Monarch, unto whose ambition this whole Earth see-

-- vv-Et qui nolunt occidere quenquam Polle volunt.

Fuven fal. 100

Even they that have no murdrous will, would have it in their power to kill.

All, or the most, have a vaine desire of abilitie to doe evil without controll: which is a dangerous temptation unto the performance. God, who best can judge what is expedient, hath granted fuch power to very few: among whom also, very few there are, that use it not to their owne hurt. For who sees not that a Prince, by racking his Soveraigne authoritie to the utmost extent, enableth (besides the danger to his owne person) some one of his owne fonnes or nephewes to root up all his progenie ? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithstanding their brotherhood, or other neerenesse in bloud, be driven to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that governes one, the most unworthie of his whole house, yet reigning over all? the untimely death of many Princes which could not humble themselves to such flatterie; and the common practice of the Turkifb Emperous to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofes hereof. Hereunto may be added, That the heire of the same Roger Mortimer, who murdered most traiterously and barbarously King Edward the second; was, by reason of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heire apparent to the Crowne of England: which had he obtained, then had all the power of Edward fallen into the race of his mortallenemie, to exercise the same upon the Line of that unhappie King. Such examples of the instabilitie whereto all mortall affaires are fubject;

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Chap.3.5.4.

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fubject; as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitorie gods of Kingdomes, not to authorize by wicked precedents, the evill that may fall on their own posteritie: so do they necessarily make us understand, how happie that Countrie is, which hath obtained "The true Law a King able to conceive and teach, That " God is the forest and sharpest Schoolemaster that of free Monar a King able to conceive and teach, That " God is the forest and sharpest Schoolemaster that can be devised for such Kings, as thinke this world ordained for them, without controlement to turne it upside-downe at their pleasure.

Now concerning the Triumph of L. Amylius Paulus, it was in all points like unto that of T. Quintim Flaminim: though farre more glorious, in regard of the Kings owne person, that was led along therein, as part of his owne spoyles; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest and of the Bootie. So great was the quantitie of Gold and Silver carried by Paulus into the Roman Treasurie, that from thenceforth, untill the civill wars which followed upon the death of Julius Cafar, the Estate had no need to burthen it self with any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to have bin hindred by the fouldiers; who grudged at their Generall, for not having dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate over-ruled the People and Souldiers herein, and brought them to reason by severe exhortations. Thus Paulus enjoyed as much honour of his victorie as men could give. Nevertheleffe, it pleafed God to take away from him his two remaining fons, that were not given in adoption: of which, the one dyed five daves before the Triumph; the other three dayes after it. This losse he bore wisely: and told the People, That he hoped to fee the Common-wealth flourish in a continuance of prospe- 20 ritie; fince the joy of his victorie was required with his owne private calamitie, in flead

of the publike. About the same time, Oslavim the Admirall, who had brought Persem out of Samothrace: and Anicius the Prætor, who had conquered Illyria, and taken King Gentius prisoner; made their severall triumphs. The glorie of which magnificent spectacles, together with the confluence of Embassages from all parts; and Kings, either visiting the Imperiall Citie, or offering to visit her, and doe their duties in person; were enow to fay unto Rome, Sume superbiam, Take upon thee the Majestie that thy deserts have purchased.

DY this which we have alreadie fet downe, is seene the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the world; whereof the Founders and Erectors thought, that they could never have ended. That of Rome which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We have left it flourishing in the middle of the field; having rooted up, or cut downe, all that kept it from the eies and admiration of the world-But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beautie it had; the storms of ambition shall beat her great boughes and branches one against another; her leaves shall fall off, her limbes wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her downe.

Now these great Kings, and conquering Nations, have bin the subject of those ancient 40 Histories, which have bin preserved, and yet remaine among us; and withall of so many tragical Poets, as in the persons of powerfull Princes, and other mightie men have complained against infidelitie, Time, Destinie, and most of all against the Variable successe of worldly things, and Instabilitie of Fortune. To these undertakings, these great Lords of the world have beene stirred up, rather by the defire of Fame, which ploweth up the Aire, and foweth in the Winde; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it so much vexation and so many cares. And that this is true, the good advice of Cineas to Pyrrhus proves. And certainely, as Fame hath often been dangerous to the living, so is it to the dead of no use at all; because separate from knowledge. Which were it otherwise, and the extreme ill bargaine of buying this lasting discourse, under- 50 stood by them which are dissolved; they themselves would then rather have wished to have stolne out of the world without noyle, than to be put in minde, that they have purchased the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppression, and crueltie: by giving in spoyle the innocent and labouring soule to the idle and insolent, and by having empticathe Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them again with fo many and so variable forts of sorrowes.

Since the fall of the Roman Empire (omitting that of the Germanes, which had neither greatnesse nor continuance) there bath beene no State searefull in the East, but that

of the Turk; nor in the Westany Prince that hath spred his wings far over his nest, but the Spaniard; who fince the time that Ferdinand expelled the Moores out of Granado, have made many attempts to make themselves Masters of all Europe. And it is true, that by the treasures of both Indies, & by the many kingdoms which they possesse in Europe, they are at this day the most powerfull. But as the Turke is now counterpoised by the Perfian, fo in stead of so many Millions as have beene spent by the English, French, and Netherlands in a defensive war, and in diversions against them, it is easie to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pound continued but for two yeares, or three at the most, they may not only be persuaded to live in peace, but all their swel-To ling and overflowing streames may be brought back into their natural channels and old bankes. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, and to be regarded; the one feeking to root out the Christian Religional together, the other the truth and sincere profession thereof; the one to joyne all Europe to Asia, the other the rest of all Europe to Spaine.

For the rest, if we seeke a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundlesse ambition in mortall men, we may adde to that which hath been alreadic faid; That the Kings and Princes of the world have alwaies laid before them the actions, but not the ends of those great Ones which preceded them. They are alwayes transported with the glorie of the one, but they never minde the miserie of the other, till they finde the expe-20 rience in themselves. They neglect the advice of God, while they enjoy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsell of Death, upon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisedome of the world, without speaking a word; which God with all the words of his Law, promifes, or threats, doth infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is beleeved; God, which hath made him, and loves him, is alwaies deferred. I have considered (saith Salomon) all the workes that are under the Sunne, and behold, all is vanitie and vexation of spirit: but who beleeves it till Death tels it us: It was Death, which opening the conscience of Charles the fift, made him enjoyne his sonne Philip to restore Navarre; and King Francis the first of France, to command that justice should be done upon the Murderers of the Protestants in Merindol and Cabrieres, which till then 30 he neglected. It is therefore death alone that can suddenly make man to know himselfe. He tels the proud and infolent, that they are but Abjects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them crie, complaine, and repent; yea, even to hate their forepassed happinesse. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a beggar; a naked beggar, which hath interest innothing, but in the gravell that fils his mouth. He holds a Glasse before the eyes of the most beautifull, and makes them see therein their deformitie and rottennesse; and they acknowledge ic.

O eloquent, just, and mightie Death! whom none could advise, thou hast perswadeds what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawne together all the farre street-40 ched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, Hic jacet.

Lastly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, calls it selfe, The sirst part of the Generall Historie of the world, implying a Second and Third Volume; which I also intended, and have hewne out; befides many other discouragements, perswading my silence; it hath pleased God to take that glorious Prince out of the world to whom they were directed; whose unspeakeable and never enough lamented losse hath taught mee to say with Job, Versa est in Ludium Cithara mea, & Organum meum in vocem flentium.

FINIS

To THE READER.



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Me use of Chronologicall Tables is needfull to all Histories, that reach to any length of time; and most of all, to those that are most generall: fince they cannot, like Annales, yeerely set downe all occurrences not coherent. This here following, may ferve as an Index to the present part of this worke, pointing unto the several matters, that having fallen out at one time, are far dis-joined in the relation. Certaining not perfect, neither doe I thinke that any can bee. For howsoever the BE GROWN TO yeeres of the first Patriarchs may seem to have beene well neere com-

pleat, yet in the reignes of the Kings of Juda and Israel, we finde many fractions, and the last yeer, or yeers, of one King reckoned also as the formost of another. The same is most likely to have fallen out in many other, though not so precisely recorded. Hereto may be added the divers and imperfest forms of the yeere, which were in use among sundry nations, causing the *Sum- * sulbs: mer months, in processe of some ages, to fall into the winter, and so breeding extreme confu-chap; s.c. sion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small part of trouble, to choose out of so many, and so utterly disagreeing computations, as have already gotten authority, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deale more, is to be alledged, in excuse of 20 fuch errour, as a more intentive and perfect Calculator Shall happen to finde herein. It may ferre to free the booke, and likewise the Reader (if but of meane judgement) from any notorious Anachronicisme; which ought to suffice. The booke indeed will need it, even in that regard; not onely for some errors of the presse, in the numbring of yeeres, but for some hastie mif-reckonings of mine owne, which I desire to have hereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this table shall not want carefull diligence. The Reader if he be not offended with the

rest, shall finde reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to his owne ease.

The titles over the Columnes, have reference to that which followes under them, as will readily be conceived. Where two titles or more, are over the head, as | Rome | there doe 30 the numbers underneath proportionably answer, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example, The walls of Jerusalem were finished in the 319. Jeere from the building of Rome, and in the 3 14. from Nabonassar. Inlike manner it is to be understood, That Jehofaphat began his reigne in the 3774. of the Julian Æra, in the 3092, of the world, and in the 99. yeere of the Temple. This needs not more illustration, nor indeed so much, to those that are acquainted with workes of this kinde. To avoid prolixity, I have forborne to insert those yeeres, which I finde not signed with some regardable accident, as with the birth or death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings reigne; some change of Government; some battaile fought, or the like. So of the 13. yeeres wherein Sylvius Capetus reigned over the Latines, I note onely the first, that is, omitting all betweene the 4. of Jehosaphat, wherein Capetus began, unto the 17. wherein Sylvius Aventinus succeeded, and wherein Jehoram 40 first reigned with Jehosaphat his father. For I thought it vaine to have filled up a page with 12. lines of idle ciphers, numbring forth 2.3.4.5. and so still onwards, till I had come to the first of Aventinus, and the 17. of Jehosaphat. In setting downe the Kings, there is noted over the head of every one, what place hee held in order of succession: as whether he were the first, second, fift, seventh, or so forth, in ranke of those that reigned in his countrey, without notable interruption: Before the name is the first yeer of his reigne; at the end or foot of the name (as the space gives leave) is the whole number of yeeres in which he reigned, in the spaces following underneath, are those yeeres of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of some other King, or with the yeere of any remarkable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name; there it is to bee understood, that the same yeere belonged 50 not onely to the King then beginning, but unto some one, or more of his foregoers: as the first yeere of Ichoram King of Israel, was the same with the second of his brother Ahaziah, and the 22. of his father Ahab. So where two or three names are found in one space, as in the 3077. yeere of the World, Zimri, Tibni, and Omri, it is meant that every one of them reigned in some part of the same yeere, which is reckoned the second of Ela, and the first of Omi. Particularly, under the reignes of the Egyptian Kings are set downe the yeares of those Dvnasties, which it was thought meet to insert; as likewise otherwhiles, the day, the moneth, up. on which Nabonassars yeere began, which, how it varied from other yeeres, may be found in the place last above cited.

Concer-

To the Reader.

Concerning the Ara, or account of yeeres, from Iphitus, who began the Olympiads, from Rôme built, from Nabonassar, and the like; as much as was thought convenient hath bin said. where due place mas, in the booke it selfe: so as it remaineth onely to note, that under the tiwhere one place was, ... the the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the yeer of the of Olympiads is set downe first the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the yeer of that Olympiad: as that Cyrus began his reigne in Persia, in the 55. Olympiad, and the

first yeere thereof.

Now, for that the yeeres of the world, of the Olympiacis, of Rome, of Nabonassar, and other, had not beginning in one moneth, but some of them in March, some in April, some about Midfummer, and some at other times: the better to expresse their severall beginnings, some painefull Chronologers have divided them proportionably in their severall Columnes, oppo- 10 fing part of the one yeere to part of the other: not (as I have here done) cutting all overthwart with one straight line, as if allhad begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I spared, as more troublesome than usefull, since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and since the learned might well be without it. It will only be needfull to observe that hors forver the Bra of the Olympiads bee 24. yeeres elder than that of Rome, and 29. than that of Nabonassar, yet the reigne of someKing may have begun at such a time of the yeer as did not sute with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will eafily finde my meaning : the vulgar will not finde the difficulty. One familiar example will explaine all. Queen Elizabeth beganher reigne the 17. of November, in the yeere of our Lord 1558. She was crowned, held a Parliament, brake it up, threw downe Images, and reformed 20 many things in religion, all in her first yeere, yet not all in that yeere 1558. but the greater part in the year following whether we begin with the first of January, or with the 25. of March. The like may be other whiles found in this Table, but fo, as the difference is never of a whole

The Julian Period, which I have placed as the greater number, over the yeeres of the world, was delivered by that honourable, and excellently learned Joseph Scaliger: being accommodated to the Julian yeeres, now in use among us. It consisteth of 7980. yeeres, which result from the multiplication of 19.28. and 15. that is, of the Cycle of the Moone, the Cycle of the Sunne, and the yeeres of an Indiction. Being divided by any of these, it leaves the number of the present yeere, or if no fraction remaine, it shewes the last yeere of that Cy-30 cle to be turrent. For example, in the 4498. of this Period, when was fought the great batpaile of Cannæ, the Prime or golden number was 14. the Cycle of the Sun, 18. and confequently the Dominicall letter F. as may be found by dividing the same number of the Julian Period 4498. by 19. for the Prime, by 28. for the Cycle of the Sunne. This Julian Period, after the present accompt, alwaies exceeds the yeer s of the world by 682. Besides the former uses, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a yeer, than any other Ara (45, From the boginning of the World, From the Floud, From Troy taken, or the like) which are of more uncertaine position. More I shall not need to write, as touching

the use or explication of these Tables. Neither was thus much requisite to such as are conversant in workes of this kinde : it sufficeth if hereby all bee made plaine enough to the vulgar.

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CHRONOLOGICALL TABLE.

Yeeres of the Julian Period, VVorld, Patriarches.&c.

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	623	493	388	298	228	163	1.E- noch. 265								
	688	5.58	453	363	293	228	66	1 Me- thufela 969							
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losh died this yeer	349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19	
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	2731 2049 392		491	391	356	326			31	230	41		171	17	41
i i	Fulian. World.	Sem.	Arpha	xad. S	alab.	leber	Assy	ria.	Egyp	e.	Tera	b	Sicyon	Abı	rams.
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nm receives the pro in odd dyes in Haran. i.c.i.§.1,2,3.	2765 2083 426	525	4	25	390	360	2	3	75	20	5	б		75	
	Iulian. World Promise.	Sem.	Arpha	xad.	Salah.	Heber.	Abri	2775.	A∬yrı	ia. E	gypt.	Sicyo	n.		
imenters onto Canaan descends into Egypt. ht first of the 430. yeer minde.	2766 2084 1	526	4:	26	391	361	7'	5	24		76	7			
Aram returnes int man. s	2085	527	4	27	392	362	7	7.	2	5	77	8			
Abram his victory over Anlasmer, and other N. L.z.c. 1. § . 8.9. & c	2775	535	43	5	400	370	85		33		85	16			
Mel borne.	² 777 ² 095 I 2	537	43	7	402	372	87		35		37	18			
lphaxad dyes.	2778	538		38	403	373	88		36	5	88	1 <i>9</i>			

	Julian World. promise		Salah.		Abra- ham.	Assy-	Egypt.	Sicyon		18		Julian World, promise			Isaac.	Засов.	Aſ- ſyria.	Egypt	Sicyon.	Argives.	
	2781 2099 16	541	405	376	10	6 1.Ari-	91	22			Joseph soldinto Egypt.	2959 2277 194			169	109	6	1. Orus, 79.	16	59	18
	2791 2109 25	5 <i>5</i> 1	416	386	101	11	101	32	1. <i>Ifa</i>			2961 2279 196			171	111	8	3 81	18	3 1. Apis. 35	20
	2808 21 26 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18	3	The last yeere of Isaac.	2970 2288 205		43	180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
	2811	571		406	121	7 1, Ara- lius,40	121	52	21	1	Ifrael into Egypt.	2980 2298 215				130	27	22	37	20	39
0: 3,:	2812	572	'	407	1 22	2	122	1. Æ gir' 3		2	The eighteenth Dynastic in Egypt, which lastee 48 yeeres.	2984 2302 219	į.			134	31	26 1	41	24	43
	2827 2145 62	587		422	1:7	17	137	16	1	7	- 4 - 1	2991 2309 220	5		(*) }	141	38	33	10 1.Pera tus.46		5
Isanc tooke Rebecca to wife, when he was 40. eres old compleat.	2831 2149 65	591		426	141	21	141	20	4	1		2996 2314 231	la r	;:		146	43	38	6	4 1.Argus.	51
The last yeere of Sem.	3840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	5	•	Jacob dyes in Egypt.	2997 2315 232			lon j	147	44	39	7	2	
TA	Julian World. promise	Heber	Abra-	Ifaac.	Jacob	Assy-	Egypt.	Sicion		r- ves.		Julian World promi/	l. Joseph	Ass	ria.	ϵ_{ℓ}	gpt.	Sicyon	Arg	rives.	Ϊ
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Heber dyedthis yeere.	2869	464		79	19	19	179	24	+	19	The last yeere of Joseph.	3051 2369 286	110		4	ľ	93 68	15		56	十
The 17. Dynastie, called of the Shepheards, be- ginning this yeers, lasted 103 yeeres.	2881 2199		<u> </u>	91	31	1. Arma mithres.		3	6	3 1		3066 2384 301		2	9	1	08	įσ	I. Pir	s ss. 54.	1
	1209]	1	101	41	11	201	I.Les	wip.	41		3068 2386 303		1.Man	4 <i>icaleus</i> 30		110	32		3	1
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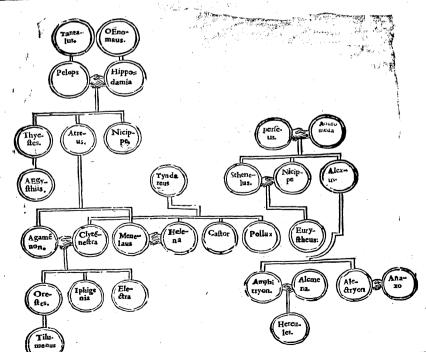
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	promise	Moses.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argives.		1000000		Julian World Exod.	Moses	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon	Argos.	Athes.	
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The 19. Dynastie: of the Larthes, 194. yeeres, ee L. 2. c. 26. S. 4.	3332 2650 137		5	r. Zezhus, or Se- thofis, 55	. 15	9	20	40
	3339 2657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	3 1.Tros
Tantalus in Phrygia.	3347 2665 152	54	20	16		13 1.Præ- tus, 17	35	ģ
	3358 2676 163	65	31	27	19 1.Sicyon, 45	12	46	20
	3360 2678 165	67	23 1.Sofares, 20	29	3	14	48	22
	3363 2681 168	70	4	3 ² 3 ²	6	17	t · Cerops the second	d '
Pelops in Pisa, who gave name to Peloponnesus.	12264	71	5	33	7	14 1. Acr fins, 31		
Ion and Xuthus the fonne of Hellen. See lib.2.c.17.5.6.	3374	1. Debora	15	43	17	11	12	
	3380 269 185	7	24 1.Lampares.	49	23	17	18	
	3387	14	15	18 1 Ramfes, 66 56	6. 30	24	25	
After thedeath of Acrifius, the Kingdome of the Argives was ivided into manyfraul parts, and overgrowne by that of Myce- a, whereof fome Kings defeended from Perfeus, others from Pe- ps, as in the Pedegree following.		21	15	8 63	37	31	32	



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The 20.Dynastic, called of the Diapolitani, began is yeere in Egypt, and lasted 178 yeeres, See lib	3526 2844	2	2.5	20 1 , Dynast 178	ie, 30	15	13	7	3 7	362 294 4	96		33	13 1	00	1		17 1. Co.	23
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3198	35 1	4	19	13	chorus	RI	22	
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	3926 3244 251	397			39	16 Shallum one mont h 17 Menahem	35	3	10	9	11
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	3930 3248 255	40 1			43	4	39	s.Sabac- cus the Ethiopi- an. so	14	13	15
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The beginning of the Olympiads. L. 2, c. 23. S. 5.	3938 3256 263	409	ı	I	5 I	2	47	9	2	21	23
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	3955 3273 280	18	5	16 12 1. Ahaz.	17	16	26	19	38	10	
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	World	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olym.	Fuda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt	Athen	Romãs	Med
Rome built, Lib.2. chap.24.5.5. Caops the First, governing in Athens for tenyeers: for whom succeeded six, chosen each after other for white time; and thence the Office became Annuall.	3962 3280	ı	25	7	8	4	23	33	1. 1. Ca- rops,10	I I. Romu- lus, 37.	17
The same same there is office became of	3966 3284 291	5	29	3	12	20 1. Hofe	27	37	5	5	21
The Era of Nabonasiar. Lib.2.c.25.5.1.	3967 3285 292	6	30	8	13	2	r.Salma- naffir, or Nabonaffa	38	6	6	22
Ezekia began in the very end of this lare. L.2.c.25.5.1.		7	31	8	14 13 Ezekiah		2	39	7	7	23
This year concurres with the first of Ezekia. Ibid.		8	32	8	15 1	4	3	40	8	8	24
The beginning of the first Messenian warre Whereof see L.2. c.27. §.4. It lasted 20. yeares.	3971	10	34	9	3	6	5	42	10	10	26
Samaria is besieged by Salmanastar.	397 ² 3290 297	6	35	9	4	7	6	43		11	27

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The captivitie of the ten Tribes.	3974 3292	13	37	.10	6	9	8	45		13			Rome.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
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L.2.c.26. §.7.	3298 305	1	43	3	12	dæans.	5	33		19		3373	74	118	, ,	1. 70		27	13	4	21	1
Senacheribs Army destroyed, and he slain.	3982	14	 	1 12	}	-	ł	1 33	ł	1-1		380	89	1	2			-/	1 -3	7	21	1
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2.2.0.0,0.2.	307	16	יד	1	} ~~		1	"	1		7 Lib.2.c.28. §. 1.	3391		136	1	19	20	1. No	2- 31	22	39	ĺ
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Metodach gets the whole Empire. This yeere or in the end of the yeere foregoing.	3993	32	1 _	14	1	I.Mero.	1.	l				4084	123	<u> </u>	, 	1		 -	-			
An eclipse of the Moone.	3311	١	56	١.	25	dach,40	11	14		32	,	3402	123	147	37	30	31	12	10	1	1. Sady-	l
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this being inclusively the 41. and therefore the next yeere seemes co	71)	190	214	54	45	19	Ama	- 15	t Cyaxa res or D	56		The Carthaginians first league with Rome. L.5.C.1.5.2.	4206	245	269	68			Bruta		ĺ-
uvent with Amans his first.	13459	185		1 2	1"	1	sis, 3	4	rius the Mede,	1 .		1.).6.1.5.2.	3524	240		I	15		Publice	Consuls.	3
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isstratus makes himselfe Tyrant in Athens.	1	1	227	7/	11	6	13	28	14	12	58		4228	267		73	4				Τ
N	3482	198		3]			- 7),,		3546	262	291	: 3	I. Xer		1	1 11	5
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The end of the Caldean Empire.		1 !	2 38		2 2	thafar Claine.	24	39	25		69	An Eclipse of the Sun. L. 3. c. 6. S. 2.	4233	272	296	74		e great muster xes his armie			5
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The beginning of Cyrus his Empire.	4177	216	1	60				· ·	Yeeres				4235	1 274	i —	75	8. Xerxes	<u> </u>		lamis. The battaileof	十
His Edict of liberty to the Jewes.	3495	211	240	4	1.Cy-	2	26	41	from		Zoro babel	L.3.c.6.§.9.10.& 11,			298	1	his tragi- call love.			Platea and My-	5
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ne 2 first years of Psammeticus, and part of the d may be added to the seenes of hissather, if it be true that camby	4186	225	- 1	63	74.5	<u> </u>	I P sam			s,as him	elje mil			287		78	27.			elfe where.	-
wan Egypt presently on the death of Amasis, L.3. c. 4.5.2.	3504		249		3	1 1	meti-	6	10	resseth (1 o that the	flories of	1.3.6.7.9.3.	1	``1	311	13	The deal	th of Xerxes	1		7
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The conquest of Egypt by Cambysis.	7200		251	63	5		3 .	8		eriaine.	,		4249	288		78 ,	Arta	1		Themystocles being anished, flyes co	
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he Accompt from the folution of the Capti- itie, is the fame with that from Cytus.	ľ	Nabon		Olym	p. Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	1	ficures, or ficer cy- rus and	. • .	and	Rome. and Nabo	Iphit.	Olym piads		Ægypt.	Rome.	Greece.	From C
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	3583	299	328	4	17		chosen for a second yeere ty-	which he dyed.	11	L.3.c.11·5·4·	3636		381] 1	10	6		Agefilaus war- reth in Asia.	142
Nehemias comes to Jernsalem.	4268 3586	307	331	83	20	1	tannize o usurpethe place a 3.	A league for 36. yeeres, betweene Athens & Sparta.	Ç2	L.3.c.11.§.7.	4320	l	38 3	96	12	8		The victoric o	f = 64
	4272	311	335	84	24		Tribuni Militum first cho-		96		3638 4321	354	-0.	96	·		Veii taken b	Gc. Xenophon and	65
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	3591	307	336	4_	25	1	Livy pla- ceth them in the 110 yeere of	Pericles.	19		3643	359	388	97	17		The honorable vi Clorie of Camillu over the Falisci.		149
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	3619	335 341		.92	fuely, till Ochus his e conquest.	1		The government of	48 128		3363	379	400	4	37	yeerer to Tachus.	Æmylius,	growth of the Theban Estate.	91
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The Carthaginians invade Sicil with an frmy of 300000.L.5.c.1.5.4 †.3.	3522	343	367	92	15	4	l,	The Athenians begin to recover strength	125	L3.c.1 2. 5.8.	435 2	391	415	104	1. Ochus.	8. Tachus betray. ed by Azesilans.		Peace in Greece. The Athenians weake them-	Dried
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	4307	340		93		2		ment to Athens: is made Generall, and banished againe.	52 131		3672 4359	388	417	106	3	3		Macedo 24. yeers and part of the 25	100
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ì			441	7	1. Darius 6. yeeres & fomvohat more.	Nabon. Novemb. 15:		Philip flaine by Pau.	201	uins assum e t he Kings	name	3724		469	118	9		16	3	Achers fet free by Demetrius the son of		÷
	3696 1 379	412		III		14 ovemb. 15:		the great, 12. years and few mouths.	123	-	14	413		!	_1_		Ptol.	etrius at Cyprus.	3	Antigonus.		
	3697	413	442	2	2			Thebes razea by Alexander	. 202	Lib. 4.c. 6.9.4	•	731		476	119	16		14	o. The battaile at psus, wherein Ansi. onus was flaine.	1		
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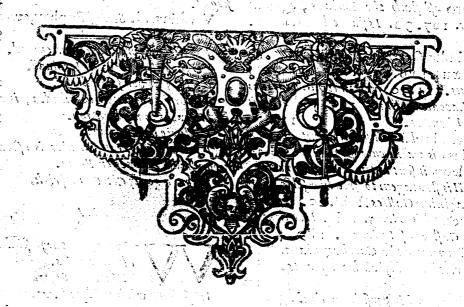
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